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"My Conscience is Fine as Chinese Silk": Genetic Joyceastasian Studies*

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I. Introduction

In 1938 Joyce wrote a list of forty languages used for *Finnegans Wake*: Chinese is listed 6th from the top, and Japanese 7th (*JJA* 63:343). Chinese characters can be considered as thought-pictures describing concepts while alphabetical characters represent phonemes. Learning Chinese and Japanese elements would have given Joyce some opportunities to reevaluate various kinds of scripts, which encouraged him to infuse some visual effects as thought-images into *Finnegans Wake*.

This paper aims to explore how James Joyce transposed the Irish and European contexts into a Chinese one in his works, especially *Ulysses* and

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Finnegans Wake. The epigraph "My conscience is fine as Chinese silk" (*CW* 245) is quoted from Joyce's broadsheet "Gas from a Burner" (1912), scribbled on the back of his invalidated contract with Maunsel and Co. on the train between Flushing and Salzburg (*CW* 242). The broadsheet was written against George Roberts, the Dublin publisher who decided not to publish *Dubliners* and John Falconer, the printer who destroyed the sheets in spite of Joyce's pleading (*CW* 242). After that, Joyce never went back to his native city again. It is significant that he compared his conscience to Chinese silk when he was severely disappointed at what his fellow Irish men did. He seems to have known that Chinese silk has a world-wide reputation for high quality. To what extent was Joyce familiar with the Chinese language, culture and history? This paper focuses on how Joyce was familiar with China and Chinese elements, and how he used them in his works.

II. Joyce's Encounter with China and How His Interest in East Asia Developed

Joyce lived exclusively in Europe throughout his lifetime. However, he must have learned about India and East Asia in his childhood as he went to two Jesuit secondary schools: Clongowes Wood College (boarding school, 1888-1891) and Belvedere College (day school, 1893-1898) where he learned about the missionary activities of the Society of Jesus. Then Joyce studied at University College Dublin (1898-1902), which was staffed by Jesuit priests from 1883 to 1908. Accordingly, Joyce was almost entirely educated at Jesuit schools except for a brief period when he went to the Christian Brothers O'Connell School on North Richmond Street, Dublin. Joyce reportedly said, "I began with the Jesuits and I want to end with them" (Ellmann 47).

Presumably, Joyce first learned about the early Jesuit missionary activities at Belvedere College where he studied geography all four years (1894-1898). Ira B. Nadel notes that the geography class began with Matteo Ricci (利瑪竇, 1552-1610) who founded the first successful mission to China in 1583 (Nadel 19).

St. Francis Xavier's mission is summarized in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* in which the rector of Belvedere College says in the retreat sermon in honor of the saint: "He went from country to country in the east, from Africa to India, from India to Japan, baptizing the people. . . . He wished then to go to China to win still more souls for God but he died of fever on the island of Sancian" (*P* 111). This sermon is significant for East Asian readers in that St. Xavier's missionary activities inspired young Joyce to create his vague ambition of going to the East Asia as the last chapter of *Finnegans Wake* hints (Brivic 196). In a limited sense, missionary activities can be considered Orientalism as Edward Said writes: "in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (3).

To what extent was Joyce influenced by St. Xavier? The route of his mission from Japan to his final destination of China seems important, particularly in *Finnegans Wake* because the night book proceeds to the daybreak of Book IV, the Asian chapter reflecting the Second Sino-Japanese War. The story of St. Xavier can be compared to that of Marco Polo (1254-1324), the Venetian merchant who traveled with his father and uncle along the Silk Road to China.

Joyce did not show any particular interest in China when he started writing *Ulysses*. However, he seems to have certain preoccupations with China. In a letter to Harriet Shaw Weaver, dated on 24 June, 1921 he wrote: "Mr [Wyndham] Lewis was very agreeable, in spite of my deplorable ignorance of

his art, even offering to instruct me in *the art of the Chinese* of which I know as much as the man in the moon" (*L* I 167: italics mine). It clearly suggests Joyce was saying that Lewis did not understand his works at all and that he never appreciated Lewis's critical comments on them. Lewis even attacked Joyce's character and mocked his habit of calling people 'Mister' (Ellmann 595). Later Lewis, trying to apologize Joyce, in a letter in which he signed himself, "An everdevoted friend" while Joyce extracted the phrase for *Finnegans Wake*: "I'm an everdevoting fiend of his" (*FW* 408.18) (Ellmann 595).

Joyce's unique usage of the English adjective "Chinese" indicates his definitely mysterious feelings towards China: To Weaver dated 6 September, 1932: "The Japanese sent me a cheque for 200 yen (£10, circa) for their depredations. I am sending it back with a Chinese curse on it and them" (*L* I 325) (underlining mine). "The Japanese" were Dai-ichi Shobo and Iwanami-shoten, the two Japanese publishers who issued a different Japanese translation of *Ulysses* without Joyce's permission in spite of the Berne Convention (*L* I 320). Joyce claimed that in total 20,000 copies of the Japanese translations were sold within the first six months since the publication (*L* III 287).

Joyce also liked to use the phrase "Chinese ransom" in his letters especially when he mentioned the sales of *Ulysses*. It seems to suggest "exorbitant, tall, or extravagant" [price].

> 1. To Frank Budgen (Postcard) dated [About 18 October] 1932:
> Have just heard the Dover Customs have seized and impounded all the English copies (10) as 'silk luxury goods' (on account of the green silk casings) and are demanding Chinese ransom prices! Oh oh Pound Sterling! J.J. (*L* III 261)

2. To Daniel Brody dated 3 November 1932:
It may interest you to know that the British Customs seized the whole 10 copies (9 sold in advance) of the English part of my daughter's book of *lettrines* on account of the 'carton' classing it as 'silk luxury goods' and demanding a Chinese ransom of per copy on a book which already costs .£12 a copy. (*L* III 265)

3. To F. V. Morley dated 3 November 1932:
Only one copy of the book is to be seen in London as the British Customs at Newhaven seized all the copies sold to English buyers－10－and demanded Chinese ransom at the rate of £4 per book, the book costing already about £12. (*L* III 265) (Underlining mine.)

In 1934 the Soviet Writers' Union Congress in Moscow instituted Socialist Realism as the model for all Russian writing and criticism. "Communist poacher-turned gamekeeper" Karl Radek delivered the key speeches in which he compared the complexity of *Ulysses* with that of the Chinese alphabet [characters] (Williams 175-76). Radek thought that the Chinese people were kept ignorant by an alphabet of 40,000 signs [Chinese characters]. He claimed: "Joyce is trying to teach you writers some kind of Chinese alphabet… it cannot reach the masses" (Williams 178). Presumably, Radek did not know that Mandarin Chinese was the second most used language of the world. *Ulysses* has reached various people around the world through numerous translations: there are three complete Chinese translations available now, including the latest and definitive one (2021) by Liu Xiangyu (刘象愚 1942-).

After the Joyce family moved to Paris on 8 July, 1920, Joyce seems to have been more conscious of Chinese, as his letter to Weaver dated 23 October, 1923 indicates: "Mr [John] Quinn invited me to dinner. He asked me about my new book but I did not care to talk as there were others present. A friend of his told me that there is a club in the far east where Chinese ladies

(not American as I supposed) meet twice a week to discuss my mistresspiece. Needless to say the said club is in－shavole Shanghai!" (*L* I 206) (underlining mine).

Joyce wrote to Weaver that ten copies of *Ulysses* were sent to Beijing in 1923 (Nadel 17). The phrase "shavole Shanghai" appears in *Finnegans Wake* (*FW* 398.28) through the manuscript "savole ~~hang~~ shanghai" (*JJA* 56:35; 47481-4) and "~~savole~~ savohohole shanghai" (*JJA* 56:37; 47481-5).[1] Joyce would have been very pleased to hear that Chinese ladies met twice a week at a club in the Far East reading and discussing his "mistresspiece." Shanghai, literally meaning "upon the sea," seems to have been a symbol of vague longing for the Far East to Joyce at that time, just like the nameless narrator boy adoring "Araby" without sufficient knowledge.

Nadel cites Xu Zhimo (徐志摩, 1897-1931), the first Chinese commentator on Joyce and poet studying at King's College, Cambridge from 1921 to 1922: "And there is an Irishman called James Joyce. His name in international literary circles is probably similar to Lenin's in international politics because he is both worshipped and attacked like him" (Nadel 17). Xia Weiwei, quoting Joyce's impressive phrase, reports the reality of China's early reception of Joyce with the related chronicle: In 1934 Zhou Libo, 'James Joyce' *ShenBao Newspaper*, Shanghai, 1935 [a negative assessment of *Ulysses*]; In 1964 Yuan Kejiang, 'On English and American Novels of Stream of Consciousness,' *Literary Study Journal*, no. 1, 1964 [a negative assessment of *Ulysses*] (Xia 3).

Ezra Pound often wrote to Joyce when he was engaged with Ernest Fennolosa's manuscripts on the Japanese Noh play around 1916, but Joyce did not show any particular interest in it.[2]

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1) Cf. Katrin Van Herbruggen, "Notes Toward a Timeline of *Work in Progress*."

2) See *Pound/Joyce*, pp. 17, 33, 53, 56, 73, 83 and 85.

Ulysses was serialized in *The Little Review*, from "Telemachus" to the first part of "Oxen of the Sun" (from Vol. 6, No. 11 [March 1918] to Vol. 7, No. 3 [September－December 1920]) until the magazine was forced to cease publishing it as the result of the obscenity trial in February 1921. It is noted that most references to China and Chinese are later insertions after *The Little Review*, except the two in "Hades": "Chinese cemeteries with giant poppies growing produce the best opium Mastiansky told me" (*U* 6.769-70) and "I [Leopold Bloom] read in that *Voyages in China* that the Chinese say a white man smells like a corpse" (*U* 6.982-83). These two Chinese passages appeared in *The Little Review* as they are in the final version. Later in the novel, readers find *Voyages in China*, written by "Viator" is on Bloom's bookshelf (*U* 17.1379), although the book has not been identified yet.

The most important Chinese-related passage of *Ulysses* is in "Lotus Eaters" (*U* 5.323-30). The earliest existing manuscript was written in early October 1918 at Universitätstrasse 38, 1st Floor, "Fortuna," Zürich. It is noted that there was no reference to China in the early stages. According to the notice on the door, John Conmee, Joyce's former mentor, will preach a sermon on the 17th-century Spanish Jesuit Saint, Peter Claver (1580-1654), who was engaged in the African Mission for forty-four years. Don Gifford noted the extensive Jesuit missionary activity in the latter half of the nineteenth century (91). If the archive is regarded chronologically, the line numbers on the left of the manuscripts indicate those of the Gabler edition.

5.322. Same notice on the door. Sermon by the very reverend John Conmee
5.323. S. J. on saint Peter Claver S. J. and the African Mission.
5.331. Conmee: Martin Cunningham knows him: dis-tinguished looking.
5.333. He's not going
5.334. out to baptise blacks, is he?

5.335. Like to see them sitting round in a circle,
5.336. listening. Lap it up like milk, I
5.337. suppose. (*Rosenbach Manuscript*, vol. 1, p. 9)

In *The Little Review*, 5.3: 44 (July 1918) is almost the same as in the Rosenbach MS except the last "," which was probably a misprint.

In Placard 9 *First version* (Harvard) [*JJA* 17:88] (*one unreproduced duplicate: Buffalo V.C.4):

5.322. Same notice on the door. Sermon by the very reverend John Conmee
5.323. S. J. on saint Peter Claver S. J. and the African Mission.
5.331. Conmee: Martin Cunningham knows him: distinguished looking.
5.333. He's not going
5.334. out in bluey specs to baptise blacks, is he?
5.335. Like to see them sitting round in a
5.336. [~~circle~~] ring, entranced, listening. Lap it up like milk, I
5.337. suppose.
*The underlined phrase was inserted at the level of the Placard 9 (*JJA* 17:88; Harvard/ Buffalo, V.C.4).

The Chinese elements were finally inserted at the stage of Gathering 5 (*JJA* 22:247; Buffalo V.C.1-5a (June 1921) (*one unreproduced duplicate: Buffalo V.C.2). The topic of Father Conmee's sermon expanded to the Jesuit mission in China. It may reflect St. Xavier's mission route. Joyce also referred to opium usage in China and the two notorious Opium Wars. Conmee thinks of the mission both in Africa and in China. Jin Di (金隄, 1921-2008), first Chinese translator of *Ulysses*, quoted the following passage comparing the shamrock and chopsticks (230). Saint Patrick is said to have used the shamrock as a metaphor to explain the Holy Trinity to unbaptized people in

Ireland in the fourth century. On the other hand, chopsticks can be considered as a pagan symbol used in Chinese/Korean/Japanese religious rites for three thousand years, long before Christianity. Opium was exported from India to China by the British merchants in the early nineteenth century, which caused the two Opium Wars between China and Great Britain. "Save China's millions" was a historical evocative phrase for the countless Chinese people, who might be "saved" by Christianity (Simpson).

5.322. Same notice on the door. Sermon by the very reverend John Conmee
5.323. S. J. on saint Peter Claver S. J. and the African Mission.
5.326. Save China's millions. Wonder how they explain it to the
5.327. heathen Chinee. Prefer an ounce of opium.
5.330. Clever idea Saint Patrick the shamrock. Chopsticks?
5.331. Conmee: Martin Cunningham knows him: distinguished looking.
5.333. He's not going
5.334. out in bluey specs with the sweat rolling off him to baptise blacks, is he?
5.335. Like to see them sitting round in a
5.336. ring with blub lips, entranced, listening. Still life. Lap it up like milk, I
5.337. suppose.

* The underlined phrases were inserted at the level of Page Proofs (*JJA* 22:247; Buffalo V.C.1-5a).

At the stage of Placard X *First version* (Harvard) (*JJA* 17:190) (*one unreproduced duplicate: Buffalo V.C.3), one of the most outstanding insertions is a prayer concerning the conversion from Anglicanism to Roman Catholicism of British Prime Minister William Gladstone (1809-1898) as he was in a coma. Gladstone was known as a sympathetic person to Catholics. Also, there is

another prayer concerning the conversion from Catholicism to Protestantism of William Joseph Walsh (1841-1921), archbishop of Dublin and Primate of Ireland. These insertions intensify Bloom's well-balanced points of view regarding religion and politics. It is noted that Gladstone was an intense opponent of the opium trade (Quinault 237-38) and powerful supporter of Irish Home Rule (Windscheffel 7-8). Moreover, the contrastive references to the Reclining Buddha statue of the National Museum and "Ecce Homo," a painting of Jesus crowned with thorns by Hungarian Mihály Munkácsy (1844-1900) were inserted: Joyce saw them around 1900, and wrote a review "Royal Hibernian Academy 'Ecce Homo'" (September 1899) (*CW* 31-37).

5.322. Same notice on the door. Sermon by the very reverend John Conmee
5.323. S. J. on saint Peter Claver S. J. and the African Mission. Prayers for the
5.324. conversion of Gladstone they had too when he was almost unconscious.
5.325. The protestants are the same. Convert Dr William J. Walsh D. D. to the
5.326. religion. Save China's millions. Wonder how they explain it to the
5.327. heathen Chinee. Prefer an ounce of opium. Celestials. Rank heresy for
5.328. them. Buddha their god lying on his side in the museum. Taking it easy with
5.329. hand under his cheek. Not like Ecce Homo. Crown of
5.330. thorns and cross. Clever idea Saint Patrick the shamrock. Chopsticks?
5.331. Conmee: Martin Cunningham knows him: distinguished looking.
5.333. He's not going
5.334. out in bluey specs with the sweat rolling off him to baptise blacks,

is he? The
5.335. glasses would take their fancy, flashing. Like to see them sitting round in a
5.336. ring with blub lips, entranced, listening. Still life. Lap it up like milk, I
5.337. suppose.

*The underlined phrases were newly inserted at the Placards (*JJA* 17:190; Harvard/ Buffalo, V.C.3).

The insertion of the phrase "Celestials. Rank heresy for them" was intended to show Bloom's respect for China. Presumably, Joyce saw the Burmese statue of the Reclining Buddha" at the entrance hall of the National Museum around 1900. Of course, Joyce knew that the Buddha was originally an Indian god as Molly says in a midnight monologue: "that Indian god he took me to show one wet Sunday in the museum in Kildare street all yellow in a pinafore lying on his side on his hand with his ten toes sticking out" (*U* 18.1201-03). However, Bloom's comment cannot be considered to be inappropriate because Buddhism has deeply influenced traditional Chinese rites.

The final stage of insertions in this passage was at the Page proofs (*JJA* 22:276-77; Buffalo V.C.1, 2). The insertion of "Josssticks burning" intensified the East Asian religious images, especially in relation to Buddhism and worship of ancestors.

5.322. Same notice on the door. Sermon by the very reverend John Conmee
5.323. S. J. on saint Peter Claver S. J. and the African Mission. Prayers for the
5.324. conversion of Gladstone they had too when he was almost unconscious.
5.325. The protestants are the same. Convert Dr William J. Walsh D. D.

to the
5.326. true religion. Save China's millions. Wonder how they explain it to the
5.327. heathen Chinee. Prefer an ounce of opium. Celestials. Rank heresy for
5.328. them. Buddha their god lying on his side in the museum. Taking it easy with
5.329. hand under his cheek. Josssticks burning. Not like Ecce Homo. Crown of
5.330. thorns and cross. Clever idea Saint Patrick the shamrock. Chopsticks?
5.331. Conmee: Martin Cunningham knows him: distinguished looking. Sorry I
5.332. didn't work him about getting Molly into the choir instead of that Father
5.333. Farley who looked a fool but wasn't. They're taught that. He's not going
5.334. out in bluey specs with the sweat rolling off him to baptise blacks, is he? The
5.335. glasses would take their fancy, flashing. Like to see them sitting round in a
5.336. ring with blub lips, entranced, listening. Still life. Lap it up like milk, I
5.337. suppose.

*The underlined phrases were newly inserted at Gathering 5 (*JJA* 22: 276-77; *Third version*, Texas).

"Cascades of ribbons. Flimsy China silks" (*U* 8.621) was also inserted at the level of Placards (*JJA* 18:112; Harvard/ Buffalo V.C.4) after *The Little Review*, 5.9.41. These two passages were also inserted after *The Little Review*: "Built on bread and onions. Slaves Chinese wall" (*U* 8.490) was inserted at the level

of TS (Buffalo V.B.6; *JJA* 12:311); "Chinese eating eggs fifty years old, blue and green again. Dinner of thirty courses. Each dish harmless might mix inside. Idea for a poison mystery" (*U* 8.869-71) was inserted at the level of Placards (*JJA* 18.127; *First version*, Harvard/ Buffalo V.C.4). These three insertions were done presumably in order to intensify the image of eating food in "Lestrygonians."

"Chin Chon Eg Lin Ton" (*U* 9.1129) was inserted at a level between TS (*JJA* 12:369; Buffalo V.B.7) and Placard (*JJA* 18:223; Harvard/ Buffalo V.C.4) after the phrase "－O, the chinless Chinaman!" in *The Little Review*, 6.1.33. In the multi-lingual lists of "Cyclops," "Hokopoko Harakiri" (*U* 12.564; Japanese; Ritual suicide by disembowelment formerly practiced by Japanese *samurai*), "Hi Hung Chang" (*U* 12.564; <Li Hongzhang [李 鴻章], Chinese politician, 1823-1901) and "Kratchinabritchisitch" were also later insertions at the level of Gathering 19 (Second version; *JJA* 25:54; Buffalo V.C.1－19b) after *The Little Review*, 6.7.50-51 as well as the multi-lingual list of acclamation including the pidgin word "chinchin" (*U* 12.600-1).[3)]

Joyce never failed to record an old image of China in Molly's monologue at the end of *Ulysses*: "a quarter after what an unearthly hour I suppose theyre just getting up in China now combing out their pigtails for the day" (*U* 18.1540-41). What she calls "pigtails" is a queue (辮子), the old common Chinese male hairstyle until the early twentieth century. However, it is not a custom of Chinese origin. It was introduced by the Manchu conquerors in the seventeenth century as a symbol of servitude (Bergère 60). The custom of this hairstyle continued right up to 5 March, 1912 when Sun Yat-sen (孫文), founder and first president of the Republic, ordered all the Chinese men to cut their queues within 20 days because he thought that cutting off queues

3) The Japanese word "banzai" (*U* 12.600) was inserted at a level between TS (*JJA* 13:147; Buffalo V.B.10.a) and Placard 34 (*JJA* 19:131; Second version, Harvard).

represented the emancipation from the Qing dynasty and foundation of the Republic of China. The existing earlier draft NLI MS 36,639/14 (II.ii.8. Partial draft: "Penelope," p. 18, Spring-Summer 1921) does not contain this passage: it means that it is also a later addition before Joyce finished writing "Penelope" in September 1921. On 29 October, 1921, Joyce finished "Ithaca," which meant completing the whole novel of *Ulysses*.

III. Ernest Fenollosa and Ezra Pound Introduced Joyce to Chinese Characters

Between September and December 1919, when "Sirens" and "Cyclops" were serialized in *The Little Review*, "The Chinese Written Character as a Medium for Poetry" appeared in four parts in the same magazine. It was written by an American Orientalist Ernest Fenollosa and edited by Ezra Pound. Likely, it was Fenollosa and Pound's article which called Joyce's attention to China. Kumiko Yamada points out the importance of their article on Joyce: "This essay is an eloquent attempt by Fenollosa to explain how the Chinese crystallize natural phenomena and abstract concepts as ideograms in their notation and deploy them prominently in their poetry" (27).[4]

Fenollosa explained that Chinese notation "is based upon a vivid shorthand picture of the operations of nature" (8). He continued that "the Chinese characters and the Chinese sentence chiefly as vivid shorthand pictures of actions and processes in nature" (21). *Finnegans Wake* contains some elements

4) Yamada also notes that Joyce's first experience of the East would have been his appearance in *Alladin, or the Wonderful Scamp: A Burlesque*, an adaptation of Henry J. Byron's popular pantomime (1861): It was performed at Clongowes Wood College as the Easter play of 1891 (86).

of Chinese and Japanese languages because Joyce was interested in them as media of writing far different from European languages.

"The Chinese Written Character as a Medium for Poetry" opens with a foreword by Ezra Pound: "In his search through unknown art Fenollosa, coming upon unknown motives and principles unrecognized in the West, was already led into many modes of thought since fruitful in 'new' western painting and poetry. He was a forerunner without knowing it and without being known as such" (Fenollosa, *Little Review* 6.5.62). His introduction is full of joy and confidence that they had found something new in the West. It must have been attractive to Joyce who wanted to learn about unfamiliar principles of writing around the world.

Fenollosa criticized the prejudice towards England and America about China and Japan: "We have misconceived the Chinese for a materialistic people, for a debased and worn-out race. We have belittled the Japanese as a nation of copyists" (Fenollosa, *LR* 6.5.62). He wrote in the first part of "The Chinese Written Character as a Medium for Poetry": "I have been fortunate in studying for many years as a private pupil under Professor Kainan Mori, who is probably the greatest living authority on Chinese poetry. He has recently been called to a chair in the Imperial University of Tokyo" (Fenollosa, *LR* 6.5.64). Kainan Mori (森 槐南, 1863-1911) was a Japanese professor of Chinese literature and Chinse-style poet who taught Fenollosa very ardently. It is interesting that Fenollosa learned the Japanese pronunciation of Chinese because he studied the language under a Japanese professor. Thus, his follower Ezra Pound naturally learned Chinese with the Japanese pronunciation that he continued to use even in his later years.

It is questionable to what extent Joyce understood Fenollosa's article in which he explained the Chinese language so abstractly that it is very difficult to understand if one does not have enough knowledge of the language.

However, there is obvious proof in *Finnegans Wake* that Joyce had read the article: “A true noun, an isolated thing, does not exist in nature” (Fenollosa, *LR* 6.6.59) is alluded to: “there is no true noun in active nature” (*FW* 523.10-11).

> A true noun, an isolated thing, does not exist in nature. Things are only the terminal points, or rather the meeting points of actions, cross-sections cut through actions, snap-shots. Neither can a pure verb, an abstract motion, be possible in nature. The eye sees noun and verb as one: things in motion, motion in things, and so the Chinese conception tends to represent them.
>
> The sun [日] underlying the bursting forth of plants = spring 
>
> (白扇).
>
> The sun [日] tangled in the branches of the tree sign [木] ═ east [東].
> “Rice-field” [田] plus “struggle” [力] ═ male [男].
> “Boat” [舟] plus “water” [水]= boat-water, a ripple [泖]. (Fenollosa, *LR* 6.6.59) [Chinese characters mine.] [5)]

From this passage, Joyce seems to have become interested in analyzing the components of Chinese characters as I will discuss later.

IV. *Finnegans Wake* Incorporates Elements of Chinese

Joyce first wrote the list of sigla (first appeared in *JJA* 31; VI.B.11; *FW* 299.F4) in his letter of 24 March, 1924 to Harriet Shaw Weaver (*L* I 213).

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5) I am grateful for the precious suggestions of Prof. Kiljoong Kim and Prof. Li-ling Tseng concerning the Chinese characters at the 9th International James Joyce Conference in Korea.

Other examples in this category include the delta shape of the first paragraph of the Anna Livia chapter (*FW* 196; first appeared at the VI.G.2-5 (*JJA* 48:332) and the clockwise-rotating capital letter E (*JJA* 31; VI.B.11). Dolph (Shem) helps Kev (Shaun) to draw the Euclid diagram (*FW* 293; first appeared at the first draft; *JJA* 53:4; BL Add MS 47482a-67): the latter realizes that he has drawn a diagram of ALP's genitalia. He also inserts two mathematical symbols "∵" ["because"] and "∴" ["therefore"] (*FW* 292.11-12; first appeared at the page proof for *transition* 11: *JJA* 53:91; 47478-39), and Issy's drawing herself thumbing her nose, a gesture of ridicule (*FW* 308; first appeared at the extradraft material; *JJA* 53:281; 47482-156).

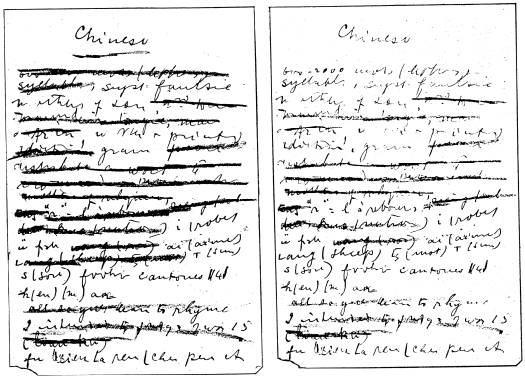
When Lucia Joyce helped to transcribe her father's manuscript of *Finnegans Wake*, she called it 'cinese' (Chinese) according to Joyce's letter to Harriet Shaw Weaver dated 23 November, 1925 (*L* III 134). In 1932, Lucia bought some books on Chinese and Japanese art as her father reported to Weaver (*L* I 327).

Joyce also noted in a letter to Weaver dated 2 March, 1927: "A Chinese student sent me some letterwords I had asked for. The last one is 山. It means 'mountain' and is called 'Chin', the common people's way of pronouncing Hin or Fin" (*L* I 250). Joyce would have been delighted with the coincidence because the Chinese letter looks like the inverted siglum for HCE/Earwicker/Finn MacCool. So far I have asked more than 10 Chinese people about how they pronounce the Chinese character "山": normally it is pronounced "shan." It seems to suggest that Joyce tried to learn the Chinese language but he did not have any close Chinese friends when he struggled with "Work in Progress." "Chinchin" is a pidgin English word for "hello," "good-bye" and "cheers!" but in *Finnegans Wake* it is also considered as the equivalent of HCE's siglum. Joyce, who wrote "Shoebenacaddie" (*FW* 200.23) with the Japanese word "shoeben" meaning urine, presumably knew that

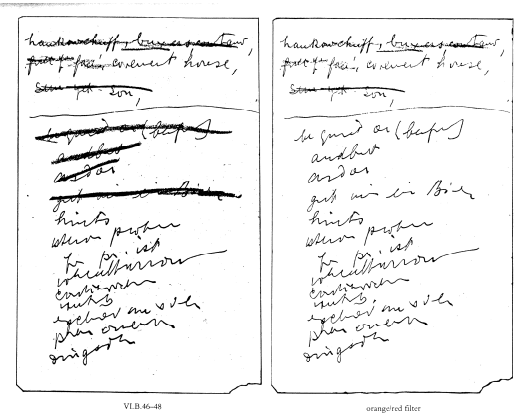
"chinchin" is also a Japanese children's word for penis. The English word "caddie" derives from the French word "cadet," the Joycean word may indicate "Manneken Pis" in Brussels.

What we call the Buffalo notebooks (of about 100-200 pages each) were Joyce's workbooks for *Finnegans Wake*, containing words, phrases, lists and textual pre-draft materials; they are classified into four types; VI.A., B., C. and D. according to Danis Rose (Joyce, *IM* ix). The A type notebook was transcribed by Thomas Connolly to be published under the title *James Joyce's Scribbledehobble: The Ur-Workbook for "Finnegans Wake"* in 1961 (Joyce, *IM* x). The B type are fifty notebooks written mainly by Joyce, the eighteen C type notebooks are transcriptions by Mme. Raphael of some unused materials of the B notebooks, including seven lost B notebooks which are now called D type (Joyce, *IM* ix-x).

The workbook VI.B.46 is the only notebook which contains some units under the subject heading "Chinese" (*JJA* 40:152-53; VI.B.46-47-48). Here are some excerpts from it:



VI.B.46–47 orange/red filter



VI.B.46–48 orange/red filter

The whole book was compiled by Joyce in 1938 when the "Work in Progress" came to a final stage. Other subjects include East Vikings, the Buddha and other language lists such as Romansch, Basque, Burmese, Provencal, Hebrew, Russian and College Slang. Joyce seems to have been looking for exotic verbal expressions including children's vocabulary in various rare languages. Presumably Joyce thought that he had inserted enough Japanese words and phrases before 1938. It also indicates that Joyce tried to insert Chinese elements to achieve a balance between the East Asian pair at the final stage of composing *Finnegans Wake*.

Joyce's use of Japanese elements is different from that of Chinese elements. He interjected many colloquial Japanese expressions into *Finnegans Wake* in early stages of composition but no references to Japanese historical figures. There are some Pidgin words such as "Chin Chin" (*FW* 58.13, et al.) but only few colloquial Chinese expressions. On the other hand, there are allusions to at least three Chinese historical figures: Confucius, Laotzu ("Lotsy," *FW* 208.30) and Sun Yat-sen. They are generally later insertions.

Danis Rose presumes that Joyce's source was probably "a work in the French language, was an introductory monograph, or grammar, and was not

a dictionary" (Joyce, *IM* 98). Most entries are probably transcribed notes from his linguistic (phonological) introduction to the Chinese language. Mandarin or *Guānhuà* (官話) has been the official language of China, based on the Peking Dialect since 1911. Although Joyce noted there are 600-2000 letters (*Fr*. mots) (VI.B.46-47), Mandarin has four tones and the total number of the Chinese words/letters today is estimated more than 6,000 while it is said that an average literate Chinese speaker should recognize between 3,500 and 4,000 characters.[6] It is significant that Joyce noted the famous biological passage of Confucius' *The Analects* (《論語》) 2:4 : "I intended to study = I was 15."[7] It is probably a supplement to another note headed "Confucius" (*JJA* 40:76-78; VI.B.45-119-21) in which Roland McHugh identified Joyce's source with Carl Crow's *Master King: The Story of Confucius* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1937).[8] Joyce does not seem to have inserted the above phrase from *The Analects* but McHugh notes in *Annotations to "Finnegans Wake*" that there are numerous allusions to Confucius mainly based on Crow's biography.[9] Lastly Joyce noted "sun-yet-son" (Sun Yat-sen). McHugh points out that there are two allusions to Sun Yat-sen in *Finnegans Wake*: "son-yet-sun" (*FW* 90.1; first appeared at "Corrections for Galley 50": 47476b-344v; *JJA* 50:124) and "shone yet shim-mers" (*FW* 528.21-22; inserted at the stage of Second proof

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6) Cf. Jerry Norman, *Chinese (Cambridge Language Surveys)*, p. 73.

7) Cf. William Edward Soothill, trans. *The Analects of Confucius*, pp. 149-51: [2-4] 子曰。吾十有五而志于學、三十而立、四十而不惑、五十而知天命、六十而耳順、七十而從心所欲、不踰矩。: [2:4] The Master said: "1. At fifteen I set my mind upon wisdom. 2. At thirty I stood firm. 3. At forty I was free from doubts. 4. At fifty I understood the laws of Heaven. 5. At sixty my ear was docile. 6. At seventy I could follow the desires of my heart without transgressing the right."

8) Roland McHugh, "Confucius in Notebook VI.B.45," *A Wake Newslitter* (Vol. XI No. 6, December 1979), p. 83.

9) Cf. Roland McHugh, *Annotations to "Finnegans Wake,"* pp. 35, 36, 50, 51, 52, 55, 57, 105, 108, 109, 110, 131, 242 and 333.

for *transition* 15; *JJA* 59:34; 47484b-328).

In Book IV of *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce developed what is called "the "Saint Patrick and the Druid" sketch, which was written immediately after the "Saint Kevin" sketch (*FW* 604.27-607.22) and sent to Weaver on 2 August, 1923, by transforming St. Patrick into a Japanese figure and the Druid into a Chinese figure to discuss colors and colonialism in Phoenix Park, Dublin (*FW* 607.23-614.18) in summer 1938.[10] Joyce expressed his concern about a war between the United States and Japan in a letter in 1935, and he also wanted to describe the conflict between China and Japan in his final novel.[11]

V. Conclusion: Chinese Characters Enriched Joyce's Wordplay

The relationship between the Chinese and Japanese languages is similar to that between Druidism and Christianity in Ireland. As the Chinese language enhanced the Japanese language and culture, Druidism fertilized Christianity in Ireland as symbolized by the High Crosses all over the country. That's possibly why Joyce embodied the extended dialogue between the Chinese Archdruid and the Japanese St. Patrick in Phoenix Park in the last part of *Finnegans Wake* (*FW* 611-13).

In all these ways, Joyce suddenly incorporated elements of Chinese in the final stages of writing *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*. In relation to the texts as a whole, these Chinese elements are very brief, but striking. Learning about Chinese culture and the language enlightened and guided Joyce into making

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10) See Dirk Van Hulle, "The Lost Word Book IV," pp. 436-47.

11) See also Joyce's letter to Constantine P. Curran dated 18 September 1935 (*L* I 384). Jacques Mercanton was asked by Joyce, "Isn't it contradictory to make two men speak Chinese and Japanese in a pub in Phoenix Park, Dublin?" (213).

his literary texts more modern and innovative. Influenced by Ezra Pound, Chinese elements enriched Joyce's texts and augmented their cosmopolitan appeal.

In a sense, Joyce achieved what St. Francis Xavier intended to do in East Asia: to "win still more" languages for his works, especially for his last work *Finnegans Wake*. We East Asians should admit that Joyce's "conscience [or *linguistic consciousness*] is fine as Chinese silk" as he claimed.

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Abstract

"My Conscience is Fine as Chinese Silk": Genetic Joyceastasian Studies

Eishiro Ito

This paper focuses on the relationship between Joyce and the Chinese elements of his works. How and to what extent did James Joyce know East Asia? When he wrote a list of forty languages used for *Finnegans Wake*, Chinese is listed 6th from the top, Japanese 7th (1938: *JJA* 63:343). Chinese and Japanese languages are doubtlessly among the minor language groups for him. Alphabetical characters represent phonemes while Chinese characters can be considered as thought-pictures describing concepts. Learning Chinese and Japanese elements would have given Joyce some opportunities to reevaluate various kinds of scripts, which encouraged him to infuse some visual effects as thought-images into *Finnegans Wake*.

Joyce's interest in East Asia initially arose from the Jesuit missionary activities that he learned at Jesuit schools. He read "The Chinese Written Character as a Medium for Poetry" serialized in *The Little Review* between September and December, 1919. It was written by Ernest Fenollosa and Ezra Pound. His "Orientalism" was gradually developed with his daughter Lucia who had been interested in Chinese and Japanese art since the mid-1920s. As *The James Joyce Archive* and other manuscripts reveal, many words and phrases related to China were inserted into *Ulysses* after *The Little Review* serialization. Joyce made similar late insertions in *Finnegans Wake*. Joyce also wrote a memo under the subject heading "Chinese" while finalizing *Finnegans Wake* in 1938 (*JJA* 40:152-53; VI.B.46-47-48). Inserting Chinese elements at

the finishing stage, Joyce successfully made his alphabetic texts more revolutionary.

■ Key words : "Gas from a Burner," *Ulysses*, *Finnegans Wake*, Jesuit mission, China, Chinese characters, Japan
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