

The Fragmentary Chinese History in *Finnegans Wake*

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In a letter to Ms. Weaver, James Joyce said that he intended to write a “universal history” (Hutchins 140) in *Finnegans Wake* (1939), but he had not explained what kind of universal history it would be. By analyzing some Chinese images in *Finnegans Wake*, Finn Fordham pointed out in his paper titled “‘Until Hanandhunigan’s Extermination’: Joyce, China and Racialised World Histories” that “Joyce engages critically with and against the structures of world history, revealing the weakness of the genre, not through a dissolution of characters and narrative types, but through their proliferation” (174). He declares that Joyce has drawn on the association of China with weakness and humiliation popular in other world history, not to justify “the duality of East and West” (186) but to subvert it.

The strategy of subversion with parody is indeed an important aspect of *Finnegans Wake*. However, an examination of all Chinese writings in the book

will reveal that Joyce's construction of the 'universal history' is much more complicated. *Finnegans Wake* is not only a history of subversion, but also a history of construction. This paper will take most Chinese images in *Finnegans Wake* to illustrate Joyce's enlightening historical narrative strategy. It will demonstrate that Joyce mixes the fragments of China with fragments of other cultures to subvert the Orientalistic "structures of attitude and reference" (Said, *Culture* 52), and to build a Chinese history both fragmentary and comprehensive, antithetical and unified, heterogeneous and stereotypical.

I. China in Musical Drama

Finn Fordham points out that in the early 20th century, the image of China in many Western literature became more and more negative and finally turned into "yellow peril": "'Yellow Peril' narratives proliferated, demonizing the Chinese as a sub-human horde of dangerous pests, sometimes under the ideologically freighted moniker Celestia (a reference to China as the celestial empire; Chinese immigrants were sometimes called Celestials by mocking Whites)" (Roberts 269). In Vincent Joyce's *The Celestial Hand: A Sensational Story* (1903), the Chinese invade Australia and then Europe before being wiped out by white protagonists. Those protagonists decide to resist because "Better to die on a civilised gallows than remain penned up by a lot of filthy Chinese, and ultimately be killed, any way" (234). Thirty years later, A. L. Pullar's *Celestalia: A Fantasy AD 1975* (1933), a novel declaring to be a world history, describes a chain reaction initiated by groups of Chinese immigrating into Australia and turning it into "Celestalia." The white government of Australia is forced into exile in Tasmania.

In addition to novels, descriptions of China and Chinese elements are

popular in theatre at that time, too. The musical comedy “Chu Chin Chow” ran for 2,238 performances in Britain from 1916 to 1921 and was made into a film in 1923. It is in fact adapted from the Arabic story “Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves.” The only Chinese, Chu Chin Chow, never stepped onto the stag, because he was killed by robbers on his way to a party for Ali Baba’s brother. The Arab story is given a Chinese name only because the robbers wear Chinese clothes to attend the banquet, disguising as Chu Chin Chow, which apparently caters for the Chinese fever of that time. Joyce was reported to walk on Dame street in Dublin when a Scotch soldier wearing a Chinese robe walked in front of him, going to the theatre (Ellmann 548). At that time, musicals, operas and dramas are the main channels to spread knowledge as movies are today. The proliferation of Chinese elements in English plays in the late 19th and early 20th centuries must have some influence on Joyce, because going to the theatre was Joyce’s favorite pastime.

Ezra Pound’s Chinese poetry is also mentioned in *Finnegans Wake* in “A maundarin tongue in a pounderin jowl” (89:24-25). Pound’s interest in China should have some influence on Joyce’s attention to Chinese culture, because Pound is almost Joyce’s art patron and mentions Chinese things frequently in his letters to Joyce.

In *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce mentions three ‘Chinese’ plays. The first is *San Toy: The Emperor’s Own* in “Thus contenters with santoyoys play” (58:32-33). This musical comedy was performed in London in 1899. The context of this sentence describes HCE’s being accused of having an affair with the “the first woman” (58:29). Therefore, San Toy, the female protagonist in *San Toy* might be one avatar of this “first woman.” In this comedy, San Toy is an Chinese noble girl who falls in love with Bobby Preston, the English consul’s son. Because of some unexpected happenings, she wins the favor of the Chinese emperor. Fortunately, the emperor and San Toy were found to be

astrologically ill-suited. San Toy is able to marry Bobby in the end. Her noble father, though eventually marries a female Chinese guard, flirts with the English maid at the British consulate throughout. It can not deny that there is some racial discrimination in *San Toy*, such as the superiority of Westerners over Chinese. However, the marriage between the Chinese and the British shows that in the eyes of ordinary British people, China is not the “yellow peril” to be avoided, but an exotic space where romantic dreams could come true.

Sidney Jones, the director and composer of *San Toy*, made another musical play featured in *Finnegans Wake* too. It is *The Geisha: A Story of a Tea House*. Jones’s real interest, of course, is not in China but in Asian subjects. For example, his *A Greek Slave*, a play about a Persian girl’s love affair with her Greek Slave, was launched between *The Geisha* and *San Toy*, having nothing to do with China. It runs for 349 performances, while *San Toy* runs for 768 and *The Geisha* 760. The latter two were two of the most popular plays in London at the time and were also hugely popular in the United States, running for more than 200 performances on Broadway. In fact, the Chinese roles in the two plays were played by amateur Europeans. But this had not affected the enthusiasm of the audience. Obviously, the British and American audiences were full of curiosity about Asia at that time.

It is not *The Geisha* itself, but a song titled “Chin Chin Chinaman” appears in *Finnegans Wake* as a leitmotif. The ‘chinchin’ appears frequently in the book, as in “chinchinjoss” (611:5), or variants “Tsin Tsin Tsin” (57:3), “Thin Thin! Thin Thin!” (236:13) etc. In a letter to Ms. Weaver dated March 2, 1927, Joyce described how a Chinese student had shown him the Chinese character for mountain and told him to pronounce “chin,” which Joyce thought was the normal way of saying “Fin” (Gilbert 250). But in *Joyce’s Grand Operoar: Opera in Finnegans Wake*, it is suggested to be adopted from the

song in *The Geisha*. One variant of “chin,” “Chinchin Childaman!” (304: note 2) supports this suggestion, which clearly connects with ‘Chin Chin Chinaman,’ a solo sung by Wun-Hi, the Chinese host of the tea house in *The Geisha*. Wun-Hi laments in this solo that “Chinaman no money makee all life long!” (Jones 149) and that the trade is hard. He was kicked and beaten severely, and humiliated even when he found a good place to sell tea.

The Geisha tells the love story between an officer in the British Royal Navy with his fiancée. This British officer frequents the tea house owned by Wun-Hi. In this play, Wun-Hi is only a comic supporting role, and his solo “Chin Chin Chinaman” plays a small part. Joyce chose this insignificant solo from so many famous songs perhaps because that song discloses the hardship of Chinese businessmen abroad.

Most of the musicals about China of the 19th and 20th centuries in Europe and the United States are written and staged by Westerners, except for *Lady Precious Stream*, an English play adapted and directed by Hsiung Shih-I from a Chinese opera *Wang Baochuan*. It runs for more than 900 performances from 1934 to 1937 in London before moving to Broadway, where it is also a hit in the United States. But Joyce’s reference to this genuine Chinese play with a Chinese director, Chinese subject, Chinese scenery and Chinese performances is indirect, only in “Lord, me lad, he goes with blowbierd, leedy, plasheous stream” (332:22-23). The “plasheous stream” here refers to the Liffey river. Of course it could also be decoded as *Lady Precious Stream*, but it is still debatable whether it is the Chinese play itself that attracts Joyce or it is the English title of “*Lady Precious Stream*” that reminds Joyce Liffey river.

These three plays selected by Joyce differ from many negative narratives of China in the contemporaneous novels. Of course those plays could not avoid what Edward Said called “latent Orientalism” (Said, *Orientalism* 206),

but the willingness to coexist with and even marry the Chinese makes them different from the antagonistic attitude in *The Celestial Hand: A Sensational Story*, for example. In fact, there are lots of Westerners did not look China as “yellow peril” at that time. For example, in the British newspaper reviews, someone praised the simplicity of Chinese décor that “is perhaps more effective for its purposes than some tons of built-up woodwork and clothes were they used in changing from scene to scene” (Thorpe 106) and “The Chinese, it appears, have long known better” (Thorpe 107). The popularity of *Lady Precious Stream* speaks to the openness of a large number of Western audiences to China. Interestingly, most China-related works Joyce put into *Finnegans Wake* are of this kind, which demonstrates that Joyce is less interested in fighting against the European racism than demonstrating the European’s interest in China.

However, it is also a misreading of Joyce to say that Joyce deliberately avoids the demonization of China when choosing these works. To Joyce, what really matters is “Life we must accept as we see it before our eyes, men and women as we meet them in the real world, not as we apprehend them in the world of faery” (CW 45). Since his universal history would present the Western narrative of China as it is, both curiosity about and distortion of China would be equally included. For example, Joyce also mentioned “Whangpoos the paddle” (297: note 5) in *Finnegans Wake*. Whangpoos is a Chinese miller in Oliver Goldsmith’s *The Citizen of the World*. He is stingy and greedy, dreaming to excavate the underground gold, but finally destroyed the mill. Goldsmith employs positive Chinese protagonist Lien Chi to criticize British society in *The Citizen of the World*, and Whangpoos the paddle is a stereotypical Chinese in Orientalistic discourse, penny-pinching and superstitious. However, Whangpoos the paddle is only an allegorical character in a Chinese textbook for moral admonition in *The Citizen of the World*. Joyce

has *The Works of Oliver Goldsmith*, which contains the full text *The Citizen of the World*. Choosing Whangpoos the paddle instead of Lien Chi, Joyce clearly does not care to defend the Chinese. However, Whangpoos the paddle is a negative but harmless character similar to Wun-hi in *The Geisha*, quite different from Fu Manchu, a scheming Chinese villain popular in Western works of that time. Obviously, Joyce did not care to villainize the Chinese people either.

II. The Appropriation and Hybridization of Chinese Fragments

Joyce does not know much about China, and he seems not eager to do so. He has no close Chinese friends. He once admitted that he knew no more Chinese than “the man in the moon” (Ellmann 510). The different pronunciation between “Fin” and “chin” could be easily clarified if he had more chances to check it with more Chinese people. Joyce’s knowledge of China was often dubious, because he once told his student Emma that General Li had been hanged from a tree (Ellmann 341) while in fact General Li killed himself with a sword.

There were no Chinese works in Joyce’s library in Trieste, not even an English translation, which shows that what Joyce is interested is not Chinese culture itself, but China as a different existence. Most of his knowledge of China should come from bits and pieces of popular works. This makes the Chinese people and culture in *Finnegans Wake* superficial, full of clichés like tea, bear’s paw, chowchow, Chinese chamber-pot and so on: “We had chaw chaw chops, chairs, chewing gum, the chickenpox and china chambers” (45:33), “The country asked for bearspaw for dindin!” (110:2-3), “Keemun Lapsang of first pickings” (534:11). The Keemun & Lapsang Souchong in the

last sentence are two famous brands of Chinese tea, while bear's paw and chowchow are two kinds of Chinese food. Sexy Chinese women are also mentioned: "What a sellpriceget the two Peris of Monacheena!" (616:11-12) "Lotsy trotsy, mind the poddle!" (208:30-31) "laotsey taotsey, woman who did" (242:25-26). "Two peris of Manchu" or Taoist nuns who believe in "Lao-tse" indicate that those attractive Chinese women are related with characteristic Chinese culture too. As for "poke stiff under my isonbound with my soiedisante chineeknees cheeckchubby chambermate for the night's foreign males" (461:23-25) clearly indicates the sexual imagination in these Chinese female images.

The monosyllabic Chinese words usually parodied and derided in Orientalistic discourse are also mentioned in *Finnegans Wake*: "Gee each owe tea eye smells fish. That's U" (299: note 3); "Pure chingchong idiotism with any way words all in one soluble" (299: note 3). These two sentences are the footnotes Issy made to the sentence "We like Simperspreach Hammeltones to fellow Selvertunes O'Haggans" (299:22-23) in the main text. Hamilton and O'Hagan were Irish politicians of the 18th and 19th centuries respectively. The former made only one good speech and never made another again, while the latter was famous for his eloquence. The description of Hamilton in the following sentence suggests that he has another identity as a Chinese: "When he rolls over his ars and shows the hise of his heels. Vely lovely entilely! Like a yangsheepsLang with the tsifengtse" (299:23-26). The monosyllabic Chinese "Tsi-feng-tse" and "Yang-sheeps-lang" used here, as well as Issy's Chinese footnote, suggest that Hamilton had a Chinese incarnation. What is particularly noteworthy here is that Joyce applies these descriptions prejudicing against the Chinese people to his own Irish people. He interweaves Irish and Chinese identities together here, not segregating them as Easterners and Westerners. When he says "Now I, the Lord of Tuttu, am placing that inital T square of

burial jade upright to your temple a moment. Do you see anything, templar?" (486:14-16), he is giving the stone on the holy temple guarded by the Knights Templars a Chinese identity, since the Chinese character for "stone" is a T and a square.

However, due to the lack of in-depth understanding of China and Chinese culture, Joyce has to use the racist Chinese images popular at that time. This does not mean that Joyce accepts Orientalism. Instead, Joyce has different races and cultures coexist in *Finnegans Wake*. For example, in "its ching chang chap sugay kaow laow milkee muchee bringing beckerbrose, the brew with the foochoor in it" (608:19-21), the "ching chong" can be decoded as "Chin Chon," an offensive term for the Chinese as in "O, the chinless Chinaman! Chin Chon Eg Lin Ton" (*U* 9.1125) in *Ulysses*; "chap sugay" is a kind of Chinese cuisine called "chop suey"; "foochoor" is Fuzhou, a Chinese tea port; "kaow laow" could be "café au lait," but could be the Chinese ritual of "kowitz" too. Thus this breakfast is a mixture of Chinese food and culture with Western bread and milk, demonstrating Joyce's expectation of the coalesce of human cultures. This kind of cultural coalesce is applied most prominently in the identity of the protagonists. HCE is not only Humphrey Chimpden Earwicker in Dublin in the 20th century, but also Adam in Christianity, Odin in Norse mythology, Osiris in Egypt, Finn MacCool in Ireland, Shiva in India, Śākyamuni in Buddhism, and, of course, Confucius in China. HCE is "Here Comes Everybody" (*FW* 32:18-19). He is not "the one," but the coalesce of all, symbolizing the integration of all cultures.

In many places in *Finnegans Wake*, China and Ireland mingle together, like mirror images of each other. Cordell D. K. Yee points out that Japanese cultural debt to China is similar to the English cultural debt to Ireland. Both China and Ireland were under the control of their debtors respectively in Joyce's time. This might be a reason why Joyce regards Ireland and China as

historical parallels and put many “transformations of Ireland into China” (Yee 118). For example in *Finnegans Wake*, “When your contraman from Tuwarceathay is looking for righting that is not a good sign?” (490:28-29). “Tuwarceathay” can be decoded as “Tara” and “Cathay.” Tara, as the capital of the Celtic kingdom in Ireland, symbolizes the root of Irish culture. Cathay is the ancient name of China. Their combination indicates somewhat the identification of China with Ireland. In “We who live under heaven, we of the clovery kingdom, we middlesins people have often watched the sky overreaching the land” (110:4-6), clover represents Ireland, while “live under heaven” and “middle Kindom” both refer to China. In short, China and Ireland are inextricably integrated.

Of course, even regarding China as Ireland in the East, Joyce did not shy away from using the racist fragments popular in the Western discourse, because they are his main sources of knowledge about China as well as the discourses on China available then. The “theory of fragments” (Said, *Orientalism* 128) criticized by Edward Said as a kind of Orientalistic strategy is unavoidable for most people. But Said’s “theory of fragments” refers to replacing comprehensive and in-depth understanding of other cultures with partial fragments of knowledge, to get the control of the other culture. Unlike the Orientalists, Joyce uses the already existed fragments to strip off their cultural discrimination. The mixing of those fragments of different cultures including his own is fundamentally different from the “theory of fragments.” By combining and mixing different cultural fragments into one, he removes the distinction of otherness and transcends the clichés of Western discourse on which he has to rely.

Irish identity and Chinese identity are often intertwined in HCE. For example, in “The same or similar to be kindly observed within the affianced dietcess of Gay O’Toole and Gloamy Gwenn du Lake (Danish spoken!) from

Manducare Monday up till farrier's siesta in china dominos" (433:4-7), Lawrence O'Toole is the patron saint of Dublin and Gleann da Loch an area of monastery in County Wicklow, but people here wear Chinese masks, or having Chinese faces. This explains why HCE is a "Chinx" (104:13) with "a maundarin tongue" (89:24-5), while his wife is a "Chinkaminx" (261:1) "with incompatibly the smallest shoenummer outside Chinatins" (533:5-6).

HCE is not only a person, but also a geographical space. His sigla is the Chinese character for mountain downwards, hence the saying "When a man that means a mountain" (309:4-5). The Chinese mountain equivalent of HCE in *Finnegans Wake* is Mount Tai, in Shangdong Province, as he "has the most conical hodpiece of confusianist heronim and that chuchuffuous chinchin of his is like a footsey kungoloo] around Taishantylnd" (131:33-35). Mount Tai, regarded as the holy mountain in ancient China, mentioned here together with Confucius, who is another avatar of HCE and lived near Mount Tai. Ireland's geographical space also coexists with that of China, such as "Elin's flee polt pelhaps but Hwang Chang evelytme" (130:34-35). Here Erin's free port overlaps with China's imperial city, since "Hwang Chang" is both Huang Cheng, imperial city, and Huang Shang, the Chinese emperor.

Joyce constructed a geographical space of China with scattered Chinese fragments in *Finnegans Wake*. In the north, there is the ancient land Qinzong (Chingchong 299: note 3) located in the central plain, and Beijing (spekin 533:6, peachskin 240:30, Pinkington 184:23) as the "imperial city" (Hwen Ching Hwan Chang 322:6) of several dynasties. In the middle are Nanjing (Nankeen 321:34), the then capital of the Chinese Republic, and Shanghai (Shanghaied 485:24), the colonial city. In the south are Fujian (Fukien 468:3), famous for its migrants abroad, and Hong Kong (siangchang hongkong 119:24-25, hung cong 306:6-7), the British colony. The context of the last example is that the two sons talking about their rich father. Chinatowns in

other countries also appear in the book, such as “Sunnybank” (264:23) in the heart of Brisbane, Australia, and “Lungachers” (579:33), the Long Acre street near the Chinatown in London .

The heroine ALP also has Chinese geographic incarnations. The most important one is Yellow River: “allaniuvia pulchrabelled. . . . Ho hang! Hang ho!” (627:27-31) “till stridulocelerious in a hunghoranghoangoly tsinglontseng” (611:29-30), “Hoangho, my sorrow, I’ve lost it!” (213:6). Chinese Yellow River merges with Irish Liffey river in ALP, just as Mount Tai merges with Howth Castle in HCE. Yellow River is not only the birthplace of Chinese culture, but also the cause of many flood in Chinese history. This feature is also mentioned in “Opportunity fair with the China floods” (28:23-24). The reason for emphasizing flooding feature is that the human history in *Finnegans Wake* is the history after the deluge, beginning from Noah’s family (Dai 475-83). The connection of Yellow River with the flood makes Chinese history synchronized with Joyce’s universal human history.

As the human figure of rivers Anna Livia Plurabelle is punned with rivers all over the world in Chapter 8, including numerous Chinese rivers: Chu river (choo 198:11), Ganges (hen 199:30), Fen river (femtyfyx 200:5), Nen river (nen 203:14), Bai river (Peihos 205:32), Chi water (Chichiu 209:23), Wusuli river (O, Susuria 209:35), Yangtse river (Yangsee 213:36), Huangpu river (Whangpoos 297: note 5) and Chinese Heilong river under the Russian name Amur (Amoor 211:26).

The flow of rivers symbolizes the flow of time. “She is the circular river of time, flowing past Eve and Adam in the first sentence of the book, bearing in her flood the debris of dead civilization and the seeds of crops and cultures yet to come” (Campbell 10). Therefore, Liffey river and Yellow river are not only geographical landscapes, they are also “history made visible” (Tuan 99). In this way, by incarnating HCE as Mount Tai and ALP as Yellow river,

Joyce not only constructs a geographical space of China, but also gives it a history.

It is clear that Joyce not only puts China as a part of his universal history, but also goes beyond Orientalist discourse in a constructive way by mixing fragments of the other cultures and his own culture, mixing the fragments of the East and the West together, to destroy the latent Orientalism in an active way.

III. Dialectical and Unified Framework of Chinese History

Joyce transcends the duality of self and the other, while does not avoid the duality either, just as the male housewives have transcended the male and female opposite, while there are temptations of both sexes everywhere in *Finnegans Wake*. Joyce's own description of the pattern of *Finnegans Wake* is "kaleidoscope" (collideorscape, *FW* 143:28). A kaleidoscope consists of random fragments that interweave and superimpose into symmetrical patterns. These patterns vary at random, but based on unchanging rules. This changing fixedness of the kaleidoscope is also a feature of the universal history in *Finnegans Wake*. On the one hand, Joyce uses fragments to present the variable and disordered reality. On the other hand, he uses frames to provide a logical basis for the chaos on the surface.

In *Ulysses* this framework is Homer's *Odyssey*, and in *Finnegans Wake* is generally believed to be the historical cycle defined by Giambattista Vico. However there is another person who plays a role as important as Vico in *Finnegans Wake*, that is, the Italian philosopher Giordano Bruno, whose name appears in *Finnegans Wake* frequently. Bruno's *coincidentia oppositorum* directly influences the historical view of *Finnegans Wake* (Baricz 235-36). As

to Chinese history in the book, the overall historical pattern is Vico's historical cycle, the "Cathay cycles" (*FW* 119:23), but the micro-pattern of each historical stage is Bruno's "coincidencia oppositorum," dialectical unity. There are three historical stages of China in *Finnegans Wake*: ancient time (the divine), pre-modern time (the heroic) and modern time (the human), with a dialectical unity of ethnic tensions in each stage.

In book 2 chapter 3, Kersse, the Dublin tailor, steps into the pub as a Chinese emperor: "Reenter Ashe Junior. Peiwei toptip, nankeen pontdelounges" (321:34). Kersse is dressed in a cloth made in Nanjing, China and is asked to remove his white hat. The narrator explains in parentheses that Kersse is mocking a custom in China by wearing a white hat. In this explanation there are words of "Hwen Ching hwan Chang" (322:6). It can be decoded as the Chinese words "huan chang" (transforming the scene), indicating that the Chinese history begins. It can also be decoded as "huang shang" (emperor), or "huang cheng" (imperial city). It might also be "Wenchang," referring to King Wen of Zhou dynasty, because King Wen's name is Chang. The last three puns all point to ancient Chinese social hierarchy, suggesting that Kersse is also a Chinese emperor. The description of Kersse's garment color confirms this speculation: "hou he pouly hung hoang tseu, his own fittter couldn't nose him" (322:12-13). "[H]ung hoang tseu" (hong, huang, tse), means red, yellow and purple, the color of royal family in ancient China. Since Kersse is turned into a Chinese emperor, the drinkers in the pub are also turned into a group of "Lao Yiu shao" (322:4), Chinese words for "old and young." Obviously the Dublin scene and the Chinese scene at this time are interwoven.

Following Kersse's story, Han people and Hun people, a set of dualistic ethnic groups in ancient China comes onto stage, "For hanigen with hunigen still haunt ahunt to finnd their hinnigen" (332:4-5), displaying the framework

of duality in Chinese history: “Hanandhunigan” (6:20), “Kinihoun or Kahanan” (108:17). In fact in *Finnegans Wake*, such kind of dualistic groups like Shem and Shaun, Napoleon and Wellington, the Mookse and the Gripes, the Ondt and the Gracehoper, time and space, mountain and river, are everywhere, “by the coincidence of their contraries reamalgamerge in that indentity of undiscernibles” (49:36-50:1). The universal history in *Finnegans Wake*, including Chinese history, is composed of dualistic relations, of struggle and integration at the same.

Since both parties are not only antagonistic, but also “amalgamerge” (49:36), the Huns are not just the opposite of the Han. HCE is both a Han and a Hun. For example, when “He stanth theirs mun in his natural” (251:4), comes the shout “Hun! Hun!” (251:3) The descendants of HCE are also Huns, “his suns the huns, his darters the tartars” (135:23-24).

The dualistic group of modern China is China and Europe. The opium War as the cause of Western colonization in China appears in the story of the Mookse and the Gripes, where the Mookse directly comes from “whereopum” (153:26). Though an European, Joyce sympathizes with the invaded and colonized China yet, asking “who’ll uprose the Opian Way?” (448:17-18) This opposition was represented by the opposition between the Boxers and the European missionaries. “Through the Boxer Coxer Rising in the House with the Golden Stairs” (105:5-6). The “Boxer” and “Rising” indicates the Boxer Rising Movement in China in the late 19th century. Following the Boxer Rising sentence in page 105 is “Chee Chee Cheels on their China Miction” (106:19), showing that Joyce is clearly aware of the conflict between the Boxers and European missionaries. As said earlier, one incarnation of Shem is Hong Kong, the colonial city in China. Thus Shaun, the antithesis of Shem, understandably wants “to be a coach on the Fukien mission” (468:3), a Western missionary. Shem is an author (penman) and Shaun his messenger

(postman). It is Shem who teaches Shaun when doing homework. However, Shem is replaced in the competition for girls by Shaun. Shaun's European missionary avatar makes it clear that Shaun is an intruder.

This also explains why HCE has a nickname of "Promptboxer" (49:30), and why HCE is Sun Yat-sen too, in "But, why this hankowchaff and whence this second tone, son-yet-sun? He had the cowtaw in his buxers flay of face" (89:36-90:2). Sun Yat-sen was a leader of the Chinese folk group Xing Zhong Hui before he became the first president of the Republic of China. This also explains why Shem, the son who most resembles his father HCE, cried out for joy when he heard "Shing-Yung-Thing in Shina from Yoruyume across the Timor Sea" (231:9-10).

Chinese folk societies such as the Boxers also interweave with Irish folk societies. For example in "I don't care a tongser's tammany hang who the mucky is" (442:2), "tongser," another folk society in pre-modern China, mingles with Tammany Hall, an Irish society in the United States.

The dualistic group in contemporary Chinese history is undoubtedly China and Japan. In "he scents the anggreget yup behound their whole scoopchina's desperate noy's totalage" (343:15), "Jap" (yup) is juxtaposed with "China" (scoopchina). Because of the generalization of *Finnegans Wake*, it is difficult to decide which news is scooped here. It could be the invasion of Japan to China in 1931, or in 1935, or in 1937. No matter which invasion, what Joyce really cares is the logic behind the war, since he mixes the dualism of China and Japan with the dualism of Napoleon and Wellington in "Nippoluono engaging Wei-Ling-Taou" (81:33-34). Nippoluono could be both Napoleon and Nippon which is a Japanese word meaning Japan. Wei Ling-Taou could be both Wellington and Wei-Ling-Tsou which is a Chinese Taoist incantation. By juxtaposing the Sino-Japanese War with the battle of Waterloo which affects the course of European history, Joyce indicates that the Sino-Japanese War

would also affect the course of Asian history. Interestingly, Joyce seems to have foreseen that China would beat Japan in “china’s dragon snapping japets” (583:18), “you know what happens when chine throws over jupan” (435:26-27). At that time, Japanese armies were tyrannizing in China. Wang Jing-wei was serving Japan with his puppet government, believing that it was impossible for China to win. It is amazing that Joyce has got this foresight in such a situation.

This dialectic interpretation of history, though seemingly crude, is based on a belief that there are fundamental patterns framing human behavior, and that everything in the universe follows basic rules. Umberto Eco argues that *Finnegans Wake* is “a representation of the chaos and the multiplicity within which the author seeks the most congenial models of order” (63). Ellmann declares that “Joyce lived between the antipodes and above them” (5). Joyce combines “the internal coherence” (Eco 86) and the disorderly fragments into one work. It gives the universal history in *Finnegans Wake* a more complicated narrative than most Western history books.

IV. Popular Text and Deep Reading

Though Joyce transcends the Orientalistic structure of attitude and reference with the integration of fragments and with a multiple-dimension narrative, it is undeniable that the racist attitude latent in those fragments cannot be completely eliminated. As to this problem, Joyce’s narration of Confucius in *Finnegans Wake* gives an enlightening example of dealing with those stereotypes.

HCE is the archetype of cultural founder. Therefore, his Chinese avatar is undoubtedly Confucius. This correspondence has been well studied already.

Not only Confucianism is directly mentioned in *Finnegans Wake*, such as “Hell’s Confucium and the Elements!” (485:35), but also other related materials, such as his grandson Tze Si in “Tse Tse” (423:4) and “crime ministers” in “That why e crazyaztecs and the crime ministers preaching him mornings” (242:10-12), since Confucius once served as the Chief Justice of State Lu.

But at the same time, HCE was also “of his greatest Fung Yang dynasdescendanced” (109:5-6), a descendant of Zhu Yuanzhang, the Grand Progenitor of Ming dynasty. “Fengyang” instead of “Ming dynasty” is mentioned, obviously emphasizing Zhu Yuanzhang’s background as a pauper in Fengyang. In this way, the pauper identity is added to HCE, the sacred Confucius. Besides, HCE is a member of a Chinese folk society called the Hong in “Hing the Hong is his jove’s hangnomen!” (206:3-4), which gives this Confucius figure a somewhat gangster mask. By mixing fragments of different social status, Joyce made HCE/Confucius both noble and common, breaking the either/or narrative in Orientalism.

In addition to this narrative strategy, Joyce is actually looking for better literatures about China too. According to Roland McHugh, Carl Crow’s *Master Kung: The Story of Confucius* offers Joyce the possibility to have a deep understanding of China (83-88). This book was published in 1937 while *Finnegans Wake* was in 1939. Thus most of the bits taken from *Master Kung* were added around 1938 when revisions were made. Putting new materials to a finished book, this effort proves Joyce’s intention to break the confinement of stereotypes of China in the Orientalistic narratives.

There are three stories taken directly from *Master Kung*, exactly where the details in Chinese history instead of the clichés are recorded in *Finnegans Wake*. Some other sentences are also thought to be taken from *Master Kung*, such as “engaged in performing the elaborative antecistral ceremony of

upstheres” (109:18-19) from the description of Confucius’s fuss over etiquette.¹⁾ The three direct historical stories all appear in Chapter 3, where the “crime” of HCE are variously speculated. The first one is the story of Ji Pingzi and Hou Zhaobo’s chicken fighting in 517 BC: “but at this poingt though the iron thrust of his cockspurt start might have prepared us we are wellnigh stinkpotthered by the mustardpunge in the tailend” (50:2-4). To win the fighting, Ji Pingzi put mustard on the wings of his cocks and Hou Zhaobo attached iron paws on his cocks. The second one, “And wolfbone balefires blaze the trailmost if only that Mary Nothing may burst her bibby buckshee” (52:19-21) records king You of Zhou lighted the bonfires to please a concubine by summoning his armies again and again. The third sentence “Tsin tsin tsin! The forefarther folkers for a prize of two peaches with Ming, Ching and Shunny on the lie low lea” (57:3-5) describes the background of HCE. Here “two peaches” refers to the story of Yan Zi, minister of Qi state in the Spring and Autumn Period, who kills three warriors with two peaches. It should be noted that HCE’s crimes are only vaguely implied in Chapter 3, and his son, Shem, is only hinted as “low.” This method of vagueness is consistent with the “cultural generalization” (Said, *Orientalism* 149) of the Orientalistic philology which is criticized by Edward Said. Joyce’s employing Chinese story in *Master Keng* to give HCE’s crimes a detailed implication – it could be deceit, lust or greed – indicates Joyce’s dissatisfaction with generalization.

Carl Crow was a journalist and businessman. He came to Shanghai in 1911 and did not return to the United States until the battle of Shanghai in

1) Some believe that this sentence “The river felt she wanted salt. That was just where Brien came in” (110:1-2) is also from *Master Kung*. Carl Crow said in his book that in China, the sea was a symbol of forgetting, and that the Chinese were amazed that the sea could provide salt while the river could not. Others thought that Joyce learned about Chinese eating bear paws from this book.

1937 but came back to China again in 1939. He published the famous Chinese sexy beauties in posters and calendars, co-founded and co-edited the famous newspaper *Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury*. He is not only fond of China, but also deeply involved in the political and cultural turmoil in China, such as participating in the Beijing negotiations that led to the end of the Qing Empire. In the 1930s and 1940s, Carl Crow published 13 books about China, one of which, *400 Million Customers*, won the American National Book Reward and attracted many Westerners to do business in China. His long experience in China has helped Joyce to deepen his understanding of China.

What can be argued is that James Legge had translated many Confucian classics, including the *Analects*, into English before 1872 already. If Joyce really wishes to learn Chinese culture, he should read them. Though *Master Kung* is based on Legge's *The Chinese Classics* and Sima Qian's "The History of Confucius" as Carl Crow says in the preface, to have some knowledge on Confucius via Carl Crow shows that Joyce is not really interested in learning from China. What he cares is to construct his universal history in *Finnegans Wake* including Chinese history. What attracts Carl Crow to Joyce is Crow's way of telling Confucius. Joyce did not care to tell what had happened in the history once again. What he cares is to change the way readers look at the world and history.

Unlike the sanctified Confucius in Chinese works, Carl Crow presents a depressed man who feels at the end of his life that he has failed. Carl Crow respects Confucius, hoping that "in presenting him as a man I have not failed to depict the true greatness of his character, a greatness which has in every way justified the adulation in which his countrymen have held him throughout the centuries" (16). He portrays Confucius as an ordinary man because he believes that "Master Kung the man and the deified Confucius are different entities who must be looked upon from different points of view" (15). Crow's

perspective on history in coincide with Joyce's. Richard Ellmann points out that one of Joyce's great contributions was that Joyce shows us "a new notion of greatness" (7) and interweaves greatness and meanness together. The universal history presented by Joyce in *Finnegans Wake* is a history in which everything coexists, great and mean, saint and common. In other words, the universal history in *Finnegans Wake* is a daily history that has eliminated the hierarchical structure that is the fundamental structure of Orientalism.

In Joyce's unique historical narration in *Finnegans Wake*, China is no longer only a few stereotypes in European literature. Joyce uses Chinese fragments to build a Chinese spacial and temporal history. More importantly, by appropriating and mixing the Chinese fragments and fragments of other races, Joyce breaks the "structures of attitude and reference" latent in these fragments. With seemingly disjointed fragments and the dialectic framework, he makes a Chinese history both logical and fragmentary, noble and vulgar, universal and trivial, contradictory and unified, complicated and stereotypical, which breaks the latent hierarchical order in the ordinary world history.

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Abstract

The Fragmentary Chinese History in *Finnegans Wake*

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James Joyce put a lot of Chinese images into *Finnegans Wake* in a fragmentary way. By analyzing those Chinese fragments, this paper demonstrates that *Finnegans Wake* presents a world history in which various races and cultures blend and coexist. Although Joyce had to use images with racial discrimination popular in Western texts, he uses them fragmentarily to remove their contexts of racialism and mixes them to prevent discrimination. Joyce frames the Chinese history in *Finnegans Wake* with a Vico's structure of Bruno's dialectical unity. Those seemingly random fragments and this structure of dialectical unity together form a universal history both ordered and random, noble and vulgar, opposite and unified, grand and trivial. His fragmentary history breaks the latent hierarchical order in the ordinary world history, and points out a possibility of the integration of different races.

■ **Key words** : James Joyce, *Finnegans Wake*, Chinese images, Chinese history, world history

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