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"United States of Asia" (VI.B.3.073): A Postcolonial Reception of James Joyce and Japan

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Introduction

When Stephen Dedalus hears Rector Father Conmee praising Saint Francis Xavier's missions in the East, including Japan and China, in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, non-Christian Asian readers might feel menaced by "a great soldier of God" and their hearts, like Stephen's heart, would "wither up like flowers of the desert that feel the simoom coming from afar" (*P* 3.197-230).

It is difficult to understand how James Joyce really felt about Japan. Until his lifetime, the world had suffered from imperialism and colonialism for centuries.[1)] In a letter to his brother Stanislaus on November 6, 1906, Joyce showed his interest in Japan's military power at that time: "Japan, the first naval power in the world, I presume, in point of efficiency, spends three million pounds per annum on her fleet" (*L* II, 188). His comment reflects Japanese victories of the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-95) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5). The entry "Japan" in the *Britannica*, 11th ed. (1911), which Joyce often consulted, expanded to a

119-page-article with ten sections. It begins: "JAPAN, an empire of eastern Asia, and one of the great powers of the world" (15.156).[2)]

Joyce, however, once described a Japanese as "Nipponease dwarf" in the 1907 Italian lecture (*CW* 166).[3)] In fact, the entry "JAPAN" includes the following description: "It is true that the Japanese are shorter in stature than either the Chinese or the Koreans" (*EB* 15.164).[4)]

Many of Joyce's contemporary writers, like Ernest Francisco Fenollosa, W. B. Yeats and Ezra Pound, were very interested in Japanese culture. Joyce liked *Madame Butterfly* very much and repeatedly called Nora "little Butterfly" in a letter to her dated November 1, 1909 (*L* II, 258).[5)] Since the 1990s the opera has been criticized as one example of colonialism/racism, a vision of a passive and tragic Asia in the early twentieth century.[6)] However, Japan was not a colony of any country.

In this essay, I will introduce the general attitude regarding Japan/world affairs in Joyce's time, then argue Joyce's reception of Japan in his works and the Japanese reception of Joyce from a postcolonial perspective.

I. The Rise of the Empire of Japan in *Ulysses*

Japan almost completely isolated itself from the world during the Edo Period from 1639 to 1854. Exceptions were made with Korea, China and the Netherlands only for trading purposes. It was the nation's policy to exclude Christianity and the influence of Western countries because the Tokugawa *Shogunate* government believed that it was the best way not to be invaded by powerful Western countries. The government noticed Christianity could be a great threat to their social hierarchy system based on Neo-Confucianism, and they also desired to enjoy a monopoly of trading with some chartered purveyors.

When the United States of America awakened Japan from the peaceful times with overpowering military strength in 1853, Japan had to be forced to conclude unequal treaties (extraterritoriality and loss of customs autonomy) with the Great

Powers: the Treaty of Amity and Commerce between America and Japan in 1858 was immediately followed by the same treaty with the United Kingdom, France, the Netherlands and Russia in the same year. From then on, Japan's earnest wish was to abrogate the unfair treaty. To do so, Japan had to become one of the Great Powers under the slogan of "Fukoku-Kyohei" (building up a rich country with a strong army). It was not until 1911 that Japan achieved the abrogation of the unfair treaty with the results of the First Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War. Sun Yat-sen (Sun Wen, 1866-1925), father of modern China, admired Japan's achievements in his memorable speech on Pan-Asianism (or Greater Asianism; *Da Yaxiyazhuyi*) in Kobe, Japan on November 28, 1924. Despite Sun's appeal for Pan-Asianism against the Western colonialism, however, some Japanese politicians and the military authorities conceived a horrible and wrong idea. The Japanese army became desperately immersed in founding colonies in East and Southeast Asia and ruling them, frequently with impermissible and inhumane acts to other Asian races, and later Japan vainly justified itself with the hypocritical name of the "Dai-Toa Kyoei-ken" (Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere) between 1940-45.[7] Few people in Japan dared to impugn colonialism in public for fear of the special political police at that time.

The Russo-Japanese War (1904-5) was a conflict between Imperial Russia and the Empire of Japan that arose from their rival colonialist ambitions in Manchuria and Korea. The Japanese government regarded Korea as the lifeline because the peninsula was geopolitically close to Japan. The major battlefields of the war were Port Arthur and the Liaodong Peninsula of the Yellow Sea, the railway line from Port Arthur to Harbin in Manchuria, and the sea area around the Korean Peninsula including the waters off Incheon (Feb. 8-9, 1904), off Ulsan (Aug. 14, 1904) and off Busan (May 27, 1905). At sea, as well as on land, the war was brutal. The total casualties of Russia were 134,817 + KIA/POW and 170,000 MIA, and of Japan 87,983 KIA and 290,000 MIA.[8] Although Russia had an army three times as large as that of Japan, successive defeats had shaken the Russian confidence of invulnerability since the Napoleonic war because Russia had to separate its force

into several areas including the Black Sea and a Russian Revolution occurred in 1905, which threatened the stability of the government.[9] Russia decided to negotiate peace with the offer of mediation by U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt, winner of a Nobel Peace Prize for this effort, who arranged the Treaty of Portsmouth, New Hampshire on September 5, 1905. Russia ceded the southern half of Sakhalin Island to Japan and evacuated its army from Manchuria. It also recognized Korea as being under Japanese influence. This was the first victory for the Asian countries over the West. However, this victory formed a remote cause of later tragedies including the Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910.

What did Irish people think of the Russo-Japanese War in June 1904? Joe Hynes says, "It's the Russians wish to tyrannise" (*U* 12.140). In some quarters, the Russo-Japanese War was regarded as evidence of Russian desire for world dominion (Gifford 320). In fact, both The Freemans Journal and *The Evening Telegraph* took an unusually large space for the events of the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5), in which a victorious Japan forced Russia to abandon its expansionist policy in the Far East, becoming the first Asian power in modern times to defeat a European power. Irish people, still building their nationalism under British control, must have been greatly encouraged by the Japanese military prowess.

The following passage from *Ulysses* is a good example of the general Irish reaction to the war: "Simon Dedalus takes him off to a tee with his eyes screwed up. Do you know what I'm going to tell you? What's that, Mr O'Rourke? Do you know what? The Russians, they'd only be an eight o'clock breakfast for the Japanese" (*U* 4.114-17). As Gifford notes, O'Rourke's prediction of the outcome was not entirely inaccurate: Japanese successes in the opening months of the war would have made O'Rourke's prediction look sound on 16 June 1904 (72). Richard M. Kain observes that the war occupies so small place in the narrative of *Ulysses* that one could not expect a reader to recall that it had been even mentioned (175). Joyce cunningly put several references to the war in *Ulysses*, since both newspapers reported the halfway mark of the previous day as they received the series of information from the correspondents.

A review of Inazo Nitobe's *Bushido: The Soul of Japan* (1899) appeared in *Dana: An Irish Magazine of Independent Thought* (No. 11, Mar. 1905), eleven years before the Easter Rising of April 1916. It begins: "WAR compels attention." D.N.D., the reviewer, considered the reason why a minor Asian country like Japan could beat a major European country like Russia. He regarded "Bushido" as the military code of the Japanese ethics: "It is true courage to live when it is right to live, and to die only when it is right to die" (327). The Irish became interested in Japan and its culture at that time, seeking for the way to be independent from the British Empire.

In "Oxen of the Sun," there is a description of the Japanese fleet's effective high-angle fire against the vulnerable thinly armored decks of the Russian ships at the first sea battle off Incheon on 8-9 February 1904: "Jappies? High angle fire, inyah! Sunk by war specials. Be worse for him, says he, nor any Rooshian" (*U* 14.1560-61). *The Evening Telegraph*, 16 June 1904, reported "a renewal of activity on the part of Russia's naval commanders," though that renewal was to lead to further Russian losses during the summer of 1904 (p.2, col.4).

The war is remembered by Bloom again with some other headlines of *The Evening Telegraph* in "Eumaeus": "Great battle, Tokio" (*U* 16.1240). As Gifford notes, it refers to "THE WAR./BIG BATTLE AT TELISSA./RUSSIAN DEFEAT./Japs Take 300 Prisoners and 14 Guns./Press Association War Special./[datelined] Tokio, Thursday" (*Evening Telegraph*, 16 June 1904, p.2, col. 9).[10] Telissa is on the Liaotung Peninsula (in modern China) just west of North Korea (Gifford 552). The narrator of "Eumaeus" mentions this: "The Germans and the Japs were going to have their little lookin, he affirmed" (*U* 16.1001-2). As Gifford notes there are two interrelated factors: "Japan was demonstrating that it had a powerful if limited navy in the Russo-Japanese War... The corollary was that both Germans and the Japanese were interested in a colonial expansion that threatened to bring them into conflict with the expansionist policies of the British Empire" (Gifford 549).

There are also some direct descriptions to Japan in *Ulysses*, which shows the

popularity of the Japanesque at that time: Mrs. Cunningham appears in merry widow hat and kimono gown and "glides sidling and bowing, twirling japanesily" (*U* 15.3856-58).[11] It seems that Joyce had positive feelings about Japan and Japanese culture when he composed *Ulysses*.

II. The Early Reception of Joyce in Japan

James Joyce was first referred to in Japan by Yonejiro Noguchi's article about *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* in 1918 (*Gakuto* the literary magazine, Mar. 1918 issue). The next year Ryunosuke Akutagawa, one of the most famous novelists at that time, bought two books of James Joyce including A Portrait. He was much impressed with Joyce's technique, especially with the boy narrator of the first chapter. Later he tried to translate some fragments of the novel under the title "Dedalus."

The first Japanese article about *Ulysse*s by Mirai Sugita was published in the literary magazine *Eigo-Seinen*, December 15, 1922 issue. In 1925 Daigaku Horiuchi wrote an article titled "Shosetsu no Shin-Keishiki toshiteno 'Naiteki-Dokuhaku'" ("Interior Monologue as a New Novel Form"), mentioning that the narrative style of *Ulysses* was influenced by Edouard Dujardin's *Les Lauriers sont coupes* (*Shincho* the literary magazine, Aug. 1925 issue).

The first influential academic introduction was made by Professor Kochi Doi (Tohoku Imperial University)'s "Joyce's *Ulysses*" in the *Kaizo* magazine, February 1929 issue, in which Doi introduced and analyzed the structure of the novel and its relationship with *A Portrait*. Doi was said to have known *Ulysses* in 1922 when he stayed in Boston, but it was 1923 in Edinburgh that he acquired a copy and read it. Since then, many Japanese scholars including Junzaburo Nishiwaki, Yukio Haruyama and Kazutoshi Fukunaga have begun to argue on *Ulysses*, sometimes comparing it with Marcel Proust, Virginia Woolf, etc.

The impact *Ulysses* has had on Japan is infinitely great for many Japanese

people who like European literature. Japanese readers could enjoy the first Japanese translation of *Ulysses* in 1931, even earlier than most American and British readers had the novel. The first legal American edition (Random House, Jan. 1934) was made available after Judge John M. Woolsey's famous decision, and British readers were able to buy the first legal British edition (Bodley Head, Sep. 1937). The 1931 Japanese translation was probably the third translation after the German translation (1927) and the French translation (1929).

The first complete Japanese translation of *Ulysses* by Sei Ito, Sadamu Nagamatsu and Hisanori Tsuji was published by Daiichi-shobo, Tokyo in 1931-34.[12] The second translation (by Sohei Morita, Hirosaburo Nahara, Naotaro Tatsuguchi, Takehito Ono, Ichiro Ando and Eitaro Murayama) was published by Iwanami-shoten, Tokyo in 1932-35. The earliest Japanese translation of *A Portrait* by Matsuji Ono & Tomio Yokohori was published by Sogensha, Tokyo & Osaka in October 1932. The first complete Japanese *Dubliner*s by Sadamu Nagamatsu was published by Kinseido, Tokyo in September 1933. After the war interval, the third *Ulysses* by Sei Ito and Sadamu Nagamatsu was published by Shincho-sha, Tokyo in 1955.[13]

As opposed to its fate in the U.K. and America, *Ulysses* was at first not legally labeled as obscene in Japan because either the translators or publishers purposely deleted or omitted some obscene sentences and paragraphs from the earlier editions of the Japanese translations in order to avoid censorship. However, despite their endeavors, the sale of the second half of the first translation was banned "under charges relating to descriptions of the imaginary middle-aged woman's sexual desire" on May 30, 1934, soon after the publication on May 25.

The translation of Herbert Gorman's *James Joyce: His First Forty Years* by Sadamu Nagamatsu was published by Koseikaku, Tokyo in June 1932. The first study book of James Joyce, titled *Joyceana: Joyce Chushin no Bungaku-undo* (*Joyceana: The Literary Movement Spearheaded by Joyce*), by Yukio Haruyama was published by Daiichi-shobo, Tokyo in December 1933. After that, Joycean publications seldom appeared until the 1950s because of World War II when

Japanese people could not read English books and the translations openly.

Since the first translation of *Ulysses* was published in 1931, numerous ambitious writers tried to follow the Joycean methods, especially the stream of consciousness. One of the earliest *Ulysses* influences can be seen in Junichiro Tanizaki (1886-1965)'s lesbian novel "Manji" (1928), in which Tanizaki had a woman narrator use a Joycean interior monologue.[14)] It also influenced Riichi Yokomitsu (1898-1947)'s short fiction "Kikai" (literally "Machine") which appeared in the *Kaizo* literary magazine, September 1930 issue. "Kikai," as Yokomitsu claims, is narrated by the "four person" (not the "third person": narrated by the four "I-narrators" like the four gears of the machine). It is often said to have been influenced by Joyce and Marcel Proust. Yokomitsu's narrative technique was very refined and sophisticated for the time in Japan.

Yokomitsu's friend, Yasunari Kawabata (1899-1972; Nobel prize laureate) bought the original texts of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* and *Ulysses* to compare with each Japanese translation, and once imitated Joyce's techniques in his notebooks as he confessed later. Kawabata is said to have read a part of the Japanese translation of *Ulysses* serialized in the literary coterie magazine *Shi* to Genjitsu (*Poetry and Reality*) in September 1930. Kawabata, who once majored in English literature in Tokyo Imperial University (later he transferred to the Japanese department), was especially impressed by Joyce's interior monologue and used it at least in two of his early novels, "Hari to Garasu to Kiri" ("Needle, Glass and Fog," 1930) and "Suisho Genso" ("Water Crystal Dream," 1931).

Kawabata wrote an article titled "James Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*" in January 1933, and in "Joyce no Kotoba kara" (From Joyce's Words) he discussed *Ulysses*, "Work in Progress" and even Joyce's "Anna Livia Record" (Sep. 1932). He commented in the review about *A Portrait* (Jan. 1933) that "James Joyce's *Ulysses* was the greatest destruction and construction on the record of literature: it was the creation of the new universe for literature." It is not so easy, however, to find Joyce's influence in Kawabata's works or in Yokomitsu's, because both tried hard to establish self-contained "Modern Japanese novels." Kawabata

later denied that foreign literature including that of Joyce greatly influenced his works ("Sakka ni Kiku" or "Interview with a Writer"). However, it is a doubtless fact that both made efforts to learn Joyce's technique of interior monologue.

As Min Taeun notes in "'An Encounter': Blooms Day and Goobo's Day," Park Taewon, generally regarded as the first Korean Joycean novelist, went to Japan to study at Hosei University between 1930-31 and was exposed to the Western psychological novels which were challenging young Japanese authors in that specific year (*JJJ* 10. 2. 106). Significantly, five of the six translators of the Iwanami edition of *Ulysses*, except Ichiro Ando, were either professors or graduates of Hosei University as Kyoichi Kawaguchi points out (168). It was Toyoichiro Nogami, president of Hosei University, who introduced the Hosei group to Shigeo Iwanami, president of the publisher Iwanami-shoten. Iwanami initially asked Nogami to translate *Ulysses*, but Nogami transferred the honor to the group led by Sohei Morita on account of the pressure of work. They began to translate *Ulysses* in 1929: the first volume (out of five volumes) was published in February 1932. Sei Ito's group, on the other hand, set about translation in June 1930 and it soon appeared serially in their coterie magazine Shi to Genjitsu. The first half (episodes 1-13) was published in December 1931. However, during translating, what was later called the "Hosei University Troubles" occurred in 1933 with the origin of the antagonism between Nogami and Morita: both were pupils of Soseki Natsume (1867-1916), famous novelist and lecturer of English literature at Tokyo Imperial University. The troubles ended with the result that Nogami had been replaced on the temporary-retired list and that Morita left the university with many other professors.

Park Taewon must have had many chances to read Joyce in Japanese during his stay in Tokyo. The early 1930s was a miraculous time in the history of Japanese Joycean studies. If Park came to Japan in the late 1930s or later, he could not have easily found Japanese Joycean books at bookshops and in libraries. The Second Sino-Japanese War and the Pacific War against the allied forces led by the U.S.A. and U.K. badly affected studies of English literature in Japan. The atmosphere of

the Japanese society strictly restricted people in using and in learning the language and culture of "Kichiku Bei-Ei" ("Brutal America & Britain"). Japan had been among the most advanced countries in Joycean studies before World War II, but Joycean scholars and his students had to lie dormant and had very few chances to publish their articles and translations during the wartime.

III. The Fall of the Empire of Japan in *Finnegans Wake*

Finnegans Wake includes numerous Asian elements as well as other non-European elements.[15] Joyce used many Japanese or Japanese-compounded words in his works, particularly in *Finnegans Wake*. Approximately 80 Japanese(-compounded) words are used throughout the final text. Doubtlessly he could not speak Japanese very well and his knowledge about Japanese was fragmental. Probably, he had some friends who spoke Japanese fluently, and sometimes, judging from the entries, just listened to their conversation: most of the Japanese words in the *Wake* are basic Japanese words used in daily conversation. Joyce might have learned some Japanese words by listening, sometimes looking into the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th Ed. (1911) in spite of his visual disability.[16] Doubtlessly that was the most convenient source for him. It also includes the lists of Japanese rivers and cities Joyce referred to in the Anna Livia Chapter. River Sendai (*FW* 196.19: "Sendai"), and likewise for the other two rivers River Kiso (*FW* 203.35: "kisokushk") and River Ishikari (*FW* 207.24: "Ishekarry") are included in the list of the Japanese rivers (*EB* 15.156).

In Paris, after writing *Ulysses*, Joyce met at least three Japanese who knew each other and could teach some Japanese words and culture to him. The only Japanese figure described as being on friendly terms with Joyce by Richard Ellmann in his biography is Yasushi Tanaka (1886-1941), a painter born in Iwatsuki, Saitama, who was frequently invited with his wife by Joyce to restaurants and bistros in Paris around 1920. Tanaka depicted Nora and Lucia Joyce around 1921. However, Joyce

seems to have been far closer to Mrs. Tanaka (Louise Gebhart Cann, American), who wrote an article on *Ulysses* for the Pacific Review published by the University of Washington.[17] On July 15, 1926, Joyce met Takaoki Katta (1886-1976), born in Matsue, Shimane, English professor of Yamagata Higher School (now Yamagata University) and Katta was delighted with what Joyce called "the japlatin" (LI, 242).[18] Three months later, on October 27, 1926, at Joyce's apartment, Joyce met Ken Sato (1886-1960). Born in Sasaya, Fukushima, Sato was a playwright, novelist and translator of Saikaku Ihara's works. Joyce gave him a signed *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* and a signed *Ulysses*.[19] Sato published the French translation of selected works of Saikaku Ihara, *Saikakou Ebara: Contes D'Amour Des Samourais* in 1927 and the English translation, *Quaint Stories of Samurais* by Saikaku Ibara, thanks to Sylvia Beach's linguistic assistance in 1928. They are the same selection mainly from Nanshoku Okagami (*Gay Tales of Samurai,* orig. 1687). However, it is unclear if Sato gave Joyce a copy of either of the translations. Enough research, however, has not yet been done regarding to what degree those three Japanese, Tanaka, Katta and Sato taught Japanese words and culture to Joyce.

The Buffalo Notebook VI.B.1.178 contains "Yellow River/ China's sorrow" (?MS 47474-164: *JJA* 48:095: Jul. 1925): It appears in the final text: "Lying beside the reeds I saw it. ^+Hoangho, my sorrow, I've lost it!" (*FW* 213.6-7). This passage is full of meaning in Chinese history. In 1938, during the Second Sino-Japanese War, the nationalist troops under the orders of Chiang Kai-Shek broke the dike holding back the Yellow River in order to stop the advancing Japanese troops. This resulted in the flooding of an area covering 54,000 ㎢ and the death of 500,000-900,000 people.[20]

As if Joyce had predicted the Japanese hypocritical slogan "Dai-Toa Kyoei-ken" (Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere), he wrote "United States of Asia" in his notebook for *Finnegans Wake* (VI.B.3.073/MS 47474-97, BMA: JJA 47.495) in September 1927. When this phrase appeared in the final text, however, it was modified: "he shall produce nichthemerically from his unheavenly body a no uncertain quantity of obscene matter not protected by copriright in the United Stars

of Ourania" (*FW* 185.28-31). This obviously refers to the fact that Joyce's copyright of *Ulysses* with the uncertain quantity of obscene matter was not protected in the United States of America and Eurasia, and that Joyce also knew that his copyright was not protected in Japan, either.[21)] Why did Joyce not keep the word "Asia"? Presumably because it may have reflected the Asian state of tension which caused the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-45). Joyce would probably have been disappointed at the Asian states, particularly at the Empire of Japan: Sun Yat-sen's speech on Pan-Asianism in November 1924 might have echoed in the phrase "United States of Asia" as Joyce's utopia. It is highly likely that when some Chinese revolutionaries or the Paris branch of Chinese Communist Party discussed Sun's idea in a bistro in Paris, Joyce happened to be there and fragmentally heard their conversation at that time.

The Buffalo Notebooks are full of fragmental words. They contain the following three words related to Asia: two of them were written in early 1924:

VI.B.6.117: Asiatic (MS 47471b-67: *JJA* 47:379: Jan-Feb 1924: *FW* 191.4)
VI.B.6.129: Europasianised Afferyank (MS 47471b-67: *JJA* 47:379: Jan-Feb 1924: *FW* 191.4
VI.B.33.032: Asialand (VI.C.6.164 (c); Feb-Apr 1931)

Joyce inserted the Japanese-compounded words into *Finnegans Wake* little by little, especially in 1926, 1927, 1929, 1937 and 1938. Although the earliest insertion (*FW* 475.2: "Jeeshee," etc.) could date back to 1924 when Joyce had an interest in Japanese, the majority were put into the text in later manuscripts: more than half of them were presumably interpolated between 1937-38. This is probably because the Second Sino-Japanese War compelled Joyce's attention to East Asia. He paralleled the Asian conflicts with the European conflicts of imperialism. *Finnegans Wake* indirectly reflects numerous conflicts and wars including wars up to 1939. However, his attempt has not been sufficiently understood by readers because the "Work in Progress" was "completed" and published as *Finnegans Wake* in 1939 in the middle of the world conflicts that later expanded to be World War II.

In addition, Joyce sometimes confused several Japanese words with Chinese ones, or he tended to combine some Japanese words with Chinese on purpose. The sounds he tried to represent with the alphabet are not often correct, or very frequently sound like Pidgin Japanese. George C. Sandulescu argues, concerning Joyce's language list in *The Language of the Devil*, that the order of the languages is very significant: "... Next on the list, two languages—Chinese and Japanese— are placed together for reasons of geographical vicinity, similarity of exotic flavor, and like appearance of the script" (sic) (66). This is the list of Japan/China contrasts in *FW*:[22)]

JAPAN/CHINA CONTRASTS in *FW*		INSERTION DATE*	MS NO. (*JJA*)
081.33-34	Nippoluono/ Wei-Ling-Taou	-May 1938	47476a-189v (*JJA*49.400)
343.15	yup/ scoopchina's	1937	47480-26 (*JJA*55.49)
435.27	chine/ jupan	c.1936	47486b-386 (*JJA*61.407)
485.36	chinchin/ nipponnippers	c.1936	47486b-456 (*JJA*61.443)
486.11	a chink / a jape	April-May 1937	47487-56 (*JJA*62.109)
583.18	china's/ japets	? 1925	47482a-42 (*JJA*60.81)
611.04-05	chinchinjoss/ tappany	Mid 1938	47488-169v (*JJA*63.169)

*Each date indicates the time when the insertions of both elements were completed.

As this chart shows, most of the insertion dates of Japan/China were between 1936-38 when the tension between the two countries became severe and subsequently the Second Sino-Japanese War broke out in 1937. Joyce added some Japan/China elements later to express the strife between Shem and Shaun, Mutt (Muta) and Jute (Juva), Butt and Taff, and Berkeley and St. Patrick.

The sunrise in the East is described in the beginning of Book IV, the last chapter of *Finnegans Wake* when the publican Earwicker falls into sleep while HCE is about to wake up. The rising sun is also the symbol for Japan as her national flag shows. The opening of the Asian chapter which begins with the reciting of the

Sanskrit word meaning "the twilight of dawn" three times: "Sandhyas! Sandhyas! Sandhyas!" (*FW* 593.1). It reminds us of the last line of T.S. Eliot's "The Waste Land": "Shantih shantih shantih" (*Skt.* peace) which is often used on the closing line of the chanting of the mantras. It seems that Joyce purposely use the Sanskrit word here being conscious of *The Waste Land*. Also, the sound of word "waste" can echo both the sounds of "east" and "west."

Louis O. Mink indicates in Finnegans Wake *Gazetteer*, *FW* regularly pairs Japan with China, but there seems little reason to connect this with other important pairings in *FW*, despite the fact that by Joyce's own account, the dialogue between Archdruid Berkeley and St. Patrick (*FW* 611-13) represents them as speaking Pidgin English and "Nippon English" respectively (364). As Jacques Mercanton tells us in "The Hours of James Joyce," he was asked by Joyce, "Isn't it contradictory to make two men speak Chinese and Japanese in a pub in Phoenix Park, Dublin?" (213). It makes sense at least for Asian readers. Joyce paralleled the relationship between Japan and China with that between Celts and Christianity or Irish Bishop Berkeley and the English evangelist to Ireland. The Japanese bonze St. Patrick practically propagates Christianity to the Chinese philosopher Archdruid, who takes, according to *Ulysses*, the "veil of space with coloured emblems hatched on its field" (*U* 3.417-8).

Joyce mentioned this conversation in a letter to Frank Budgen on 20 August 1939: "Much more intended in the colloquy between Berkeley the arch druid and his pidgin speech and Patrick the arch priest and his Nippon English. It is also the defence and indictment of the book itself, B's theory of colours and Patrick's practical solution of the problem" (*L* I, 406). The Japanese "Patriki San Saki" (*FW* 317.2) reappears to discuss color/colorism/colonialism with the Chinese Archdruid George Berkeley (*FW* 611-13), reflecting the two Sino-Japanese Wars.[23)] Using two Japanese words related to colors, "shiroskuro" (white & black, *FW* 612.18) and "Iro" (color, *FW* 612.20), "Same Patholic" (*FW* 611.10), an aggressor "quoniam [L. since], speeching, yeh not speeching noh man" in the Noh theatrical performance (*FW* 611.10-11), finds the practical answer for "pidgin fella Balkelly"

(*FW* 611.5)'s argument on colors. Patrick seems to affirm colorism or colonialism and desire to "displace tauttung" (*Ch*. tao-tung: orthodox tradition of the Way: morality/virtue) before Berkeley (*FW* 612.8). The Yellow River (Hwang Ho) is described again "in a hunghoranghoangoly tsinglontseng [*Ch*. "(the) Blue Dragon Meeting(?)" (Tsinglong or Qinglong + tseng)] while his comprehen-durient" [comprehensive enduring Orient] (*FW* 611.29-31).[24] The Chinese did not resist Japanese Imperialism in the beginning and watched Japanese forces "peacefully" conquer Chinese territory piece by piece until the Battle of Lugouqiao (the Marco Polo Bridge Incident) on July 7, 1937 when the Second Sino-Japanese War finally broke out. During a sublime engagement called the Battle of Shanghai (August 13, 1937-November 9, 1937), on October 23, the Japanese troops broke through Chinese lines, forcing them to make an orderly retrograde operation further south in the hilltops of the Blue Dragon Ridge with casualties of some thirty thousand: "The Battle of Shanghai was a military defeat but a morale-boosting victory for the Chinese" which let America and Britain know that China was ready to fight against Japan.[25]

Their conversation seems to suggest the Chinese resistance against the Japanese army in the 1930s. The Japanese St. Patrick dominates over the Chinese Archdruid in this argument probably because it reflects that many Europeans including Joyce believed that Japan still held a dominant position in Manchuria and China at that time. "Rumnant Patholic" (*FW* 611.24) did "kirikirikiring" (*FW* 612.11: Jap. "kirikirimai": "to put the screw on") "Bilkilly-Belkelly" (*FW* 611.27). In the process of the dialogue, the Japanese and the Chinese are antipodal. However, as St. Patrick, once a kidnapped British slave boy to Ireland, revisited there to convert the country to Christianity and as the result Druidism merged into Irish Christianity, Joyce seems to suggest that the two Asian countries can be united reversing the dominance in turn. From a postcolonial perspective, it is notable that in one spectrum of the prisms of the rainbow ("ruinboon" *FW* 612.20) here, the Japanese imperialist turns into the Russian General, the Chinese Berkeley into Buckley, an Irish soldier in the Crimean War, who shoots the General in defecation (Ellmann 398).[26]

Conclusion

In the 1907 Italian lecture "Ireland, Island of Saints and Sages," Joyce said:

> I find it rather naïve to heap insults on England for her misdeeds in Ireland. A conqueror cannot be casual, and for so many centuries the Englishman has done in Ireland only what the Belgian is doing today in the Congo Free State, and what the Nipponease dwarf will do tomorrow in other lands. (*CW* 166)

As we have seen, through "the cracked lookingglass of a servant" (*U* 1.146), Joyce directly or indirectly reflected the three wars related to Japan, the First Sino-Japanese War, the Russo-Japanese War and the Second Sino-Japanese War in *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*. The *casus belli* of those wars was desire for colonies in Manchuria and Korea. It seems that Joyce regarded Korea as an equivalent to his native country Ireland, which, in Joyce's lifetime, was already divided into two regions by the British Empire. So Joyce's angle on the Japanese Empire is rather ironic, although in the beginning Joyce and other Irish people thought it good that a minor Asian country like Japan defeated one of the Great Powers. However, as Japan began to devote itself to imperialism, Joyce was deceived in his expectation of the "United States of Asia" although it did not come to the surface. Joyce died on January 13, 1941 in Zurich, so he could not know what happened on December 8, 1941; the Japanese surprise attack on the Pearl Harbor, the start of the Pacific War, or World War II in Asia, which ended with the Japanese unconditional surrender and the end of Japanese imperialism on August 15, 1945. What would Joyce have thought and said if he had still been alive at that time? Joyce did not stand for imperialism nor colonialism.

Joyce would also have found it rather naïve to heap insults on Japan for her misdeeds in Korea and China. It will depend on us Asians as to whether Joyce's idea of the "United States of Asia" or Sun Yat-sen's Pan-Asianism will come true in the twenty-first century.

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Notes

Special thanks to Sheldon Brivic who checked this article and gave me valuable suggestions.

1) The Buffalo Notebooks also contain some notes on imperialism: i) VI.B.1.114: dark ages, tyrants, republic, ii) VI.B.1.115: empire. According to the entry 'Vico' of the 11th *Encyclopedia Britannica*: "Patrician tyranny rouses the populace to revolt, and then democratic equality is established under a republic. Democratic excesses cause the rise of an empire, which, becoming corrupt, declines into barbarism, and again emerging from it, retraces the same course" (*EB* 28.24).
2) The references to the Britannica article "Japan" included von Wemchstern's Bibliography of the Japanese Empire, Captain F. Brinkley's Japan (12 vols., 1904); the works of B.H. Chamberlain, Things Japanese (5th ed., 1905, &c.); W. G. Aston, History of Japanese Literature, &c., and Lafcadio Hearn, Japan: an Interpretation (1904) and Fifty Years of New Japan, compiled by Count Shigenobu Okuma (2 vols., 1907-8; Eng. ed. by Macus B. Huish, 1909): See Britannica, 11th ed. 15, 275.
3) See "Ireland, Island of Saints and Sages" (1907), *The Critical Writings*, 166.
4) It continues: "Thus the average height of the Japanese male is only 5 ft. 3 1/2 in., and that of the female 4 ft. 103/4 in., whereas in the case of the Koreans and the northern Chinese the corresponding figures for males are 5 ft. 5 3/4 in. and 5 ft. 7 in. respectively" (*EB* 15.164).
5) Madame Butterfly can be compared to Nora in that their marital status were not legally steady, although Joyce, in spite of his ill-treatment caused by Vincent Cosgrave's fish story with Nora, required her oath of love like *Madame Butterfly*. Joyce also learned about Japan in three operas mainly set in Japan: W.S. Gilbert & Arthur Sullivan's *The Mikado* (1885), Sydney Jones's *The Geisha* (1896) and Giacomo Puccini's *Madame Butterfly* (1904). It has been pointed out by Don Gifford and Louis O. Mink, etc. that *Ulysses* and *Finnegans* Wake contain some allusions to *The Mikado* and *The Geisha*. *FW*'s allusions to Madame Butterfly were found in many parts of the text including the original Italian text and the references to the main casts, Lo zio Bonzo, Cio-Cio-San, Pinkerton and Suzuki as Matthew J.C. Hodgart & Ruth Bauerle point out (259, etc.). The opera's main setting, Nagasaki, appears twice in *Finnegans Wake* (*FW* 315.22 & *FW* 535.19). It is notable that the dramatic presentation of the time was strange because of confusion with other Asian elements. After all, those "Japanese operas" were based on what Edward W. Said calls "Orientalism."
6) For instance, Lafcadio Hearn (1850-1904), Irish-Greek, had a Japanese wife, Setsu Koizimu, and later naturalized as a Japanese citizen in order to bequeath a fortune to his

wife and family. Judging from the consuetude of the western men having Japanese "wives" at that time, "legal" intermarriage with a Japanese woman was impossible. Even Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850-1935), a famous British scholar of Japanese studies, repeatedly advised Hearn not to marry his wife "legally." Another example is Sir Ernest Mason Satow (1843-1929), a British diplomat and great figure of Japanese studies who lived with a Japanese wife Kane Takeda more than ten years and had two sons and a daughter but never legally married her until he died, although he took good care of "his Japanese family" in his own way. *Madame Butterfly* doubtlessly reflects such common practice for western men in Japan. Cf. Yoko Makino, 125-29.

7) Manchuria, the puppet state ruled by the Empire of Japan between 1932-45, was also governed under the similar two disguised slogans of Chigaku Tanaka: "Hakko Ichiu" (eight corners of the world under one roof) and "Gozoku Kyowa" (Harmony among Five Races: Koreans, Manchurians, Mongolians, Chinese and Japanese). The state aimed at achieving "Odo Rakudo," that is, Paradise ruled by the Way of the Emperor. It was the Japanese army, however, who disharmonized "Gozoku Kyowa" and tried to control the other races.

8) Cf. "Russo-Japanese War" from Wikipedia: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Russo-Japanese_War> Accessed: October 4, 2006.

9) The Japanese victory greatly owed to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance made in 1902 (the end of Britain's Splendid Isolation) because the U.K. did not wish Russia to advance southwards. Since the U.K. did not approve the Russian Baltic Fleet to go through the Suez Canal, the Fleet had to pass the Cape of Good Hope, taking far longer. The Japanese had the advantage of much shorter supply lines than the Russians. In addition, the Japanese Navy had six modern battleships and most of them were based on the British style at the start of the war in 1904.

10) The war-related headlines of *The Evening Telegraph* dated June 16, 1904 (p.2, col.9) are: THE WAR./BIG BATTLE AT TELISSA./RUSSIAN DEFEAT/Japs Take 300 Prisoners and 14 Guns./SERIOUS RUSSIAN LOSSES./Dispatch from Gen. Kuropatkin/VLADIVOSTOCK SQUARDRON./The Korean Straits Fight-/RUSSIAN WARSHIPS./ Reported Capture./Jap Transports Captured-/Feared Heavy Loss of Life. (Cf. also *The Freeman's Journal*, June 16, 1904.)

11) See also *U* 6.357: "geisha," 17.1531-32, 17.1570-72, etc.

12) Translating *Ulysses*, Sei Ito was deeply influenced by James Joyce and his literary technique. Later Ito had gone to court to defend his translation of D.H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (abridged trans. 1935; completed trans. 1950), classified "obscene" by the public prosecutions in 1950. The Japanese branch of the "Association of Poets, Playwrights, Editors, Essayists and Novelists" (PEN) and the "Bungei Club" (the Japanese association of literature) supported Ito. It took six years for the court to convict him and the publisher of publishing "pornography" or an "obscene book." After the trial

Ito published his autobiographical novel *Wakai Shijin no Shozo* (*A Portrait of the Poet as a Young Man*) in 1956.

13) The fourth translation of *Ulysses* by Saiichi Maruya, Reiji Nagakawa and Yuichi Takamatsu was published by Kawade-shobo, Tokyo in 1964. The fifth one (the revised edition with detailed notes by Hideo Yuki) by Saiichi Maruya, Reiji Nagakawa and Yuichi Takamatsu was published in 1996-97; its paperback edition was released in late 2003. Two more new translations are in progress (partially published) now (Aautumn 2006).
14) The interior monologue itself had been already lectured on in the English Department of Tokyo Imperial University since c. 1900 when some English professors lectured on William James. It became popular among some ambitious novelists through Joyce's works.
15) Cf. William York Tindall, A Reader's Guide to "*Finnegans Wake*": "Matters of the East, both Near and Far, crowd this chapter. Egypt, India, China, Japan are here, along with their creeds and languages: Moslemism, Hinduism, and Buddhism, Sanskrit, pidgin English and Nippon English. Here to serve no occult purpose, these oriental matters are here to assist the sun, which, after all, rises in the East. Complex no doubt, Joyce was almost never deep" (307). I agree with Tndall's opinion in that this rising sun chapter are full of eastern elements. However, Joyce seems to have put some profound implications (with no occult but some faithful documentary purposes) related to the (especially Far) East in this chapter. Sheldon Brivic allowed me to read his unpublished outstanding article of the Asian elements of *Finnegans Wake* and assured me of the importance of Asia in *FW*.
16) Joyce's notes on Japanese (esp. Tokyo) from *The Finnegans Wake Notebooks at Buffalo* include: VI.B.10.118: obi = stomacher (*FW* 384.3: early 1927)
VI.B.29.005: (Stockholm v.s. Tokyo): *Sumida R, Niponbashy* [Nihonbashi], *Shimbashi*
VI.B.29.006: *Yedo* [old name of Tokyo]: *shogun* (*FW* 535.20: *JJA* 59:126: Feb. 1930): *Secourda* [Sakurada]*: Shiba: Ukayehno* [Ueno]
VI.B.29.007: *Asacusa: Fu-chiji* (prefectural governor): Shicho (mayor)
VI.B.29.008: Press: *tokio* [Tokyo]: *kioto* [Kyoto] (FW 550.28; MS 47484b-454; *JJA* 59:196; Mar. 1930)
VI.B.29.196: *bonze* (*FW*536.9; MS 47484b-432; *JJA* 59:172; Mar. 1930)
17) See Richard Ellmann, *James Joyce*, 491,etc. Cf. also *L* I, 150 & *L* III, 31. See Eishiro Ito, "The Japanese Elements of *Finnegans Wake*: 'Jishin, Kaminari, Kaji, Oyaji,'" 37.
18) Cf. Yasuo Kumagai, "Takaoki Katta" (VI.B.12: 113). See Eishiro Ito, 37-38.
19) On September 8, 2002, Yasuo Kumagai and Ito went to Ken Sato's house in Fukushima City and met his son, Yoichi Sato, who kindly showed us Sato's articles left behind, including the two signed books. See Eishiro Ito, 38.
20) Cf. Yellow River: Wikipedia: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yellow_River>Accessed. October 9, 2006.
21) According to Paul Léon, 22 letters with enclosures were sent between Joyce/ Léon /

Sylvia Beach and the Japanese translators/publishers of *Ulysses* in 1932-34. See *The James Joyce-Paul Léon Papers in National Library of Ireland: A Catalogue*, 6, 28, 224-25. According to Joyce's letter to T.S Eliot, two Japanese pirated editions of *Ulysses* appeared and 13,000 copies had been sold to date [20 June 1932] (*L* I, 320). One of the Japanese translators sent Joyce a 200 yen cheque, but Joyce returned it, saying, "2,000 yen would be suitable." It does not seem that the Japanese publishers paid the amount Joyce suggested. John Gadby advised Joyce and Leon to accept the "small sum offered" and they sent Joyce's receipt dated 24 April 1934 to the publishers. Roughly calculating, 200 yen in 1932 would be equivalent to 129,000 yen in 2004 (about 868.6 euros at the exchange rate of September 26, 2006). Probably 200 yen was too low to obtain Joyce's permission, but 2,000 was too high for the Japanese translators to pay.

22) *Cf.* Eishiro Ito, 44: This chart is reproduced from Ito (2004).

23) "Patriki" is a Japanese way of pronouncing "Patrick," and "San Saki" is Joyce's unique Japanese translation of "saint": "san" (Mr., Miss, Mrs., etc.) + "saki" (in front of > ahead/above > high/holy). See Eishiro Ito, 43.

24) The word "hunghoranghoangoly" can be deconstructed into three East Asian words plus the English suffix "-ly" : Hung + horang + Hoangho (the Yellow River) + -ly. In A.D. 576 in Korea, Chin-Hung, the 24th king of the Silla Dynasty, established the Hwa-Rang (lit. "flower of youth") which later developed as the Korean martial art "Hwa-Rang-Do." However, there seems no special connection between Hoangho and the Hwa-Rang so far. Another possibility is "-hoan-" might suggest "Huang Hai" (the Yellow Sea). It is considered at any rate that the word "hunghoranghoangoly" suggests some resistance against the Japanese Army either in Korea or in China in the early twentieth century. Also, "Tseng" of "tsinglontseng" is a common family name in China.

25) *Cf.* World Affair Board: 'How could We Forget the History!' "In Memory of Sino-Japanese War" (1937-1945) 1. It is also believed in China that Blue Dragons are the sign of the coming spring and that they are the symbol of the East. It is to remember that Shanghai City, now one of the most comprehensive industrial and commercial cities of the world, was originally a fishing town developed under western imperialism after the Opium War in 1842 and once occupied by the Japanese army during World War II.

phrase "synthetic shammyrag" might imply Joyce's sympathy with Shanghai as a colonial city which became ruined in series of battles with Japan as Dublin (the "synthetic shamrock" city) was during the Easter Rising and the Irish Civil War.

26) *Cf.* Tindall: "If Berkeley is Buckley is in the sense of united *bouchal,* Patrick must be the Russian General, who, reversing the story, shoots Buckley. The 'Thud' (612.36) of fallen Buckley is parallel to the 'Shoot' (610.33) that fells the General" (319).

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Abstract

"United States of Asia" (VI.B.3.073): A Postcolonial Reception of James Joyce and Japan

Eishiro Ito

This article aims to introduce the general attitude regarding Japan/world affairs in Joyce's time, and to argue on Joyce's reception of Japan in his works and the Japanese reception of Joyce from a postcolonial perspective.

In a letter to his brother Stanislaus on November 6, 1906 James Joyce showed his interest in Japan's military power at that time: "Japan, the first naval power in the world, I presume, in point of efficiency, spends three million pounds per annum on her fleet" (*L* II,188). His comment reflects Japanese victories of the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905).

Joyce found it rather naïve to heap insults on England for her misdeeds in Ireland: "A conqueror cannot be casual, and for so many centuries the Englishman has done in Ireland only what the Belgian is doing today in the Congo Free State, and what the Nipponease dwarf will do tomorrow in other lands" (*CW* 166).

Joyce directly or directly referred to the three Asian wars; the First and Second Sino-Japanese Wars and the Russo-Japanese War in his texts. The *casus belli* of those wars was desire for colonies, Manchuria and Korea. It seems that Joyce regarded Korea as an equivalent to his native country Ireland. Joyce's angle on the Japanese Empire seems rather ironic. At first Joyce and other Irish people thought it good that a minor Asian country like Japan defeated one of the Great Powers. However, as Japan began to devote itself to imperialism, they were deceived in their expectation.

Joyce did not stand for imperialism nor colonialism. Joyce would also have found it rather naïve to heap insults on Japan for her misdeeds in Korea and China.

It will depend on us Asians as to whether Joyce's idea of the "United States of Asia" or Sun Yat-sen's Pan-Asianism will come true in the twenty-first century.

■ Key words: imperialism, (post-)colonialism, First & Second Sino-Japanese Wars, Russo-Japanese War, Japan, China, Korea, Pan-Asianism