

CHANGING APPROACHES TO INTERPRETATION:

TWENTIETH CENTURY RE-CREATIONS OF CLASSICAL CHINESE POETRY

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores changes in approaches to the interpretation of the genre of classical Chinese poetry re-created as English poetry during the twentieth century. This genre, produced by two literary cultures – Chinese and English – is subjected to critical scrutiny in both its original and re-created forms and this study discusses the extent to which critical theories resulted in shifts in the interpretive approaches of twentieth century translations of the genre. Interpretive changes are exposed by comparative analysis of publications of the genre by Ezra Pound and Arthur Waley, Burton Watson and Gary Snyder, James J. Y. Liu and Stephen Owen and Pauline Yu and Haun Saussy. This involves a discussion of how their formative years, environmental factors and critical pressures influenced their approaches to interpretation of the genre. The study found that changes to interpretative approaches for the genre rested on two key experiences of translators and readers. Primary influences – family, education and personal pursuits – did affect interpreters of the genre but secondary influences – critical theories, literary trends, political, religious and social movements – had greater impact on interpretive change. Isogesis, an unavoidable factor of cultural interpretation, insidiously influenced how the genre was interpreted and that the increased use of montage and anthology late in the twentieth century attempted to reduce the effect of isogesis and, even more importantly, returned the genre to its cultural roots, the *Shijing*, the earliest Chinese classical anthology of poetry. This study illustrates three areas of importance. Firstly, it shows that biographical and environmental factors affecting translators caused shifts in approach to interpretation of classical Chinese poetry re-created as English poetry. Secondly, choices of what to re-create and print – made by translators, editors and publishers – affect reader response to the genre. Thirdly and finally, it suggests the possibility that the interpretive approaches of these eight translators can be employed as poetic montage in the third millennium to reduce the effect of misinterpreting of the genre.

DECLARATION

This thesis contains no material that has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by any other person, except where due reference has been made in the text of the thesis.

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INTRODUCTION

Plan and Problem

This introduction will state the problem, the thesis, questions to be addressed and why the topic is of importance to the wider body of Chinese literary scholarship. It will define terminology used, the methodologies employed, the scope of the thesis and its context. This work will explore the extent to which personal traits and passions, political conflict and social movements, critical theories and literary trends and limited choice affected the critical response of readers. It will consider how interpretation is shaped by contemporary critical influences, why this is more obvious in the work of some translators than others and in what ways it might affect the assumptions and questions that I formulate.

Statement of the Problem

During the twentieth century Western literary theory expanded rapidly, making texts subject to a greater degree of critical surveillance than ever before. As a genre received predominantly, although not solely, by a Western readership, classical Chinese poetry re-created as English poetry is subject to Western critical theoretical analysis. The interpretation of English renderings of classical Chinese poetry remained the domain of translators until the end of the nineteenth-century when critical theory insinuated itself into all spheres of art, including poetic translation.¹ The incursion of critical theory into all spheres of culture, including literature, necessitates further research into its influence

¹ In the narrow sense 'classical Chinese poetry' is taken as only the very earliest texts of China – the Book of Poetry or Book of Odes (*Shijing*) emanating from the Zhou dynasty (c.1045 – 221 BCE); and designated a mean composition date of c. 600BCE and the Nine Songs of Chu or Songs of the South (*Chu Ci*) a collection of poems from the Warring State period written by Qu Yuan, Song Yu and later imitators of their style. In the broader sense all poetry written pre-1912, therefore written in the classical styles of *yue fu*, *shi*, *gushi*, *jintishi* and *ci*, is accepted as classical. This work uses the broader sense.

on translation. This study will examine what factors, including critical theories, affected approaches to the interpretation of classical Chinese poetry re-created as English poetry during the twentieth century.

Overview

Interpretation theories for Chinese poetry rendered as English poetry have historical foundations dating back to seventeenth-century missionary scholars. Until the end of the nineteenth century, however, Western poetic translation theory was predominantly a study of authorial biography, socio-historical context, and personal interpretation.² With the advent of Russian formalism and American new criticism, early in the twentieth-century, the interpretation of poetic translation changed. In the early part of the twentieth century, critique of translated texts focused on technique while in the second half of the century critical theories dominated Western texts, however, the extent to which this affected the interpretation of Chinese classical poetry has yet to be demonstrated. The shift in emphasis, from socio-historical and author-biographical literary analysis of poetry to a criticism evolving from Formalism and Modernism to Orientalism and Postmodernism, creates a need to explore and document the process of change. Establishing the effect of critical analysis on approaches to the interpretation of Chinese poetry will draw attention to shifts in approach for the theoretical framework of the genre over the past century. This study will note the composite effect of critical theories and literary trends on interpretive approaches to the genre and the effect of new technologies

² John DeFrancis, *The Chinese Language: Fact and Fantasy*, 2nd ed., University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu, 1984, pp. 133-134. Dominican Friar Gasper da Cruz (c. 1569). David E. Mungello, *Curious Land: Jesuit Accommodation and the Origins of Sinology*, Honolulu University Press, Hawaii, 1985, pp.44, 46. The Jesuit missionaries were Fr Alvero Semando (1586-1658); Fr Matteo Ricci (1552-1610), and Fr Nicola Trigault (1577-1628).

on publication of the genre. The accessibility of re-created classical Chinese poetry via the World Wide Web and its appropriation by areas of Western artistic culture during the twentieth century calls for closer investigation of its interpretation.

Thesis and Questions

My thesis is that a shift in approaches to interpretation of the genre during the twentieth century has affected the way English re-creations of classical Chinese poetry are received, and that changes in interpretive approach confirm re-created classical Chinese poetry as a flexible genre now and for the future. Questions that this study seeks to answer are: firstly, what key factors initiated change in the way classical Chinese poetry is rendered in English; secondly, how did changes in theories of interpretation impact on the reception of the genre by an English-literate readership and thirdly, what part did isogesis play in initiating changes to interpretive approaches and has this affected reader reception of the genre? For reasons of necessity, this study adopts a Western stance because it is investigated from a Western perspective.

Significance

The value of classical Chinese poetry rendered into English lies in its accessibility. It provides access to historical perspectives of traditional China not only for monolingual English readers but also for those Chinese Diaspora who use English as their first language. Accordingly, attention will be given to historical factors affecting the processes of interpreting, writing, and reading and how twentieth century critical literary theories considered authorial intention, historical distance, and cultural assumptions in the

interpretation of Chinese poetry. Taking that aspect of reception theory which focuses on the impact of historical change on readers – affecting analysis in the production of meaning inherent in the translating, writing, and reading processes – I intend to show how this censorship might affect Western perceptions of traditional Chinese literary culture.

The third millennium's global market place ensures that the genre is more readily available than ever before. The impact of this genre on readers might well affect Western perceptions of classical Chinese poetry and Chinese cultural foundations. Therefore, translator, editor and publisher choice of poems for translation, as well as re-creative acumen, is of paramount importance. Only a select few thousand classical Chinese poems are accessible in English and many of the same Chinese poems are repeatedly re-created either because they appeal to the human condition or because they are more easily rendered in English than others. Effectively, this censorship of the genre increases the risk of readers misunderstanding traditional Chinese culture. The intervention of Western critical theory provides readers with a familiar framework for interpretation of the genre, however, it also increases the impact on Western perceptions of the genre.

Definitions of Terminology

The first challenge for this study is to define what is being interpreted: are classical Chinese poems re-created as English poems read as Chinese poems or English poems? Can poems in English be Chinese poems? Conversely, can classical Chinese poems be divorced from their origins in China? English poems re-created from classical Chinese poems are new creations yet, as products of Chinese poems, they are historically bound to

their original form. This work will argue that re-created poetry – the literary product of Chinese poetics and English poetics – is transcultural poetry perceived by readers as both Chinese and English poetry and a genre in its own right. For the purposes of this study, the genre will signify classical Chinese poetry re-created as English poetry. As a product of translation, this genre necessarily remains challenging.

A particular challenge for this study is that effective translation remains a site of contention because Chinese poetic critique and Western poetic critique have fundamental differences that resist definitive interpretation. It is not my intention to judge the skill of one translator over another, although styles of translation will necessarily be compared to expose differences in approach. There are many types of translation, each one purpose driven, but the two main methods of translating poetry are ‘imitative’ and ‘creative’.³ Successful poetic translation is ‘creative’ translation because poetry translated literally has a limited audience – philologists, sinologists and linguists – while re-created poetry appeals to a wider audience because it retains its aesthetic appeal. Therefore, poetry is preferably re-created in the target language by translators who can not only interpret the original text but also produce it poetically in the target language. Poetry re-created in another language needs to be treated as a unique phenomenon – literature which transcends the ideological aesthetics of both cultures – yet maintain as meaningful a representation of the original text as possible.

The next challenge is that critical theories place significant pressure on perceptions of translation theory. Primarily, critical theory seeks to free society from the bond of ideologies, such as those of Marx and Freud, by empowering social agents to

³ Alvin P. Cohen, *Selected Works of Peter A. Boodberg*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1979, p. 29.

challenge societal assumptions.⁴ Starting from the inaugural Frankfurt School address of 1931, critical theory was advanced as ‘a human activity’ which objectifies societies seeking to ‘transcend the tension’ of its base: individuality and ‘work-process relationships’. The difficulty is that avoiding contemporary interpretive theories is almost impossible.

Another challenge is that interpretation is the development of meaning for readers as seen in their response.⁵ Therefore, interpretation of classical Chinese poetry by translators is seen in their response – their rendition of the text in the target language. Interpretation of classical Chinese poetry re-created as English poetry becomes meaningful as it develops understanding in an English-literate readership. In the case of re-created poetry the translator is an artist and the reader is the audience. First the translator artist and then the reader audience interpret the poems. Understanding Chinese cultural traditions may reduce inaccurate interpretation of the text by translators but does not eliminate the effect of their unconscious scholarly biases. Knowledge of Chinese traditional culture, including poetics, affects reader interpretation of classical Chinese texts and they too interpret through their knowledge base.

The greatest challenge to interpretation of Eastern texts by Western translators came from Andrew Tuck in 1990. Tuck described the tension of interpreting texts across temporal and spatial zones as isogesis.⁶ Tuck claims that interpreters who aim for objectivity in comparative cultural and textual analysis are denying their unconscious

⁴ Ibid., p. 75.

⁵ Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time*, John MacQuarrie & Edward Robinson (trans), Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1962, pp. 188, 195.

⁶ Andrew Tuck, *Comparative Philosophy and the Philosophy of Scholarship: On the Western Interpretation of Nagarjuna*, Oxford University Press, New York and Oxford, 1990.

biases formed by scholarship in a particular language and culture.⁷ This study will raise awareness of isogesis in the work of specific twentieth century translators of classical Chinese poems. It will do so while being mindful of the difficulty of isogesis.

The final challenge is to acknowledge that, coming from a Western academic framework, my observations are necessarily affected by isogesis, which incurs its own concerns. In the process of making the interpretive theories involved with English renderings of classical Chinese poetry discernable to Western readers, my observations are consequences of my literary training. Isogesis is not only a difficulty for translators but also for researchers working with translated texts because all interpretation is subject to the contemporary critical tastes of both the translator and the reader. By using a comparative methodology I aim to utilise the positive element of isogesis in all observations.

Methodological Approach

A comparative study of shifts in interpretive approaches to this genre will highlight similarities and differences. Research will be confined to English re-creations of poems to limit assessments to direct, rather than indirect, interaction with readers. Direct interaction occurs at the level of the meaning of the poem for its readers and indirect interaction occurs as a secondary effect, for example, readers' perceptions of Chinese culture. All assessments will be made in the light of the objectivity limitations of Euro-

⁷ Ibid., pp. 12-15.

American critical theories ‘by which both writers and readers alike have been consciously and unconsciously directed and conditioned’.⁸

Using historical analysis, this study will investigate how translators resolved issues such as discerning whether re-created poems distort either the socio-historical space or the experience or occasion that gave rise to it. Where confusion reigns, the study will examine whether translators did, or did not, leave meaning open, rather than impose meaning on the reader and the consequences of this approach. It will consider the impact of critical theory on the re-creations of specific translators and shifts in interpretive approaches. Taking the aspect of reception theory that focuses on the impact of historical change on readers – affecting analysis in the production of meaning inherent in the translating, writing, and reading processes – I intend to show how this approach might affect third millennium interpretation of the genre.

In the light of isogesis, reader response theory requires the adoption of a cognitive praxis: the developments of art or skill, in this case the cognitive skill of interpreting classical Chinese poetry. Necessarily, this will touch only those aspects of reception theory and hermeneutics which apply to Chinese translation – specifically poetry. Reader response in this mode will address perceptions of the genre obvious through its use in other artistic media.

Scope of Thesis

The next four chapters of this study will cover, sequentially, the approaches of specific translators to the interpretation of the genre during the twentieth century. To establish

⁸ Chris Baldick, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1990, p. 125.

achievable parameters this study will be limited to factors affecting the interpretive approaches of significant translators of the genre. Timeframes of chapters overlap where the active periods of translators overlap. Chapter 1 will focus on the work of Ezra Pound (1885-1972) and Arthur Waley (1889-1966) particularly during the period surrounding WWI (1914-1918). Chapter 2 will centre on the Burton Watson (1925-) and Gary Snyder (1930-), particularly following WWII (1939-1945), the Korean War (1950-1953) and the Vietnam War (1965-1975). Chapter 3 will discuss the contributions made to the interpretation of the genre by James J.Y. Liu (1926 – 1986) and Stephen Owen (1946-) during the last four decades of the twentieth century and Chapter 4 will examine the contributions of Pauline Yu (1949 -) and Haun Saussy (1960 -) to interpreting the genre at the end of the twentieth century and into the third millennium. Each of these translators brings a unique perspective to this study: by offering a diversity of interpretive approaches they provide a basis for comparison and a balanced view of the topic. The conclusion summarises a history of interpretive change instigated by these translators and how these factors affected reader reception. It also addresses the notion that a continuum of change in interpretive approach confirms re-created classical Chinese poetry as a fertile genre for contemporary readers. This continuum of changes is, in part, a result of the subtle influence of critical theories.

Context for Focus

Critical theories are constantly emerging but recognising which theories affected the interpretation of classical Chinese poetry during the past century remains unanswered. The nineteenth century scholarship of James Legge (1815-1897) and Herbert Giles

(1845-1935) provided a foundation of scholarship for the genre of classical Chinese poetry re-created as English poetry.⁹ Legge's *She King*, c.1871, contained such detailed analyses in the form of 'critical and exegetical notes, prolegomena, and copious indexes', that this volume is still highly regarded by re-creators as a source of interpretive material for the odes of the *Shijing*, the Chinese classic of poetry.¹⁰ Giles's *A History of Chinese Literature* (1901) embedded re-created poems in biographies of poets with sound historical settings for the more illusive texts, and *A Chinese-English Dictionary* (1892) were valuable tools for translators of the genre in the latter nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹¹

Background

An increase in artistic experimentation wrought by Euro-American modernism brought re-created Chinese poetry to the attention of literary theorists. Formalist critique, prominent from 1910 to the early 1920s, focused on qualities that distinguish poetry from

⁹ James Legge was a missionary in Hong Kong (1842-1872). His translations include: *The Chinese Classics* (1841-1871); *The Life and Teaching of Confucius* (1867) and *The Life and Teaching of Mencius* (1875). Herbert Giles was a diplomat to China (1867-1892), Professor of Chinese at Cambridge. He is best known for his work on the Wade-Giles system for romanizing Mandarin, a revision of an earlier system by Sir Thomas Francis Wade (1818-95), the *Chinese Biographical Dictionary (Hua-Ying Zidian)*, Shanghai, 1892, Kelly and Walsh, London 1898.

¹⁰ James Legge (trans.), *The She King*, Vol. IV, *The Chinese Classics: with a translation, critical and exegetical notes, prolegomena, and copious indexes*, SMC Publishing Company, Taipei, 1991 rpt 1871.

¹¹ Herbert Giles, *A History of Chinese Literature*, William Heinemann, London, 1901. Herbert Giles, *A Chinese-English Dictionary (Hua-Ying Zidian)*, 1892 Shanghai, Kelly and Walsh, London, 1898. Giles's books include: *Chinese Without a Teacher*, 1872; *Using Examples to Learn the Spoken Language (Yuxue Jiuyu)*, 1873; *Using Examples to Learn the Written Language (Zixue Jiuyu)*, 1874; *Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio*, 1880; *Gems of Chinese Literature*, 1884; *The Ancient Religions of China*, 1905; *An Introduction to the History of Chinese Pictorial Art*, 1905, 2nd ed. 1918 and *The Civilization of China*, 1911.

other written communications: metaphor, alliteration and rhythm.¹² Formalists argued that poetry uses connotative language, incorporating secondary meanings, but that other forms of communication use denotative, ‘one word for one thing’ allowing binaries to occur – ‘specific word and general meaning, body and spirit’.¹³ Formalists viewed poetry not as a sociological or philosophical genre but as an artistic mode.¹⁴ Chapters 1 and 4 will extend the notion of the genre as an artistic product. The next significant theory important for re-created classical Chinese poetry was structuralism.

Structuralism

Structuralists use signs, including linguistic signs, to define the world around them, including poetry.¹⁵ Modernist poet Elizabeth Sewall, posed a structuralist approach to interpretation of poetry by using a poet/reader binary to critique the cognitive tension inherent in reading poetic text. Sewall proposed ‘exclusive and inclusive mythologies,’ where the exclusive overlooks the perception by a physical body excluding ‘the perceiver from his perception’ and the inclusive, which seeks to include the reader and the poet.¹⁶ Her inclusive poetics defines three actors for the recreation of classical Chinese poetry: poet, translator and reader. This approach excludes the influence of isogesis – the affect

¹² Julie Rivkin and Michael Ryan, ‘Introduction: “Formalisms”’, in Julie Rivkin and Michael Ryan (eds), *Literary theory: An Anthology*, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford, 1998, pp. 3-4. Russian Formalists include Boris Tomashevski and Boris Eikhenbaum and American New Critic, Cleanth Brooks.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹⁵ For a fuller treatment of structuralists, for example, anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss, literary critic Roland Barthes, linguist Ferdinand de Saussure, and Marxist philosopher Louis Althusser, see Rivkin and Ryan and Jonathan Culler, ‘Introduction: The Linguistic Foundation’, in Rivkin and Ryan (eds), 1998, pp. 53-75.

¹⁶ James Scully, *Modern Poets on Modern Poetry*, Collins, London, 1966, p. 11.

of contemporary critical theories on the re-creator compounded by the cultural and socio-political factors affecting translation. This genre, with boundaries blurred by the wider interdisciplinary context of ‘art,’ both visual and auditory, is accessible and valued as interdisciplinary, transcultural poetry. As such, the genre no longer belongs to a particular binary space – either Chinese or English – but becomes a transcultural genre inhabiting a dialectic space. M. H. Abrams and James J. Y. Liu are key architects in structural approaches for the genre.

Abrams, in *The Mirror and the Lamp: Romantic Theory and Critical Tradition* (1958), provided a structural approach, an aesthetic theory framework for analysing art genres: a cycle of ‘work,’ ‘artist,’ ‘universe,’ and ‘audience’. In *Chinese Theories of Literature*, 1975, James J.Y. Liu adopted a similar model – ‘world,’ ‘artist,’ ‘art’ and ‘reader’ – specifically for classical Chinese poetry. Abrams’s framework provides a foundation from which to critique Liu’s and consider its suitability for re-created poetry. Chapter 3 will examine Liu’s graphic of aesthetics in relation to this genre. Post-structuralists and deconstructionists treat signs as language agents quite differently.

Post-Structuralism and Deconstructionism

Post-Structuralists and Deconstructionists see signs as ‘strategies of power and social control’.¹⁷ Julia Kristeva (1984) offers a Post-Structuralist perspective on the status of ‘the subject’: language escapes the stranglehold of ‘institutions and apparatuses’ to reach

¹⁷ Rivkin and Ryan, pp. 334-335. For a fuller treatment of post-structuralists and deconstructionists see Martin Heidegger, Friedrich Nietzsche, Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, and Gilles Deleuze and Julia Kristeva in Rivkin and Ryan.

the boundaries of ‘subject and society’ to achieve *jouissance*.¹⁸ She explores the possibilities that some semiotic articulations are genetically encoded, tacitly stored, and biologically transmitted but argues that these features of language are restricted to the ‘rhythmic,’ the ‘musical,’ and the syntactical. Her argument places semiotics and poetry in juxtaposition, as did Pound (see Chapter 1) a half a century before Kristeva. Neither Post-Structuralism nor Deconstructionism touched the core of classical Chinese poetry rendered in English as much as post-colonialism and orientalism.

Orientalism, Contact Zones and Borderlands Theory

Edward Said’s *Orientalism* (1978) burdened Western translators with the guilt of disempowering Asia by how they wrote about it.¹⁹ Speaking of the period from the late eighteenth century onwards, Said claimed:

Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient. ... without examining Orientalism as a discourse one cannot possibly understand the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage – even produce – the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period.²⁰

Dirlik’s article ‘Chinese History and the Question of Orientals’ builds on Said’s ‘Orientalism’ and Mary Louise Pratt’s concept of ‘contact zones’ to construct his own

¹⁸ Julia Kristeva, ‘Revolution in Poetic Language’, in Rivkin and Ryan, *Literary Theory: An Anthology*, 1984, pp. 451-463.

¹⁹ Edward Said, *Orientalism*, Pantheon, New York, 1995 rpt 1978.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

concept of ‘borderlands’.²¹ Where Said viewed Orientalism as a construct of late nineteenth century imperialism, empowering Euro-Americans, Pratt sees Orientalism as a joint construct of Asian and European academics in the ‘contact zones’. Dirlik furthers this argument by pointing out that the ‘self-actualising’ of the Asian academics in these borderlands empowers them, in contrast to Said’s disempowering Orientalism. Dirlik’s argument provides a shift in theories of power relations – cross-cultural texts become transcultural. Dirlik focuses on Chinese history and the junction of Chinese and Western cultural practices in a setting of power equity but he does not consider the impact of these theories on translated literature.

In *The Postcolonial Aura: Third World Criticism in the Age of Global Capitalism* (1997) Arif Dirlik argues that the relationship between history, culture and politics needs to be recast to allow Asia, specifically China, to escape the historical construct of Orientalism, a Western product of modernity.²² Dirlik argues for the need to move beyond a ‘contact zone’ concept, which still empowers Eurocentrism at the expense of a balanced European and Asian cultural exchange. He examines Chen Xiaomei’s theory that the meaning of Orientalism is dependent on context, Aijaz Ahmad’s critique of Orientalism and Tu Wei-ming’s exposition on the effect of New Confucianism among Chinese Diaspora and mainland Chinese. Dirlik’s ‘borderlands theory’ and Edward Said’s Orientalism both central to the post-colonial paradigm, challenged the reading of Chinese texts, including poetry, written in the power system of a Western language.

²¹ Mary L. Pratt, ‘Arts of the Contact Zone’, in *Ways of Reading*, 5th ed., David Bartholomae and Anthony Petrofsky (eds.), Bedford-St Martin’s, New York, 1999, p. 15; Keith Windshuttle, ‘Edward Said’s Orientalism Revisited’, *The New Criterion*, updated 11 January 1999, accessed 2 March 2004, <http://static.highbeam.com-n-newcriterion-january011999-edwardsaidsorientalismrevisitedliterarycritic>

²² Arif Dirlik, *The Postcolonial Aura: Third World Criticism in the Age of Global Capitalism*, Westfield Press, Colorado, 1997.

Chapter 3 will examine how Orientalism, contact zones and borderlands theories have affected interpretive approaches to English re-creations of classical Chinese poetry in relation to the interpretive approaches of Liu and Owen.

Postmodernism

Jean-François Lyotard depicts postmodernism as a critique dedicated to liberating art, in this case poetics, from the boundaries imposed by modernism. Lyotard argues that postmodernism opposes the pessimism of metanarratives particularly scientific positivist and Enlightenment discourses.²³ The liberating attributes of Postmodernism suit the special needs of this genre. Free from the strictures of empiricism – scientific ‘truth’ – this genre has its own truth not bound to a specific time or place and thus able to create its own temporal space. Throughout this study Chinese poetry re-created in English will be regarded as a genre in its own temporal space. In Chapters 3 and 4, approaches by Owen, Yu and Saussy will strengthen the notion that changing perceptions of this genre support it as a transcultural tool. Perceiving re-created classical Chinese poetry as an art genre allows greater latitude for reader reception.

Reception Theory

In *Towards an Aesthetic of Reception*, Hans Jauss argues that text interpretation needs an aesthetic perceptual base while subjectivity and diversity of interpretation experiences

²³ Jean-François Lyotard, ‘The Postmodern Condition’, in Rivkin and Ryan, *Literary Theory: An Anthology*, 1984.

must be based on the historical influence of the text.²⁴ Jauss describes F. Vodicka's reception theory as the product of interplay between artist and reader in the workshop of 'Prague structuralism'.²⁵ While Paul de Man supports the notion that historical aspects bearing on the text's reception must not be divorced from its 'formal and aesthetic aspects,' de Man suggests that elements of difference can interchange with elements of similarity by accommodating the poem's temporal space and syntactic elements.²⁶ Vodicka, Jauss and de Man develop a hermeneutic of individual reader reception which softens Prague structuralism's inflexible 'aesthetic dogmatism' and 'extreme subjectivism' and successfully argue the importance of reader reception for any artistic creation, including poetry.²⁷ They argue from a Western perspective but there is a Chinese perspective to consider.

A Chinese Perspective

Yangfang Tang, a first language Chinese speaker, suggests ignoring Eurocentric aspects of critical theories to avoid unbalanced cross-cultural analysis.²⁸ Tang argues that Chinese poets and critics view poetry reading as aesthetic, not cognitive. Consequently, Chinese critics do not concern themselves with reader reception of poetry in the same way as Western critics do. Joseph Allen in *In the Voice of Others: Chinese Music Bureau*

²⁴ Hans Jauss, *Towards an Aesthetic of Reception*, Timothy Bati (trans.), Minnesota Press, Minneapolis 1982, p. 23.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

²⁶ Paul de Man, 'Preface', in *ibid.*, pp. xvi, xvii.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

²⁸ Yangfang Tang, 'Cognition or Affective Experience: Theory and Practice of Reading in Chinese and Western Literary Traditions', *Comparative Literature*, vol. 49, no. 2, 1997, pp. 151-176.

Poetry (1992) and Michael Fuller in 'Pursuing the Complete Bamboo in the Breast: Reflections on a Classical Chinese Image for Immediacy' (1993), stress that classical Chinese poems are written to stimulate an immediate response from a specific audience.²⁹ Allen and Fuller, adopting a position that audience consideration is paramount, challenge Tang's assertion that difference in critical concern cannot help affecting the production of poetry. In 'Language, Truth, and Literary Interpretation: a Cross-cultural Examination,' Tang argues that classical Chinese poets overcome the difficulties of reader-perception by basing interpretation of poetry on semantics whereas Western poets, basing their interpretations on syntax, create a need to demystify language in order to overcome metaphorical rhetoric.³⁰ He claims that the audience of classical Chinese poetry was expected to have a personal, emotional and creative experience with the poems as well as interpreting their meaning. Tang, Allen and Fuller provide a theoretical foundation for exploring reader-reception of re-created classical Chinese poetry through complex voices in Chapter 4.

Specific Tensions for the Genre

Isogenesis

Tuck, in *Comparative Philosophy and the Philosophy of Scholarship*, coined the term isogenesis to describe the tension of interpreting texts across temporal and spatial zones. Isogenesis is the aspect of interpretation that comes from interpreters unconsciously using

²⁹ Joseph Allen, *In the Voice of Others: Chinese Music Bureau Poetry*, University of Michigan, Michigan, 1992. Michael Fuller, 'Pursuing the Complete Bamboo in the Breast: Reflections on a Classical Chinese Image for Immediacy', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 53, no. 1, 1993, pp. 5-24.

³⁰ Yangfang Tang, 'Language, Truth, and Literary Interpretation: a Cross-cultural Examination', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 60, No. 1, 1999, pp. 1-2.

familiar traditions to interpret the unfamiliar.³¹ Tuck is referring to Western interpretations of Sanskrit but his argument holds true for all interpretation. Tuck claims that interpreters who aim for objectivity in comparative cultural and textual analysis are denying their unconscious biases formed by scholarship in a particular language and culture.³² Tuck calls a reader's use of 'their personal and cultural perspectives,' to make texts intelligible, the 'productive or creative aspect' of isogesis.³³ The 'productive understanding' of Tuck parallels what Hans-Georg Gadamer calls 'productive attitude,' that aspect of the 'meaning of a text [that] always' goes beyond the author.³⁴ Interpreters of re-created classical Chinese poetry are poets, translators and readers so there is a possibility of unconscious filtering by three different sets of literary cultures. Reader involvement in the interpretive process cannot be avoided but translators decide the degree of their involvement. By creating a closed text, where translators restrict interpretive options for readers, the effect of isogesis imposed by the translator is paramount. This study will note particular instances of isogesis in each chapter by comparing translations.

³¹ Tuck, p. 15.

³² Ibid., pp. 12-15.

³³ Ibid., pp. 15-16.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 16; Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method (Wahreit and Methode)*, Garrett Barden and John Cumming (trans. eds.), Crossroad, New York, 1975, p. 263 and David Weberman, 'A New Defence of Gadamer's Hermeneutics', *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*, vol. LX, no. 1, January, 2000, pp. 45-65.

Similarity and Difference

When Fuller uses the poetry of Su Shi (1037-1101) to compare and contrast the different values inherent in Chinese and Western poetic traditions, he speaks from a Western perspective.³⁵ Fuller emphasises binaries rather than stressing similarities but he does stress the ‘bamboo in breast’ immediacy of classical Chinese poetry as a dichotomy of temporality and constancy as opposed to a Western dichotomy of subject and object.³⁶ How this East-West dichotomy of poetic form affected interpretation of the genre will be investigated in Chapter 3.

From a comparative perspective, Zong-qi Cai, in *Configurations of Comparative Poetics*, traces how Euro-American poetry and Chinese poetry are affected by the philosophies of their cultural traditions, for example, Western Aristotelian philosophy’s mandate of ‘truth value’ influenced European literature and consequently re-created classical Chinese poetry.³⁷ Cai argues that the poetic theories of Homer, Hesiod and Plato have parallels with Chinese classical cosmological Confucian Daoist theories. He calls these parallels ‘polemics of similitude’ and their antithesis, ‘polemics of difference’; both polemics are essential to the interpretation of transcultural poetry.³⁸ Cai argues that Western comparative studies from the 1960s to the 1980s continued to ignore differences in socio-historical cultural paradigms, weighting discourse in favour of Western theory. He seeks interpretation that reaches beyond these polemics to cross the

³⁵ Fuller, pp. 5-24.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Zong-qi Cai, *Configurations of Comparative Poetics: Three Perspectives on Western and Chinese Literary Criticism*, University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu, 2002.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 246.

‘deeply entrenched cultural biases separating the West and China’.³⁹ This study will consider English renderings of classical Chinese poetry as artistic products, a unique genre of transcultural poetry, with growth stimulated, in part, by wars.

Repercussions of War

In 1916, a pre-WWI report (1909) on the importance of non-European studies resulted in the formation of the London-based School of Oriental and African Studies, later called the School of Oriental Studies, an important academic forum for Waley’s re-creations of classical Chinese poetry. Michael Loewe’s 1998 survey, ‘The Origins and Growth of Chinese Studies,’ cites Arthur Waley and Joseph Needham as the scholars who did most to showcase Chinese accomplishments for early twentieth century English literate academies.⁴⁰ Loewe cites two English events that affected post-WWII Chinese studies: the Royal Academy Chinese Exhibition (1935-1936) and Waley’s re-creations of classical Chinese poetry, as the source of a surge of interest in Chinese art, including literary art. He notes that English re-creations of the *Shijing* and translations of the *Lun Yu* along with other Confucian texts appealed to powerful English literary movements such as the Bloomsbury group. After WWII neglect of knowledge of imperial China and lack of translators for military intelligence work became a political concern. This, according to Loewe, contributed to an expansion of Chinese studies to incorporate studies of ‘Chinese philosophy, literature and art’ in the disciplines of these areas.⁴¹ Loewe’s

³⁹ Ibid., pp. 126-127 and 147.

⁴⁰ Michael Loewe, ‘The Origins and Growth of Chinese Studies,’ *European Association of Chinese Studies (Association européenne d’études chinoises, Survey No.7, 1998.*

⁴¹ Ibid.

study shows how war widened interest in re-created Chinese poetry but not how this expansion affected change in the interpretation of the genre as this thesis will.

Kenneth Rexroth (1905-1982), acknowledged the dramatic changes in post-WWII United States. He saw poetry as a communication tool giving ‘specific ... overt ... challenging expression to religious values’ because it is the least likely art form to succumb to commodification.⁴² Rexroth and fellow post-WWII Beat poets and translators of the genre such as Allen Ginsberg and Gary Snyder, rejected war and established an alternative lifestyle that embraced new ‘artistic and literary values’ resulting in new critical evaluations.⁴³ He noted the spread of these values through expatriate Americans, ‘especially San Franciscans’, based in London and commuting regularly across the channel to France, Holland, Sweden and Germany. Rexroth noted that wars, including the Korean and Vietnam Wars, wrought changes in technology that were not reflected in decisions by middle-aged politicians in both America and Europe. He predicted a ‘youth backlash’ resulting from this generational response.⁴⁴ Chapter 2 of this study will explore how this response affected approaches to the re-creation of classical Chinese poetry. Wars in the twentieth century drew attention to Chinese and Japanese language and literature.

⁴² Kenneth Rexroth, ‘The Making of the Counterculture’, [dated] 1967-1969, <http://www.bopsecrets.org-rexroth-essays-counterculture.htm>

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

Japanese Scholarship

Japanese literary scholarship has a long history of interaction with Chinese artistic endeavours including Chinese literature, and the twentieth century was no exception. From Ernest Fenollosa's *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art: An Outline History of East Asiatic Design* (1913) to John de Gruchy's *Orienting Arthur Waley: Japonism, Orientalism, and the Creation of Japanese Literature* (2003) the influence of Japanese scholarship on the genre is well documented.⁴⁵ Chapter 1 will examine how Pound and Waley were indebted to Japanese scholarship. Chapters 2 and 3 will look at the post-WWII influence on the genre by this scholarship: Earl Miner's *The Japanese Tradition in British and American Literature* (1958) and Warren French's *The San Francisco Poetry Renaissance, 1955-1960* (1991) provide a foundation for investigating Japanese influence during the second half of the twentieth century.⁴⁶ David Ewick has created a network of linkages within his website, *Japonisme, Orientalism, Modernism: A Critical Bibliography of Japanese in English-Language Verse, 1900-1950* (2004), demonstrating the wide spread repercussions of Japanese scholarship on the interpretation of the genre.⁴⁷ This study will explore the importance of Japanese scholarship in regard to the re-creation of Chinese poetry and its more subtle influences through religion.

⁴⁵ Ernest Fenollosa, *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art: An Outline History of East Asiatic Design*, vols 1 & 2, 1913; John de Gruchy, *Orienting Arthur Waley: Japonism, Orientalism, and the Creation of Japanese Literature*, University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu, 2003.

⁴⁶ Earl Miner, *The Japanese Tradition in British and American Literature*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1958; Warren French, *The San Francisco Poetry Renaissance, 1955-1960*, Twayne Publishers, Boston, 1991.

⁴⁷ David Ewick, *Japonisme, Orientalism, Modernism, A Critical Bibliography of Japanese in English-Language Verse, 1900-1950*, updated 24 November 2004, accessed 29 November 2004, <http://themargins.net-bib-D-d15.html>

Religion and Philosophy

Bernard Faure attributes Western perceptions of Chinese religions to ‘Christian missionaries,’ not the least of which was Matteo Ricci (1552-1610), the first Jesuit missionary embraced by Chinese literati.⁴⁸ Faure explores Chinese Buddhism, Chan, in relation to its better-known Japanese form, Zen, however, he does not consider this influence from a textual standpoint. Zong-qi Cai sees Western literary critique as a reconceptualization of the text ‘in relation to truth’ whereas Chinese critique recontextualizes texts ‘in relation to cosmic and sociopolitical processes’ based on Taoist tenets.⁴⁹ This critical tension affects interpretation of classical Chinese poetry re-created as English poetry but the extent has yet to be demonstrated. English re-creations of poetry based on the precepts of Taoism, Buddhism and Chan are the foundation for the comparative study in Chapter 2.

Pauline Yu, Stephen Owen and Andrew Plaks claim that classical Chinese poems lack creativity because they are based on empirical evidence.⁵⁰ They cite the lack of interest in metaphysical subject matter in classical Chinese poetry as the basis for their claim. On the other hand, Paula Varsano argues that subjects in Taoist poems ignore their environment to move in a totally unpredictable fashion. This, she suggests, is in contrast to the earlier poetry by Confucians, which was subject-centred – responding to its

⁴⁸ Bernard Faure, *Chan Insights and Oversights: An Epistemological Critique of the Chan Tradition*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1993, p. 15.

⁴⁹ Cai, 2002, p. 2.

⁵⁰ Yong Ren, ‘Cosmogony, Fictionality, Poetic Creativity: Western and Traditional Chinese Cultural Perceptions’, *Comparative Literature*, vol. 50, iss. 2, 1998, pp. 98-120.

environment in a symmetrical manner.⁵¹ Both Chinese and Western philosophers have difficulty with aspects of language: for Western philosophy, metaphoricity, and for traditional Chinese philosophers and poets, the inadequacy of language. Varsano supports Cai's stance, regarding the importance of polemics of similitude and difference. He also considers how philosophies and ideologies affect perceptions of English re-creations of classical Chinese poetry. The impact of philosophy and religion on choice is explored mainly in Chapters 2 and 3.

Editing and Publication

Choice of what to re-create hinges on three main factors: what re-creates fluidly and understandably; what editors decide is relevant and what publishers believe is economically viable. Poetry that is understandable appeals to English readership tastes because it is both recognizable and relevant to its audience. Third millennium internet publishing is free and therefore widely accessible, however, hard copy publications will continue to provide aesthetic value, as other poetry books do. Pauline Yu, in an address to the American Association of University Presses, raised parallels between early book publications and contemporary digital technologies.⁵² Yu presses the need for active participation of 'editors, librarians, archivists and curators' in building the foundations of digital infrastructure because they are the future of information storage. For Yu, 'digital publishing ... [is] ... perhaps increasingly the best means of publishing for the purposes

⁵¹ Paula Varsano, 'Getting There From Here: Locating the Subject in Early Chinese Poetics', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 56, no.2, 1996, pp. 375-403.

⁵² Pauline Yu, 'On Synthetic Technologies: the Book, the University, the Internet', American Association of University Presses, Vancouver, 27 June 2004.

of scholarship'.⁵³ World Wide Web publishing, she argues, provides access for 'experimental workflows' following in the steps of another 'disruptive' publication technology, 'the first printed books,' but she does not discuss its effect on approaches to re-creating classical Chinese poetry as this thesis does in Chapters 1, 3 and 4.

Anticipated Outcomes

I expect to find that environmental influences affecting translators precipitated shifts in the way classical Chinese poetry re-created in English is interpreted. Furthermore, a history of interpretive changes will demonstrate that English renderings of classical Chinese poems, by their very hybridity, have the potential to provide a global readership with effective transcultural literature. Concentrating on interpretations of Chinese poems by translators active in specific decades of the twentieth century will focus on changes of poetic form, shifts in theories of translation and the significance of particular methodologies, within defined parameters. Developing greater insight into the change in reception by readers of the genre will hopefully provide insight into the direction that third millennium translation might take. It will also empower readers to negotiate interpretation of the re-created poems with greater confidence and satisfaction and encourage the deconstruction of critical theory by acknowledging the impermanence of all interpretive theories.

⁵³ Ibid.

1 POUND AND WALEY: SETTING THE SCENE

Introduction

The difficult part of literary translation is not conveying accurate meaning but choosing the right words in the target language to achieve appropriate tone and eloquence.¹

This chapter examines how influences on Ezra Pound (1885-1972) and Arthur Waley (1889-1966) affected their interpretations of re-created classical Chinese poetry during the early decades of the twentieth century. The first section provides a synopsis of the lives of Pound and Waley, their friends and literary peers and it examines modernism, the period in which they formed their approaches to the genre, including Pound's indebtedness to the notes of fellow American Ernest Fenollosa (1853-1908) for his approach to interpretation of the genre. Ideogrammic theory, along with its spin-offs – imagism, vorticism and montage – is examined, along with Songping Jin's understanding of the theory from a Chinese perspective, and the productive error produced by this theory. Waley's contribution to interpretation of the genre is examined by comparative analysis of his re-creations with those of Pound. The second section, a philological critique of Waley's *Shijing* re-creations by Swedish linguist Bernard Karlgren (1889-1978), prefaces a comparative analysis of re-creations by Pound, Waley and Karlgren.²

¹ John Walter de Gruchy, *Orienting Arthur Waley: Japonism, Orientalism, and the Creation of Japanese Literature*, University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu, 2003, p. 4.

² Bernard Karlgren, 'Glosses on the Kuo Feng Odes', *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, vol. 14, pp. 76-79, 1942; Bruce E. Brooks, 'Philology in an Old Key: Lord Shang Revisited', WSWG 17 Conference, Lieden, 2003. Philology in this study takes the same meaning as Brooks does 'using linguistic and historical knowledge to understand a problematic text'. (Klas) Bernard Karlgren Swedish sinologist (Chinese pen name Gao BenHun), was the first to use European-style principles of historical linguistics to study the Chinese language. His most influential publications include: [cont. p. 27]

The final section collates common factors affecting interpretation of the genre during the early decades of the twentieth century all of which were dependent on the foundations laid by nineteenth century scholarship.

Pound: The Early Years

Ezra Pound: Quintessential Poet

Pound was born in Hailey, Idaho in 1885 and educated at the University of Pennsylvania and Hamilton College, New York. He made a significant contribution to modernist English poetics and approaches to the interpretation of Chinese poetry rendered as English poetry. Based in London between 1908 and 1919, Pound worked on his own poetry but also gathered around him a group of artistic peers whom he encouraged and promoted to publishers. Pound promoted the publication of early efforts of struggling young writers such as James Joyce, T.S. Eliot, Marianne Moore, Hilda Doolittle (H.D.), Robert Frost and W.B. Yeats, maintaining open communication channels with his poetic peers, by letter and in person as often as possible.³ He supported their writing and they his, for example, when Eliot called Pound ‘the inventor of Chinese poetry for our time’.⁴ London was also the home of Lawrence Binyon (1869-1943), assistant keeper of Far East paintings and prints for the British Museum and there is a great deal of evidence that

Études sur la phonologie chinoise, 1915-1926; Philology and Ancient China and Analytic, 1926 and Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese, 1926.

³ Charles Norman, *Ezra Pound*, London, Minerva Press, 1969, p. 155.

⁴ T.S. Eliot (ed.), ‘Introduction’, *Ezra Pound, Selected Poems*, Faber and Faber, London, 1928.

Pound knew Binyon in 1909.⁵ If, as Zong-qi Cai conjectures, Pound attended Binyon's lectures on Chinese art then he probably had his first experience of classical Chinese poetry there too since a great deal of traditional Chinese painting, combines with poetry and calligraphy.⁶ This connection is interesting because Binyon also initiated Waley in the art and culture of the Far East.

Pound and several of his American poetic contemporaries, Williams, Eliot, HD, and Lowell, along with Yeats and Joyce moved out of traditional poetic boundaries. They converged on London and Paris to create, publish and educate their readers' literary palates in new forms of poetry. Modernist poets rejected the strictures binding them to iambic pentameter; five stresses per line and a set number of lines per verse. One of the strong edicts of modernism – 'that the truth, or what passes for the truth, must be periodically redressed, re-examined, and reaffirmed in a new mode' – particularly applied to Pound.⁷ Re-examining translation theory to affirm a 'new mode', its re-creation as English poetry, was critical to Pound's approach to interpretation of Chinese poetry. He predicted that 1920s poetics would move away from poetic 'poppy-cock', be 'harder', 'saner', to 'rest nearer to the truth', and have 'interpretive power' because therein lies 'poetic force'.⁸ Certainly, Pound led modernist poetic re-creation in this direction.

⁵ Lawrence Binyon, Curator Oriental sub-Department of the British Museum, poet and scholar, is renowned in the contemporary English-speaking world for the fourth verse of his seven-verse poem 'For the Fallen' – The Ode recited for casualties of war for England and Commonwealth countries. Carroll F. Terrell 1974, 'The Na-Khi Documents I,' *Paideuma*, 1974, vol. 3, pp. 91-122. Holaday, Woon-Ping Chin, 'Pound and Binyon: China via the British Museum,' *Paideuma*, vol. 6, pp. 27-36, 1977; John Trevor Hatcher, *Laurence Binyon: Poet, Scholar of East and West*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1995.

⁶ Cai, 2002, p. 192. The three perfections from the Tang dynasty onwards were painting, poetry and calligraphy.

⁷ James Scully, *Modern Poets on Modern Poetry*, 1966, p.69.

⁸ Ezra Pound, *Literary Essays of Ezra Pound*, Faber and Faber, London, 1985 rpt 1954, p. 12.

Both Eliot and Pound acknowledged the approach of nineteenth century symbolist Jules Laforgue (1860-1887) as the pioneer of free form poetry but Pound also compared Laforgue's approach to that of Tang poet Wang Wei.⁹ In a letter to Iris Barry, on 24th August 1916, Pound confided, 'I have spent the day with Wang Wei, eighth century Jules Laforgue Chinois'.¹⁰ Zhaoming Qian argues that Pound probably knew of Wang Wei's poems in the writing of Binyon and the notes of Ernest Fenollosa.¹¹ It was not unexpected that Pound turned to the Orient for inspiration.

In April 1913, months before he was given Fenollosa's notebooks, Pound published his now famous haiku poem:¹²

IN A STATION OF THE METRO

The apparition of these faces in the crowd;

Petals on a wet black bough.¹³

⁹ Zhaoming Qian, 'Ezra Pound's encounter with Wang Wei: toward the "ideogrammic method" of the Cantos', *Twentieth Century Literature*, 1993, vol. 39, no. 3, p. 267. Wang Wei's poetry was a popular choice for twentieth century translators, for example, Yin-nan Chang and Walmsley, Lewis C. (trans.), *Poems by Wang Wei*, 1958; Pauline Yu, *The Poetry of Wang Wei*, 1980; Marsha L. Wagner, *Wang Wei*, 1981; Eliot Weiberger and Octavio Paz, *Nineteen Ways of Looking at Wang Wei*, 1987; Tony Barnstone, Willis Barnstone, and Haixin Xu, *Laughing Lost in the Mountains: Poems of Wang Wei*, 1991.

¹⁰ Ezra Pound, 'Letter to Iris Barry', 24 August 1916, in D.D. Page, *Selected letters of Ezra Pound*, 1950, p.93. Pound continues, 'I have this day written my first two sentences in Chinese', which is interesting because he published *Cathay* in 1915. Further, Pound asserts, 'Really one DON'T need to know a language. One NEEDS, damn well needs, to know the few hundred words in the few really good poems that any language has in it'. Jules Laforgue, a French poet, experimented with verse forms, rhythms, vocabulary and free verse for European languages.

¹¹ Qian, p. 268. Qian raises the probability that Pound knew Wang Wei's work from Binyon c.1909 and Fenollosa's *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art* c.1913.

¹² Yone Noguchi, 'What is a Hokku Poem?' *Rhythm*, no. 11, 1913, pp. 354-359. Pound was two years behind Noguchi in presenting haiku in English.

¹³ Patricia Wills, 'Petals on a Wet Black Bough: American Modernist Writers and the Orient', 1996, Accessed 14 June 2002, <http://www.library.yale.edu-beinecke-orient-intro.htm>

Pound's total disregard for iambic pentameter and his focus on concrete images confirm his shift in approach to poetic composition. His haiku suggests a shift towards East Asian poetic composition, however, looking to the Far East for inspiration did not begin with Pound and his twentieth-century American modernist poets. During the latter half of the nineteenth century United States developed a cultural and religious fascination for East Asian countries, particularly China and Japan.

Pound and Translation

As to the atrocities of my translation, all that can be said in excuse for that they are, I hope, for the most part intentional, and committed with the aim of driving the reader's perception further into the original than it would without them have penetrated.¹⁴

Pound's appeal is based on his aim to transmit texts (just as Confucius did) and not to create them.¹⁵ When East Asian art scholar Ernest Fenollosa died in 1908, his widow Mary entrusted some of her husband's unpublished papers – including notes on the Chinese written character, the interpretation of classical Chinese poetry and Japanese Nō plays – to Pound.¹⁶ These notes and Pound's reaction to them proved the most significant factor for change in the interpretation of the genre during the twentieth century.

¹⁴ Mary Patterson Cheadle, *Ezra Pound's Confucian Translations*, 1997, p. 29; Ezra Pound, *Cavalcanti*, composed between 1910 and 1930; Robert Hughes and Margaret Fisher, *Cavalcanti: A Perspective on The Music of Ezra Pound*, Emeryville, Second Evening Art, 2003.

¹⁵ Michael Reck, *Ezra Pound: A Close Up*, Ruper Hart-Davis Ltd, London, 1968, p. 162.

¹⁶ Ernest Fenollosa publications include: *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art, An Outline History of East Asiatic Design*, 2nd ed., vols. 1 & 2, Dover Publications Inc., London, 1963 rpt 1913, originally edited and published by Mary Fenollosa, William Heinemann, London, 1912; and *An Essay On the Chinese Written Character*, edited by Ezra Pound, 1920. See also Achilles Fang, 'Fenollosa and Pound', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 20, 1957, pp. 213-38.

In *Cathay* (1915) Pound cribbed from the notes of Fenollosa to interpret a poem by Mei Sheng of the Han dynasty.¹⁷ According to Wai-lim Yip, Pound, with little personal knowledge of the Chinese written language, ‘is able to get into the central consciousness of the original author by what we may call a kind of clairvoyance’.¹⁸ Pound spoke of ‘elaborate masks’ and shedding ‘complete masks of the self in his translations’ and declared ‘The Seafarer’ from *Cathay* one of his dominant personae.¹⁹ These masks and personae, a modernist version of method acting, are the key to Pound’s getting ‘into the central consciousness of the author’.²⁰ Method actors ‘try not to act but to be themselves, to respond or react,’ in much the same way that classical Chinese poetry tries not to express emotion. Pound combines masks and personae in what may be called *method translating*, with modernist minimalism to form the basis of his translating theories.

Before re-creating Chinese poetry, in 1911, Pound presents the poet as ‘The artist who seeks out luminous detail and presents it’. However, in 1918 after working with Chinese poetry, he commented that ‘because certain Chinese poets have been content to set forth their matter without moralizing and without comment that one labors to make a

¹⁷ Pound, 1915, p. 7. ‘The Seafarer’ is an early Anglo-Saxon poem used as an example of Pound’s ‘personae’.

¹⁸ Wai-lim Yip, *Ezra Pound's Cathay*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1969a, p. 88.

¹⁹ Ezra Pound, *Gaudier-Brzeska: A Memoir*, The Marvell Press, Hessle, East Yorkshire, 1960 rpt 1916, p. 85; Ezra Pound 1915, pp. 23-27; Ming Xie, ‘Elegy and Personae in Ezra Pound's *Cathay*’, *ELH*, 1993, vol. 60, no. 1, p. 261.

²⁰ Michael Mills, ‘A Look at Stanislavski's Method’, The Actors Studio, The Palace, 1995, accessed 30 November 2004, <http://www.moderntimes.com-palace-method.htm>: ‘Lee Strasberg (1899-1982), a teacher and theorist of acting and a leader of the Actors Studio, suggested that the most effective film performers were those who did not act’.

translation'.²¹ From these observations the effect of classical Chinese poetry on Pound appears clear but he read the poems from a Western poetical perspective and, perhaps even more importantly, from his unique personal perspective, which sometimes led to misunderstanding. Nowhere is this misunderstanding more apparent than in his reading of Confucianism in Fascism.

Pound and Publishing

Pound was searching for answers that fitted his ideals and his choices of classical Chinese texts for translation reflect this. Mussolini's Fascism, with edicts of 'speed, youth, machinery, modernism, and war,' paralleled futurism, a critical theory that Pound rejected.²² In Confucianism he thought that he had found Fascism, a political movement that he later denounced.²³ His fascination with Fascism explains why Pound made Confucian texts, including the *Shijing*, the focus of his Chinese translations.²⁴ The Fenollosa/Pound ideogrammic theory drew Pound to Wang Wei.²⁵ Although writing enthusiastically to Iris Barry on his first encounter with this poet, Pound did not publish any re-creations of Wang Wei's poetry. With the exception of *Cathay*, he confined his Chinese translations to Confucian texts. Even the stimulation of London literary society and Pound's influence in it, did not keep the attention of the post-WWI Pound for long.

In 1920 Pound relocated to Paris where he spent four years with a wide circle of

²¹ Ezra Pound, 'I Gather the Limbs of Osiris', *New Age*, December 7, vol. 10, no. 6, 1911, p. 130. Ezra Pound, 'Chinese Poetry', *Today*, no. 3, 1918, p. 54.

²² Norman, p. 146.

²³ Cheadle, p. 3.

²⁴ Norman, pp. 460-461.

²⁵ Ezra Pound, letter to Iris Barry, 24 August 1916; Qian, pp. 266-283.

artists – painters, musicians and writers including poets – who strengthened a wave of change in European art forms. These poets created, published and educated their readers’ palates with a new style of poetry, *vers libre*, a rejection of nineteenth century strictures such as iambic pentameter. Based in Italy from 1924, Pound read descriptions of ‘ancient African civilizations’ by German anthropologist Leo Frobenius and studied Chinese, becoming ‘engrossed in Confucius’ as he ‘translated that ethical philosopher’.²⁶ He broadcast radical political theories for Mussolini throughout WWII.²⁷ He was arrested for treason in 1945 and held in solitary confinement at the U.S. Army Forces Disciplinary Training Centre near Pisa.²⁸ He was allowed access to limited reading materials including Confucian texts, a Bible and a Catholic missal and worked on a translation of *Mencius*.²⁹ These may well have compounded his resentment of religion – beliefs that affected his whole poetic outlook, including his re-creations of classical Chinese poetry.³⁰

Returned to the United States, Pound was declared unfit to stand trial and committed to St Elizabeth’s Hospital for the insane, Washington.³¹ During his twelve

²⁶ Reck, p. 49.

²⁷ Robert Wernick 1995, ‘The Strange and Inscrutable Case of Ezra Pound’, *Smithsonian*, vol. 6, no. 9, 1995, p. 112.

²⁸ *Ibid.* Pound was initially held in a small cage with a spotlight on at night to disrupt his sleep patterns.

²⁹ Ben D. Kimpel and T.C. Duncan, ‘More on Pound’s Prison Experiences’, *American Literature*, vol. 53, no. 3, 1981, p. 474; Norman, p. 395; Reck, p. 64. Reck maintains that after Pound ‘suffered a breakdown’ and was placed in a tent in the medical compound, his material possessions consisted of ‘one cot and a box’ used as a wardrobe ‘a Bible and his Legge edition of Confucius, the Chinese text with an English translation.’

³⁰ Wernick, pp. 119-120. Pound’s fervent anti-Semitism came from his belief that the ills of Western society, America in particular, were linked to usury. The belief affected his whole poetic outlook, including translation. In his seventies Pound confided to friends that his prejudice against Judaism was the worst mistake that he had ever made. He had decided that it was ‘not usury but human avarice and greed’ that infected humans. His significant change of position regarding Semitism is rarely recognised by his detractors.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 120-121.

years of incarceration in St Elizabeth's Pound re-created the three hundred poems of the *Shijing* and completed twenty-five Cantos and a vast assortment of minor written texts.³² In 1949, while still in St Elizabeth's, Pound was awarded the highest poetry honour in the United States, the Bollinger Prize, for his 'Pisan Cantos'.³³ Pardoned in 1958, Pound returned to Italy to spend his remaining fifteen years in quiet retreat. Although he occasionally showed glimpses of unique flamboyant behaviour in his later years, he spoke only of his errors calling his anti-Semitism 'a stupid suburban prejudice' and his *Cantos* 'eighty-seven percent wrong'.³⁴ However, he never lost his passion for classical Chinese texts. Pound found the concrete images of classical Chinese poetry in the succinct images of modernism.

Imagism

Pound claimed the first use of the term 'Imagiste' was made in his editorial notes to poems written by T. E. Hulme in *Riposte* 'in the autumn of 1912,'³⁵ but the public birth of imagism is credited to Pound's label for HD's poetry in the same year.³⁶ Pound once described '*Imagistes*' as those poets 'pursuing interesting experiments in *vers libre*' and

³² Norman, pp. 336-355. During these years Pound received visitors and responded to letters from his peers, including Chinese and Japanese academics.

³³ Wernick, p. 124. The ever-eccentric Pound refused to leave the psychiatric institution until scheduled dental work had been completed.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p.125.

³⁵ Ezra Pound, 'A Retrospect (1913 and 1918)', in *Modern Poetry: Essays in Criticism*, John Hollander (ed.), Oxford University Press, London, 1968, p. 4.

³⁶ Wernick, p. 119: In 1912, childhood friend Hilda Doolittle asked Pound to peruse her poems. He swiftly 'shortened a few lines', 'changed a few adjectives', added 'HD, Imagiste', and arranged for them to be published.

adopting the ‘subtleties cadence’ studied by the French symbolist Stéphane Mallarmé³⁷ and his followers.³⁸ Jacques Derrida attributes to Mallarmé, along with Pound and Fenollosa, the ‘revolutionary breakthrough in Western literature and poetic writing’ which includes re-created Chinese poetry.³⁹ Mallarmé’s concrete poetry witnesses ‘the undecidability of a meaning of a word’ to which Pound and Fenollosa add the dimension of ‘irreducibility of the physical shape which sustains the meaning of the word’.⁴⁰ Combined, these theories uphold the value of the image. Imagism was ‘Pound’s technical attempt to strip poetry of abstractions’ including the accented syllable metre— stringently adhered to by Waley.⁴¹ Pound advised poets to ‘Go in fear of abstractions’.⁴² Pound and Frank Stewart Flint published a few rules for *Imagiste* poetry: concrete treatment of both subject and object; elimination of all unnecessary words; and musical sensitivity to rhythm but not strict adherence to metre.⁴³

Pound used ‘phanopoeia, the throwing of an image on the mind’s retina’ as a synonym for ‘imagism’ to avoid an association with the young imagist writers of 1912.⁴⁴

³⁷ Petri Liukkonen, ‘Stéphane Mallarmé (1842-1898)’, 2003, accessed 26 February 2006, <http://www.kirjasto.sci.fi-mallarme.htm>: Mallarmé was a leader in the symbolist movement: ‘According to Mallarmé’s theories, nothing lies beyond reality, but within this nothingness lie the essence of perfect forms. It is the task of the poet to reveal and crystallize these essences’.

³⁸ Norman, p. 91.

³⁹ Cheng, ‘Derrida and Ideographic Poetics’, *The British Journal of Aesthetics*, vol. 35, no. 2, 1993, p. 134: Derrida’s phonocentrism in the narrow sense which places non-alphabetical language such as Chinese over phonocentric or alphabetic language such as English - speech over writing. Phonocentrism in its wider context embraces ‘cross-cultural and ethnological problems’.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ David Kadlec, ‘Pound, Blast, and Syndicalism’, *ELH*, 1993, vol. 60, no. 4, p. 1018.

⁴² Michael Alexander, *The Poetic Achievement of Ezra Pound*, Faber and Faber, London, 1979, p. 6.

⁴³ Norman, p. 92; Grace Schulman, ‘Orient Expressed: Imagism’, *The Nation*, vol. 271, no. 30, 2000, p. 30.

⁴⁴ Pound, 1934, p. 36.

He felt that early imagism was ‘incomplete’ because it relied on stationary images.⁴⁵ This presented Pound with a dilemma: how could he write poetry in a mobile-image form? The composite images of some *Shijing* poems provided him with a model that allowed for movement of images in the poetry of alphabetic languages.

Poetic Montage

Composite image as a poetic device is prevalent in the odes of the *Shijing*. A re-creation by Henry Hart (1806-1875) uses only one change in each stanza, the clan of the woman, for example:

Stanza 1:

On beautiful Mêng
Of the house of Ch’i

Stanza 2:

On beautiful Mêng
Of the house of I

Stanza 3:

On beautiful Mêng
Of the house of Yung⁴⁶

Single images are layered one over the other to create a compound image, like the film technique, montage, which requires the juxtaposition of two images to convey meaning.⁴⁷ Still images created in alphabetic languages, compounded in montage fashion, offer

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Henry Hart, *The Hundred Names: A Short Introduction To the Study of Chinese Poetry with Illustrative Translations*, University of California, Berkeley, 1938, p. 38.

⁴⁷ Louis Giannetti, *Understanding Movies*, Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1999, p. 152.

subtle movement to the text.⁴⁸ Pound had the ability to juxtapose elements of different languages as ‘collage text,’ utilising their unique properties so that each contributed to a poetic communication of maximum efficiency.⁴⁹ Montage supplied some movement to alphabetic images but it was Chinese characters that supplied another necessary element for an ideogrammic interpretation of classical Chinese poetry in English. Pound found a literary theory that mimicked a perceived movement of juxtaposed semantic elements in Chinese written characters, moving him further towards a universal theory of poetics.

Crystallising an Artistic Vortex

In June 1914 Pound, along with Wyndham Lewis and Gaudier-Brzeskia, heralded a new artistic theory – ‘Vorticism’ – in *BLAST (years 1837-1900): A Review of the Great English Vortex*.⁵⁰ Vorticism for poetic composition, as outlined by Pound, parallels the interaction between semantic elements of Chinese characters.

POETRY

The vorticist will use only the primary media of his art.

The primary pigment of poetry is IMAGE.

The vorticist will not allow the primary expression of any concept or emotion

To drag itself out into mimicry.⁵¹

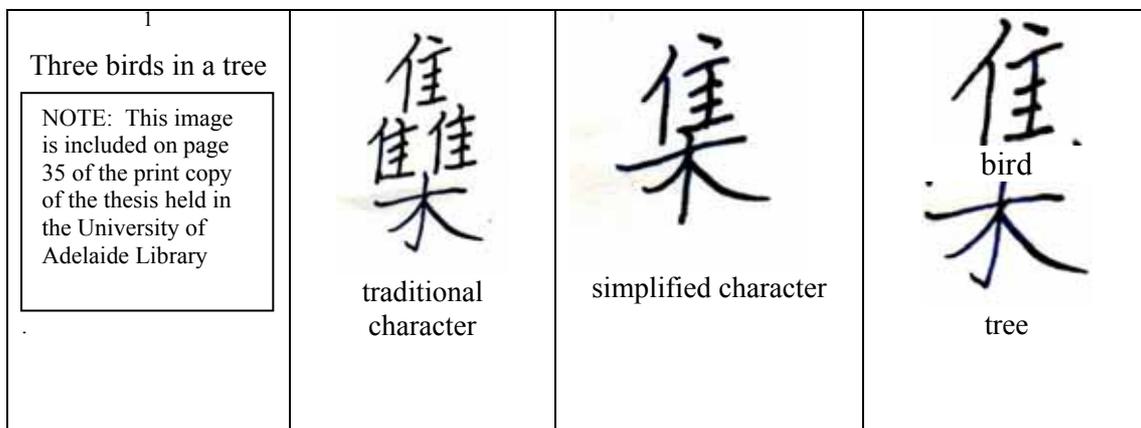
⁴⁸ Zong-Qi Cai, ‘Poundian and Chinese aesthetics of dynamic force: a re-discovery of Fenollosa and Pound’s theory of the Chinese written character’, *Comparative Literature Studies*, vol. 30, no. 2, 1993, pp. 170-188.

⁴⁹ Brian Reed, ‘Ezra Pound’s Utopia of the Eye: The Chinese Characters in Rock-Drill’, *Paideuma*, vol. 26, nos 2&3, 1997, p. 116.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

⁵¹ Ezra Pound, ‘VORTEX. POUND’. *BLAST*, 1914, No. 1, pp. 154.

Most Chinese characters are composed of semantic and phonetic elements but even the phonetic elements were once semantic. Fenollosa and Pound, in their eagerness to fit Chinese written characters to a pattern essential for a totally semantic poetics, viewed Chinese characters as totally semantic. For Fenollosa and Pound, juxtaposed semantic elements of a character, a vortex of semantic elements, create one clear concrete image. For example, the Chinese character for ‘gather together’ was a construct of four parts signifying two semantic elements – three birds on a tree – with each element contributing to the whole. These elements become the vortex signifying one concrete image – gathering together. As a simplified character, one bird represents three and the tree remains, but the image signified remains the same. Only three percent of modern characters remain as pure semantic elements, which makes a theory of Chinese characters as totally semantic difficult to defend.



In the trenches of WWI France, Pound’s protégé Gaudier-Brzeska wrote his pivotal essay ‘Vortex Gaudier-Brzeska,’ comparing his turbulent artistic life with the

NOTE: Footnote numbering has been changed to edit this document.

¹ Rebecca Kemp, ‘Saw Whet Owls’, 2005, accessed 5 August 2006, <http://www.wildlife-fantasy.com/artwork/owls.php>

forces of nature in wars.⁵³ This essay stands as a testament to the interconnectedness of art, literature, life and nature. Pound describes Vorticism as:

Every concept, every emotion presents itself to the vivid consciousness in some primary form. It belongs to the art of this form. If sound, to music; if formed words, to literature; the image to poetry; form, to design; colour in position, to painting; form or design in three planes, to sculpture; movement, to the dance or to the rhythm of music or verses.⁵⁴

Thus vorticism encompasses all of the arts and certainly the ‘three perfections’ of Chinese traditional culture – poetry, painting and calligraphy.⁵⁵ Pound said the ‘Vorticist movement is not a movement of mystification’ but a phenomenon akin to the natural energy of the earth, in line with the flow of *qi*.⁵⁶

To Pound poetry is ‘a centaur’ where the ‘thinking word-arranging, clarifying faculty must move and leap with the energizing, sentient, musical faculties’.⁵⁷ Pound wrote this before he published *Cathay*, his seminal text of predominantly re-created classical Chinese poetry, and before he encountered Fenollosa’s notes. It was written in the year that futurism was born. According to Marjorie Perloff, Filippo Marinetti’s Italian *avant-guerre* movement was the vanguard for futurism in the art world and for Pound’s

⁵³ Henri Gaudier-Brzeska, ‘Vortex Gaudier-Brzeska’, in *ibid.*, pp. 155-158.

⁵⁴ Ezra Pound, ‘Vortex. Pound.’, in *ibid.*, p. 154.

⁵⁵ Alfreda Murck and Wen C. Fong, *Words and Images: Chinese Poetry, Calligraphy, and Painting*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1991, p. xv.

⁵⁶ Gaudier-Brzeska, p. 109.

⁵⁷ Pound, 1912, p. 52.

impact on American poetry but Pound's views of futurists shows that any influence they may have had on his interpretation theories were certainly not at a conscious level.⁵⁸

BLAST
 pasty shadow cast by giant Boehm
 (Imagined at Introduction of BOURGEOIS
 VICTORIAN VISTAS).
 WRING THE NECK of all sick inventions born in
 that progressive white wake.⁵⁹

Bold images swirl in a vortex, culminating as an expression of anger, leaving readers in no doubt of Pound's view of futurism. His endeavour to compose or re-create images with exuberant energy led to a misunderstanding of 'image' as 'idea' but Pound argued:

The image is not an idea. It is a radiant node or cluster: it is what I can, and must perforce, call a VORTEX, from which, and through which, and into which, ideas are constantly rushing.⁶⁰

Vorticism linked painting, sculpture and imagist poetry so it was in a climate of rejected futurism but embracing phanopoeia and vorticism that Pound was given Fenollosa's notes.⁶¹ Through his interpretation of Fenollosa's theories, crystallized by the vorticism movement, Pound saw Chinese written characters as images in a vortex and Chinese

⁵⁸ David Kadlec, 'Pound, Blast, and Syndicalism', *ELH*, vol. 60, no.4, 1993, p. 1015.

⁵⁹ Norman., p. 147. This was originally published in *BLAST*, no. 1, June 20th, 1914.

⁶⁰ Pound, 1960 rpt 1916, p. 92.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

characters as ideographic, totally semantic and without any phonetic component, but this was not a new idea.

Ideogrammic Theory

Chinese characters were first proposed as ‘words’ by Portuguese Dominican Friar Gaspar da Cruz in 1569 and as ‘ideographs’ by Jesuit missionary Fathers Athanasius Kirchner (1601?-1680), Matteo Ricci (1552 – 1610), and Nicola Trigault 1577-1628 during the latter part of the sixteenth century.⁶² Chinese written characters evolved on a divergent path to alphabetic written languages, such as English, which are based on phonetic signifiers – letters – forming words, semantic signifiers. In comparison, Chinese characters evolved predominantly from pictographs into stylized composite graphs with semantic and phonetic elements with the semantic, or radical component, meaningful even when it stands alone.⁶³ Characters, identifiable as fluid units of meaning, are *prima facie* ‘something much more than [the] arbitrary symbols based upon vivid shorthand picture[s] of the operations of nature’.⁶⁴ Fenollosa’s scholarship was pivotal to Pound’s shift in approach to poetic theory.

For Fenollosa, Chinese characters as ideographs represented his ‘ideal language of the world, the China of his imagination’ but for an ‘enlightened’ twentieth century, hard

⁶² David Mungello, *Curious Land: Jesuit Accommodation and The Origins of Sinology*, Honolulu University Press, Hawaii, 1985, pp. 44, 46, 135; J. Marshall Unger, ‘The Very Idea: The Notion of Ideogram in China and Japan’, *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 45, no. 4, 1990, p. 393; Chad Hansen, ‘Chinese Ideographs and Western Ideas’, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 52, no. 2, 1993, pp. 373-99.

⁶³ Cai, 2002, pp. 172 – 177.

⁶⁴ Fenollosa, 1936, p. 8. This essay is dated c.1908.

evidence was needed.¹ The upsurge of scientific knowledge motivated by WW1 military needs stimulated change in artistic theories. Pound inherited Fenollosa's unpublished research including:

... several versions of a lecture on the Chinese ideogram, and he blended them with miscellaneous Fenollosa notes to make 'The Chinese Written character as a Medium for Poetry,' first published in *The Little Review* (September-December 1919).²

This essay proposed a revolutionary theory of marrying Western scientific method to Western literary theory through Chinese characters.³ Pound developed Fenollosa's notion of the Chinese written character as an ideogram – from signifier to signified without the intermediary of language – as an approach to interpretation of classical Chinese poetry.

<p>sketch of tree⁴</p> <div data-bbox="264 1167 517 1386" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin: 10px auto; width: 80%;"> <p>NOTE: This image is included on page 39 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library</p> </div>	 <p>character for tree</p>	<p>person walking⁵</p> <div data-bbox="916 1167 1158 1386" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin: 10px auto; width: 80%;"> <p>NOTE: This image is included on page 39 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library</p> </div>	 <p>6 character for person</p>
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Note: footnote numbering has been changed to edit this document.

¹ Kern 1996, p. 145; see also Laslo Gefin, *Ideogram: History of a Poetic Method*, Texas University Press, Austin, 1982.

² Reck, p. 172.

³ David Ewick, 'Japonisme, Orientalism, Modernism: A Critical Bibliography of Japanese in English-Language Verse, 1900-1950', updated 24 November 2004, accessed 29 November 2004, <http://themargins.net/bib/D/d15.html>

In 1913 Fenollosa's widow Mary entrusted to Pound her husband's unpublished translations and notes, including his essay 'The Chinese Written Character as a Medium for Poetry'.

⁴ Jamie Poitra, 'Tree Sketch', updated 31 May 2006, accessed 30 June 2006. <http://www.methnen.com-images-designimages-tree.jpg>

⁵ Russell W. Porter, 'Unidentified Man', Papers of Russell W. Porter, 1893-1949 (XRWP), US National Archives and Records Administration, Maryland, 1949, accessed 30 June 2006, <http://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/images/arctic-sketches/unidentified-man.html>

⁶ Yug, 'Ren', updated 30 June 2006, accessed 4 August 2006, <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/User:Yug>

Debate on the ideographic nature of Chinese characters is almost irrelevant to the Fenollosa/Pound ideogrammic theory because both aimed only at viewing characters not with philological pedantry but as a poetic medium. Wai-lim Yip suggests that Pound saw Chinese characters as ‘patterned energies in montage’.⁷¹

Recognizing later how the physical existence of the Chinese character can give forth an expressiveness of which English is incapable, he used actual Chinese characters as vortices, or even emblems, into which and out of which impressions and events constantly rush.⁷²

This view of Chinese characters as dynamic whirlpools of semantic elements, which Yip discerns in Pound’s later *Cantos*, proves meaningful for English re-creations of classical Chinese poetry where the Fenollosa/Pound misunderstanding of the nature of Chinese characters proved a productive error.

Pound’s ideogrammic poetry appropriates the juxtaposition of images in classical Chinese poetry for alphabetic poetry and focuses within the gaps of language, an attribute that is essential to any transcultural text because the meaning rises in the ‘gap’ between the two cultures. Gaps provide the silent points between juxtaposed ideas in language,

⁶⁹ Russell W. Porter, ‘Unidentified Man’, Papers of Russell W. Porter, 1893-1949 (XRWP), US National Archives and Records Administration, Maryland, 1949, accessed 30 June 2006, <http://www.archives.gov-publications-prologue-images-arctic-sketches-unidentified-man.html>

⁷⁰ Yug, ‘Ren’, updated 30 June 2006, accessed 4 August 2006, <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/User:Yug>

⁷¹ Wai-lim Yip, *Diffusion of Distances: Dialogues between Chinese and Western Poetics*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1969b, p.54.

⁷² Ibid.

written and spoken, that allow readers to enter into the interpretive process.⁷³ Re-created classical Chinese poetry resists closure, having no inclusive, consistent, closed meaning. Pound's ideogrammic method allows readers to become involved in the interpretation of the genre; he wanted ideogrammic poetry to communicate the signified as unique experience for each reader.⁷⁴ Readers interpret the fragments or images of ideogrammic poetry flashed onto their consciousness in a cinemagraphic or montage fashion with attributes of the concept in juxtapositions layered rapidly one after the other on top of each other until the readers interpret the image as their own unique perception of truth.⁷⁵ Zong-qi Cai described the Fenollosa/Pound ideogrammic theory as an 'aesthetics of dynamic force ... rooted in the mimetic concept of written language' seeking freedom from the shackles of Western poetic binary imposts of signifier and signified.⁷⁶

In his book *ABC of Reading* Pound explains 'THE IDEOGRAMMIC METHOD OR THE METHOD OF SCIENCE' as:

The first definite assertion of the applicability of scientific method to literary criticism is found in Ernest Fenollosa's 'Essay on the Chinese Written Character'.⁷⁷

⁷³ Lian Yang, 'In the Timeless Air: Chinese Language, Pound and The Cantos', *Painted Bride Quarterly*, Camden Online Poetry Project, Rutgers University-Camden, no. 65, 2000, accessed 29 July 2005, <http://www.pbq.rutgers.edu-issues-65-LianTimeless.htm>

⁷⁴ Ezra Pound, *The Cantos of Ezra Pound*, Faber & Faber, London, 1954 rpt 1940, p. 112.

⁷⁵ Ezra Pound, *Guide to Kulcher*, Routledge & Sons Ltd, London, 1934, p. 51; see also Ezra Pound, 'Vorticism', *Fortnightly Review*, 1914, no. 96, pp. 461-471.

⁷⁶ Cai, 2002, pp. 196-198.

⁷⁷ Ezra Pound, *ABC of Reading*, Routledge & Sons Ltd, London, 1937, pp. 2, 11, 17, 18; Jin, 2002, pp. 8-9.

Pound saw ideogrammic theory not as ‘a means of transmission and registration of thought’ but as an alternative model of thought to Aristotelian logic.⁷⁸ His comparison of Chinese and European thought processes is integral to his translation methodology:

European thought: concrete → remote terminology → abstract
 Chinese thought: general/known → concrete (reduced/simplified) → specific/
 action/ action: quality/ situation/ thing⁷⁹

Pound suggested the ideogrammic method as an answer to problems of poetry composed in logocentric alphabetical language by improving ‘efficiency of verbal manifestation’.⁸⁰ He linked Chinese characters to Chinese thought, capable of ‘transmutability of a conviction’.⁸¹ Pound believed that ‘meaning’ depends on ‘knowing’; for example, ‘expertise’ is ‘CREDIT’ if it ‘delivers the goods’ so:⁸²

abstract, generalised statement = good → if it → corresponds to known facts⁸³
 (and) general statement = value → if it → refers to known facts⁸⁴

Songping Jin’s analysis of ideogrammic theory supports the Fenollosa/Pound reading.

⁷⁸ Pound, 1937, p. 3.

⁷⁹ Ibid., pp. 1-7.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 11.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid., p. 10.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 11.

A Chinese Perspective

Jin contends that in Chinese thought ‘creating or interpreting ideograms’ collates ‘verbal actions’ sequentially: ‘agent – act – object’ therefore the *thing is* what the *thing does*.¹ Jin compares viewing a photo of a cherry tree in blossom with the Chinese character for cherry.² This character has three pictograms combining to signify ‘cherry’. The first is a pictogram for tree.

<p>3</p> <p>Cherry Tree</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin: 10px auto; width: 80%;"> <p>NOTE: This image is included on page 43 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library</p> </div>	<p>Character for cherry</p> 	<p>tree</p>  <p>shells</p>  <p>woman</p> 
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Coupled with two pictograms for shells above a pictogram for woman – metaphors for ‘decorated’ and ‘beautiful’ – represents a cherry tree loaded with blossom. Fenollosa used this example to demonstrate an alternative representation of thought to Western logic.⁴

The object vision of the pictogram can achieve a phanopoeic effect, while the compound-ideogram (which consists of two or more pictograms) interpreted

Note: footnote numbering has been changed to edit this document.

¹ Songping Jin, 2002, *The Poetics of the Ideogram: Ezra Pound's Poetry and Hermeneutic Interpretation*, Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Main, p.6; Fenollosa, 1936, p. 12.

² Jin, 2002, p. 7.

³ Hiroki Suzuki, ‘Cherry Tree’, photograph, 2002, accessed 4 August 2006, http://homepage2.nifty.com/hsuzuki/gallery/gallery_q/e_03_q1.htm

⁴ Jin 2002, pp. 7-8.

as juxtaposed pictorial components blends the vision with imagination, thereby revealing a transformation of meanings.⁸⁹

Ideogrammic text remains poetic because it is reading art not abstract symbols – alphabet letters. As art is observed, as opposed to reading about it in books, so poetry should allow the observation of nature/life, as opposed to symbolic documentation.⁹⁰ Fenollosa’s essay focuses on Chinese characters as representations of direct action in nature: ‘The whole delicate substance of speech is built upon substrata of metaphor’.⁹¹

Pound claimed that the foundations of ideogrammic method were made before he viewed Fenollosa’s notes: ‘Life comes from metaphor, and metaphor starts TOWARD ideogram’.⁹² Jin, however, suggests that Fenollosa developed a ‘theory of metaphors from ideograms’ and Pound ‘formulated ideogram from his earlier theory of metaphor’.⁹³ Pound had, at the very least, a fertile bed in which to nurture his ideogrammic method formed from his expositions of ‘the concrete treatment of things’, ‘primary epithets’, ‘language beyond metaphor’, ‘energised language’, ‘phanopoeia’, and ‘his imagist and vorticist ideas’.⁹⁴ At best, Fenollosa’s theory of the Chinese character as ideogram provided Pound with the means to convert ideogrammic theory to a new method for alphabetic poetics.

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 73.

⁹⁰ Ibid., p.10.

⁹¹ Fenollosa, 1936, p. 22.

⁹² Ezra Pound, *Selected Prose, 1909-1965*, William Cookson (ed.), Faber & Faber London, 1973, p. 423.

⁹³ Jin, 2002, pp. 60-61.

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 59.

According to Cai, Fenollosa's 'errors and insights' arising from traditional study of Chinese characters, '*wenzixue*', have been 'largely neglected' in research. Jin addressed this deficit by accommodating the Fenollosa/Pound ideogrammic theory under the banner of 'new logic' and a 'new mode of thinking,' without attempting to justify it as 'philology of China'.⁹⁵ Jin coined the term *etymorhetic*, etymology plus rhetoric, using a traditional Chinese perspective as opposed to Western 'medieval logic'.⁹⁶ Jin argues that Fenollosa's interpretation of characters is more 'rhetorical' than 'scientific'.⁹⁷ He suggests that Fenollosa and Pound have the right to appeal to 'poetic license' and etymological scavenging to create ideogrammic theory and its accompanying methodology because the theory is not 'a phenomenon exclusive to ideograms' but common in all language part of 'the universe of poetry'.⁹⁸ Pound proves this by using ideogrammic theory extensively in his translation of the *Shijing* and his epic poem, the *Cantos*.⁹⁹ Jin's accommodation of the Fenollosa/Pound theory solves Cai's dilemma of a 'dialectic interplay of mutual assimilation and mutual differentiation' in interpretation of the genre.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ Songping Jin, 'Fenollosa and the "Hsiao Hsueh" Tradition', *Paideuma*, 1993, Vol. 22, Nos 1&2, pp.71-97.

⁹⁶ Jin, 2002, pp. 3, 7.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.

⁹⁹ Ezra Pound, *The Confucian Odes: The Classic Anthology Defined by Confucius*, New Directions, New York, 1954a; Ezra Pound, *The Cantos of Ezra Pound*, Faber & Faber, London, 1954b.

¹⁰⁰ Jin, 1993, p. 84; Jin 2002, pp. 1-88; and Cai, 2002, p. 255.

Ideogrammic Theory as Productive Error

Pound's misunderstanding of the etymology and composition of the Chinese written language had far-reaching consequences for Euro-American poetry. Pound proposed his ideogrammic method as 'universal,' answering the nineteenth century search for a universal poetic language.¹⁰¹ The open semantic nature of Chinese characters, in part caused by historical errors – phonetic loans, inaccurate copying, misunderstandings, and political interference – *prima facie* supported the Fenollosa/Pound theory. The fluid semantics of re-created classical Chinese poetry place greater emphasis on reader-interpretation. Ideogrammic theory, as promoted by Pound, ruptured Western poetic shackles but not exactly in the way that he had envisaged. It affected change in the way classical Chinese poetry is re-created as well as twentieth century Western poetic trends because of a basic misunderstanding of the etymology and composition of the Chinese written character.¹⁰²

In the ideogrammic method, Pound created a new poetic method within Western literary discourse and stimulated Chinese critical debate of Chinese written characters as ideograms. His interpretation of classical Chinese poetry was influenced by imagism and vorticism and perhaps unconsciously by futurism, all elements of ideogrammic theory. Pound's approach to the interpretation of the genre resulted in, arguably, the greatest shift in poetic composition theory for modernism and the twentieth century. This in no way undermines the significant effect that Waley had on Western reader perception of the genre with his re-creations of classical Chinese poetry.

¹⁰¹ Jin, 2002, p. 3.

¹⁰² For further reading on this point see Guiyou Huang, 'Ezra Pound: (Mis)Translation and (Re)-Creation', 1993, *Paideuma*, vol. 22, nos. 1&2, pp. 99-114.

Waley's Way

Formative Years

Arthur Waley (1889-1966) was an autodidactic scholar of East Asian languages – Chinese and Japanese – who became ‘the great transmitter of the high literary cultures of China and Japan to an English-reading general public’ during the early years of the twentieth century.¹⁰³ Born Arthur David Schloss, Waley changed his surname to his mother’s maiden name in 1914 in response to the anti-German atmosphere of WWI England. That Waley felt comfortable to take his name from his grandfather Jacob Waley, economics scholar and active Jew, is interesting in the light of Pound’s negativity regarding Judaic usury.¹⁰⁴ It is no wonder that Waley and Pound, other than translating East Asian literature, had little in common and they approached interpretation of classical Chinese poetry differently.

For Waley classical Chinese poetry, in comparison to classical Japanese poetry in areas of scan and rhyme, ‘resembles traditional English verse’ but has nothing in common with modern Euro-American free-verse. Waley chose to adhere to ‘two metrical features’ of classical Chinese poetry with consequences for his re-creations.¹⁰⁵ Firstly, by insisting on replicating the rhythmic stresses and ‘end-stopping’ of lines and couplets in Chinese poems, Waley restricts the natural flow in his English renditions. Secondly,

¹⁰³ Denis Sinor, ‘Arthur Waley’, *Warring Sates Sinology*, updated 2004, accessed 15 November 2004, <http://www.umass.edu-wsp-sinology-persons-waley.html>

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. The first president of the Anglo-Jewish Association, formed in 1871, was Jacob Waley, MA, a Professor of Political Economy at University College, London, and the only academic among the founders. Waley’s father, David Fredrick Schloss was also an economist; Andrew Parker, ‘Ezra Pound and the “Economy of Anti-Semitism”’, *Boundary*, vol. 11, no. 2, 1982, p. 104; Richard Sieburth, ‘In Pound We Trust: The Economy of Poetry-The Poetry of Economics’, *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 14, no. 1, p. 149; Reck, 1987, pp. 115-116.

¹⁰⁵ Anthony Tatlow, ‘Stalking the Dragon: Pound, Waley, and Brecht’, *Comparative Literature*, vol. XXV, no. 3, 1973, p. 201.

Waley neither hides nor adds to the images in Chinese poems, again limiting his re-creations in English.¹⁰⁶ Waley's translation methodology drew praise from his Chinese friends and fuelled his persistence to publish the genre for a general English readership.¹⁰⁷ Apart from the Shijing, Waley chose Bo Juyi, Li Bo and other Tang poets because their poems render well in English and because their images share cultural and temporal space.

Imitative or Re-Creative?

Waley regarded 'imitative' and 're-creative' as the two possibilities for approaching poetry translation. Imitative translation 'transfers the foreign original into English' with little change in 'metre, rhyme scheme, general balance, and order of phrase'.¹⁰⁸ Re-creative poetic translations are those of an interpretive artist not restricted by the same bonds as the imitative poet and therefore not tied to its imperfections. Harold Acton, a close friend of Waley's, called him '... less of a creator or an artist than a medium through which the creations of others were spoken'.¹⁰⁹ De Gruchy argues that 'translation is as much an act of creation as original writing'.¹¹⁰ Acton and de Gruchy would consider

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., pp. 201-209.

¹⁰⁷ John A. Turner S.J., *A Golden Treasury of Chinese Poetry: 121 Classical Poems*, John J Deeney S.J. and Kenneth K.B. Li (eds), The Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong, 1976, p. 9. Other translators accepted the praise by Chinese friends as a measurement of quality of their renditions of the genre, for example, Jesuit Fr John Turner. In the introduction to his translations of *A Golden Treasury of Chinese Poetry* he wrote that 'the only true criterion of true translation which encourages me to publish them – that my Chinese friends like them, and take them as authentic'.

¹⁰⁸ Cohen, 29.

¹⁰⁹ de Gruchy, p. 4.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

both Pound and Waley re-creative translators so difference in their interpretation of the genre demonstrates the diverse nature of re-creating classical Chinese poetry.

Waley and Pound were both commended by Chinese native-speakers for semantic faithfulness to the original classical Chinese poem. Waley held great store in this praise:

To understand unfailingly anything written a thousand years and more ago is not easy; but my Chinese friends have generally assured me that these translations come pretty close to the original; closer they have sometimes been kind enough to say, than those of any other translator [sic].¹¹¹

Both Pound and Waley placed high value on the opinions of their Chinese friends but they both also sought the opinions of Japanese academics.

Waley and Japanese Scholarship

Waley is remembered equally for his Japanese translations and his Chinese re-creations of classical poetry and at least two of his Chinese poets, Buddhist poet Bo Juyi (Haku Kyoi) and Chan poet Han Shan (Kanzan), are as well known in Japan as in China.¹¹²

From the early Heian period (552 – 897) Chinese Buddhist texts filtered into Japan and were read by the ruling classes.¹¹³ If it were not for the Chinese texts taken to Japan,

¹¹¹ Arthur Waley, 'Preface', *Translations from the Chinese*, 2nd ed., Cyrus LeRoy Baldridge (illustrator), A. Knopf, New York, 1961 rpt 1919.

¹¹² Arthur Waley, *The Life and Times of Po Chu-i 772-846 A.D.*, Allen and Unwin Ltd, London, 1949, pp. 30, 176, 199. Arthur Waley's books on Japanese art and literature include: *Nō Plays*, 1921; *Zen Buddhism and Its Relation to Art*, 1922; *The Tale of Genji*, 1925; *Monkey*, 1942 and *The Pillow-Book of Sei Shonagon*, 1960b. Among the poems by Bo Juyi popularized in Japan are 'Song of Everlasting Regret', featured in *The Tale of Genji*, by Murasaki Shikibu, Bo's work gained wide popularity throughout East Asia.

¹¹³ Waley 1949, pp. 212-213.

some significant Chinese poetry would have been lost.¹¹⁴ On the other hand, Waley reacted to the atrocities committed during Japan's invasion of China during WWII with a 'political and moral' rejection of Japanese literature in preference to Chinese poetry.¹¹⁵ The Japanese loss was classical Chinese poetry's gain.

Waley's Choice

Waley's gift lay in choosing predominantly to re-create classical Chinese poems that crossed cultural boundaries by stimulating common human emotions. The poem below, entitled 'Old Poem', demonstrates Waley's talent in choosing poems with contemporary relevance.

At fifteen I went with the army,
 At fourscore I came home.
 On the way I met a man from the village,
 I asked him who there was at home.
 'That over there is your house,
 All covered over with trees and bushes'.
 Rabbits had run in at the dog-hole,
 Pheasants flew down from the beams of the roof.
 In the courtyard was growing some wild grain;
 And by the well, some wild mallows.
 I'll boil the grain and make porridge,
 I'll pluck the mallows and make soup.
 Soup and porridge are both cooked,
 But there is no one to eat them with.
 I went out and looked towards the east,
 While tears fell and wetted my clothes.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ Phillip T. Harries, 'Personal Poetry Collections: Their Origin and Development Through the Heian Period', *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 35, no. 3, 1980, pp. 299-317.

¹¹⁵ de Gruchy, pp. 160-161. Waley spent six years as a censor in the 'Japanese section of the Ministry of Information' during WWII.

¹¹⁶ Arthur Waley, *A Hundred and Seventy Chinese Poems*, Constable and Company Ltd, London, 1947 rpt 1918, p. 32.

A military tour of duty for Chinese soldiers in the Zhou dynasty was obviously longer than for modern soldiers, particularly those involved in the current conflicts in the Middle East, but for many WWI and WWII servicemen their homecoming echoed the emotions expressed in this pre-500BCE Chinese poem. The poem crosses temporal, cultural and spatial boundaries enabling third millennium Western readers to relate to its message: loss of home and family through commitment to national duty. Reader reception of re-created classical Chinese poetry in the mid-twentieth century needs closer examination and this depends entirely on what was published. Ultimately, the classical Chinese poems that translators choose to re-create affects Western perceptions of the genre.

Waley and ‘the Question of Selection’

Waley chose to re-create classical Chinese poems that ‘pleased’ him.¹¹⁷ Whether they pleased him because of their content or because they rendered easily into English he does not explain. Waley also tried to ‘avoid poems that have been translated before’ but happily re-created poems where he judged that the ‘previous versions were full of mistakes’.¹¹⁸ This remark may well have earned him the ire of his peers. By 1949 Waley had shifted on ‘the question of selection’:

My book is not a balanced anthology of Chinese poetry, but merely a collection of poems that happen to work out well in a literal but at the same

¹¹⁷ Ibid., p. 18.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., Preliminary Note.

time literary translation. This of course excludes poems of a highly allusive nature, requiring an undue amount of annotation.¹¹⁹

Waley articulates the bane of most translators of the genre, the allegory in classical Chinese verse. His shift in focus is interesting: is it greater awareness of Chinese poetry or is it merely that Waley's prior re-creations had sold well because they were accessible to a wide readership of English, most of whom had no interest in reading detailed footnotes? Instead, he prefaced his re-creations with introductions 'for the general reader'.¹²⁰ Waley's re-creations traditionally employed minimalism in exegeses. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why his re-creations appeal to a diverse readership and are still acclaimed today.

Waley and Western Perceptions of the Genre

Waley's renditions of the genre were publicly acknowledged in 1953 when he was awarded the prestigious Queen's Gold Medal for Poetry. At that time the Poet Laureate and a group of principal English literary critics conferred this medal annually on the poet producing the best anthology of English poetry. They described Waley's work as "translations from the Chinese", apparently from ancient poetry of great importance'.¹²¹ The significance of this award is that a committee of leading English literary scholars considered re-created classical Chinese poetry to be the best of English poetry. Until 1985, this award was so Anglocentric that only the work of poets resident in the British

¹¹⁹ Arthur Waley, *Chinese Poems: Selected from 170 Chinese Poems: More Translations from the Chinese, The Temple and The Book of Songs*, Allen and Unwin Ltd, London, 1946, p. 5.

¹²⁰ Arthur Waley, *The Book of Songs*, Grove Press, New York, 1960 rpt 1937, p.18.

¹²¹ Allison Derrett, Assistant Registrar, The Royal Archives: The Royal Collection Trust, Windsor Castle, Berkshire SL4 INJ. Letter dated 16 April 2003. John Masefield was the Poet Laureate in 1953.

Isles was deemed eligible.¹²² That Waley's re-created poems were even considered by the judges demonstrates the light in which they were viewed. His translations of East Asian poetry and prose 'were regarded by his contemporaries as English prose and poetry in their own right'.¹²³ It shows how convincingly the genre of classical Chinese poetry re-created as English poetry was accepted as English literature until the mid-twentieth century.¹²⁴ Unfortunately, it also shows how a dominant global language, English, can appropriate the literature of another culture, Chinese, and label it as its own without significant acknowledgement of its spatial and temporal context.

The editor of 'English Poetry' for the Augustan poetry collections, Humbert Wolfe, wrote that Waley's re-creations were 'literary miracles' because they translated:¹²⁵

... not merely from one language into another, but almost from one planet into another, has produced a body of living poetry, in which there is every reason

¹²² Press Secretary 2002, 'The Queen's Gold Medal for Poetry', media release 2002, accessed 16 January 2004, <http://www.royal.gov.uk-output-page2254.asp>

¹²³ de Gruchy, pp. 2, 120. Waley's Japanese prose is also seen in the light of English text, for example, his 'The Tale of Genji' can be read as 'a modern English novel ... that needs to be located in its proper context, which is not the eleventh century A.D. but the modern period of England between the wars'.

¹²⁴ James Reeves, *The Poet's World: An Anthology of English Poetry*, William Heinemann Ltd, London, 1951 rpt 1948, pp. 302-303: 'This poem and the others by Arthur Waley are translated from the Chinese; but they are far more than just translations. They are among the best of twentieth century English poems'. Kenneth Allott (ed.), *The Penguin Book of Contemporary Verse: 1980-1960*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1962, p. 109. 'He [Waley] has perhaps a better claim than Ezra Pound. His publications cover more than forty years and include translations of Chinese poetry, biographies of Chinese poets Li Po and Po Chü-I, and an introduction to the study of Chinese painting'.

¹²⁵ The first series, entitled *The Augustan Books of Poetry*, edited by Edward Thompson and published in 1925-26, included poets of the ilk of Percy Bysshe Shelley, Emily Bronte, and Ralph Waldo Emerson. The second series, edited by Humbert Wolfe and published in 1930, featured poets such as W.B. Yeats, George Herbert and Waley. *Arthur Waley (Poems from the Chinese)* was one of five books of poems featuring recreated poems – from Chinese, Greek, Latin, Persian and Irish.

to believe he re-creates, without distorting, the Chinese poets.¹²⁶

This effusive praise was no doubt due to the paucity of sinologists in Britain in the early part of the twentieth century, which Wolfe acknowledged before evaluating Waley's poems. In his opinion the poems showed 'serenity,' 'beauty' and 'wisdom' as much because of Waley's skill as because China had produced the original text. It was Waley's sensitivity to the aesthetic qualities of the text that enabled him to paint with English words the 'colour' and 'texture' of the Orient. Wolfe subsequently decided to assign these poems to the genre of English poetry because most readers of these poems are:

... incapable of comparing the English and the Chinese, we must address ourselves to these poems as though they had been written by an Englishman of the twentieth century, and judge them on that basis.¹²⁷

Much of the acclaim for Waley's re-creations of classical Chinese poems is due to this perception of English renderings as an English genre. Viewed as English poems, Waley's renditions fared well but, from a phonological perspective, they attracted more challenging critique from Karlgren.

Waley and Karlgren: Sinology vs Phonology

Bernard Karlgren's *Ordetoch Pennan i Mittens Rike* (1918) in Swedish and as *Sound and Symbol in Chinese* (1923) in English makes several observations of importance to any

¹²⁶ Humbert Wolfe (ed.), *Arthur Waley: Poems from the Chinese*, Augustan Books of English Poetry, 2nd Series, No. 7, Ernest Benn Ltd, London, 1930, p. iii.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

study of re-created Chinese poetry.¹²⁸ First, he noted that Chinese written characters are integrally tied to Chinese culture in an almost spiritual fashion:

Chinese script, a genuine product of the creative power of the Chinese mind and not, like our writing, a loan from unrelated peoples, distant in time and space, is cherished and revered in Chinese to a degree that we can hardly understand.¹²⁹

Karlgren argued that scientific study, philology, is the best approach to translating the Chinese written characters of classical Chinese literature. Whereas Indo-European languages have traditionally relied on inflection to indicate the role of a word in sentences, Chinese has ‘almost reached the affixless stage’ and, consequently, Chinese has few ‘parts of speech’.¹³⁰ Lack of verbal markers in Chinese taxes ‘the interpreter’s ‘guessing’ faculty’ with set word order aiding comprehension only minimally. Karlgren observed that Chinese people appear to ‘suffer no inconvenience’ from this lack, choosing to use as succinct a sentence as possible. If either a subject or a predicate can be eliminated, for example, ‘I won’t buy it’ becomes ‘not buy’.¹³¹

An object, a ‘thing’, concrete or abstract, such as ‘man’ or ‘delight’, is such that it can be the subject of a predicate, or the object of an action, or it can appear as possessor, or can manifest itself in various individuals, &c.¹³²

¹²⁸ Bernard Karlgren, *Sound and Symbol in Chinese*, 1st ed., The World’s Manuals, Language and Literature Series, C. T. Onions (ed.), Ch’eng-Wen Publishing Co., Taipei, 1923.

¹²⁹ Bernard Karlgren, *Sound and Symbol in Chinese*, 2nd ed., Hong Kong University Press, Hong Kong, 1971, p. 52.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 55.

According to Karlgren, three specific challenges for translating Chinese into English are: the divergent meaning of many characters, the interpretation of compound characters and ‘technical terms’ that require specialist knowledge.¹³³ Variances with the English language have immense implications for re-created Chinese poetry. Most importantly for this study, Fenollosa and Pound treated the ‘thing’ as the most important element for re-creating Chinese poetry.¹³⁴ Pound is justified in eliminating unnecessary words from his re-creations if the sense of the poem is unaffected. For Waley, Karlgren was a sinological peer who stirred him to check his re-creations for philological accuracy.

In 1923 Waley reviewed Karlgren’s *Analytical Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese*, answering those who claimed that few languages are phonetic and that ‘Chinese is far from being so’ with the logic that:

...since phonetics is the science that analyses the sounds of a language, and since all languages are composed of sounds, it is hard to see how one language can be more ‘phonetic’ than another.¹³⁵

Waley, one of the foremost British sinologists at that time, commended Karlgren’s dictionary as a text that ‘rendered an immense service’ to sinological and oriental studies, intimating that he held Karlgren’s scholarship in high esteem.¹³⁶ Karlgren devoted four

¹³³ Ibid., pp. 68-72.

¹³⁴ Fenollosa, 1936, pp. 12-13.

¹³⁵ Arthur Waley, ‘Review of *Analytical Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese* by Bernard Karlgren’, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, vol.3 no. 2, 1920`p. 362.

¹³⁶ Ibid., p. 365.

pages of his ‘Losses on the Kuo Feng Odes’ (1942) to Waley’s, *Book of Songs* (1937).¹³⁷ After establishing the lineage and metamorphosis of the *Shijing*, Karlgren found Legge’s 1871 English rendition as philologically lacking for the mid-twentieth century, dismissed Marcel Granet’s 1919 French renditions and then turned to the more recent Waley re-creations.¹³⁸

Taking Up the Gauntlet

Karlgren raised three main objections to Waley’s re-creations. Firstly, he argued that Waley’s re-creations lacked ‘philological scrutiny’ and corresponding ‘elucidation’ of possible meanings. Secondly, interpretation not based on a philological foundation must be drawn from reading the text holistically because supportive materials from the ‘late Zhou to early Han’ texts are unreliable. Finally, paraphrasing *Shijing* poems in modern Chinese, with any confidence of attaining a definitive meaning, is difficult so interpreting the poems in other languages poses further problems.

In summation, Karlgren undertook comparative analysis of several odes re-created in English by Legge and Waley, for example, Mao Ode 17 where the philologically difficult *shi* causes divergent interpretations.¹³⁹ Where Legge defines the last line as ‘Your ceremonies for betrothals were not sufficient’, Waley defines it as ‘Not all your friends and family will suffice’. Their interpretations rest on their first line

¹³⁷ Bernard Karlgren, ‘Glosses on the Kuo Feng Odes’, *The Bulletin of Far Eastern Antiquities*, vol.14, 1942, pp. 71-229; Arthur Waley, *The Book of Songs*, Evergreen, New York, 1st ed., 1937.

¹³⁸ Karlgren, 1942, pp. 71-75; Legge, 1871, vol. IV; Waley 1937; Marcel Granet, *Fêtes et Chansons Anciennes de la Chine*, Paris, Albin Michel, 1919.

¹³⁹ Karlgren, 1942, pp. 76-80. The *Shijing* has undergone several changes. For the sake of consistency, most translators use the Mao edition for the purposes of translation and numeration. Waley uses his own numeration.

interpretations: where Legge renders ‘get me betrothed’, Waley finds ‘have no family’. Both are acceptable translations but result in quite different images: Legge’s interpretation ends with a focus on ‘ceremonies’ and Waley’s ‘family and friends’. Karlgren had an almost Confucian stance. First get the small things, the definitions of words, accurate and the larger things, such as the overall interpretation of the poem, will be correct. When there is interpretive difference between Legge and Waley, Karlgren prefers the Legge rendering, however, this difference in no way discounts Waley’s reading.¹⁴⁰ It is what Gadamer and Tuck agree is the positive element of isogesis – productive interpretation.¹⁴¹ Waley interprets the poem in the light of his experience so that the text becomes meaningful for a reader of English.

Comparative Analysis

Waley and Pound in Modernist Mode

Comparing Pound’s English re-creation of a *Shijing* poem with Waley’s re-creation, clarifies the effect of *method translating* on interpretation of the genre. Pound interprets the climax of the poem in a clear and succinct manner:

[L7] And she was a courtesan in the old days,
 [L8] And she has married a sot,
 [L9] Who now goes drunkenly out
 [L10] And leaves her too much alone.

*By Mei Sheng. B.C. 140.*¹⁴²

¹⁴⁰ Karlgren, 1942, p. 76.

¹⁴¹ Gadamer, p. 263; Tuck, p. 98.

¹⁴² Ezra Pound, *Cathay*, Elkin Mathews, London, 1915, p. 7.

Pound adapts the metre to produce this scenario with simplicity and verve. He uses candid vocabulary – ‘courtesan’ and ‘sot’ – and evocative imagery, ‘drunkenly out’ but he also uses unnecessary conjunctions, ‘And,’ to start three of the four lines as though to assert his control of the re-creation. Pound cites the poet and date specifically, yet Waley, translating the poem three years later, was too cautious to credit a specific poet with the poem. He did cite it as one of a group written between the first century BCE and the first century CE which contributed to ‘*clichés* of Chinese verse’.¹⁴³ Waley uses a more literal translation placing greater responsibility for interpretation on the reader:

- [L7] Once she was a dancing-house girl,
 [L8] Now she is a wandering man’s wife.
 [L9] The wandering man went, but did not return.
 [L10] It is hard to keep an empty bed.¹⁴⁴

Comparison shows that Pound’s simplicity and clarity does not cause semantic distortion.

Whittled of redundant pronouns and verbs, Waley’s first two lines become:

- [L9] Once a dancing-house girl
 [L10] Now a wandering man’s wife.¹⁴⁵

Waley’s interpretation is similar to Pound’s yet the choice of ‘romantic’ vocabulary choice undoubtedly signifies ‘Waley’. Yip suggests that in this poem ‘what we consider good in Waley is already forged in Pound’.¹⁴⁶ Did Pound influence Waley or is the

¹⁴³ Waley, 1947, p. 39.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ Yip, 1969, p. 89.

Chinese poem so clear that translation becomes unambiguous? A specific Chinese character is not equal to one specific English word but equivalent to a morpheme, the smallest unit of meaning possible – often called ‘root words’. Appendix A shows Yip’s correction of Fenollosa’s notes.¹⁴⁷ Even Yip’s ‘corrections,’ in square brackets, often offer several options. From this we can see that precise translation between Chinese poetry and English poetry is a rash aim. Pound’s *Cathay* translations were adapted from Fenollosa’s notes and Giles’ *A History of Chinese Literature* because at this time Pound had not studied Chinese.

Just as Eliot’s *The Waste Land* was considered to be the ultimate statement of post-WW1 Europe so Pound’s *Cathay* was embraced as ‘an elegiac war-poem that nobody wrote’, which became to readers of English ‘the most durable of all poetic responses to WW1’.¹⁴⁸ The contentious issue of ‘nobody’ as the author of these poems creates a paradox for readers: to reject the ‘poets’, both original and interpretive, but acknowledge the poems. Yet this also shows a removal from the field of emotion aroused by the poetic narrative that parallels a Chinese poetic aim not to be emotional but to arouse emotion in readers. Yip argues that Pound correctly kept the ‘sadness’ hidden in the first part of the poem while Waley did not. In L10 Pound keeps a Platonic tone with the words ‘And leaves her too much alone’ while Waley’s ‘It is hard to keep an empty bed’ has an erotic tone.¹⁴⁹ Pound aimed to interpret Chinese poetry as he wrote his own – ‘free from emotional slither’.¹⁵⁰ As we shall see, Pound’s unique contributions to the

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., pp 131-132. Appendix A.

¹⁴⁸ Hugh Kenner, ‘The Invention of China’, *Spectrum*, vol. ix, no. i, 1967, pp. 30-31.

¹⁴⁹ Yi, 1969, pp. 137-138.

¹⁵⁰ Ezra Pound (ed.), *Instigations of Ezra Pound*, Books for Libraries Press Inc., New York, 1920, p. 12.

interpretation of classical Chinese poetry came from his and Fenollosa's ideogrammic theory while Waley's came from his ability to connect re-created Chinese poetry with a wide English reading audience

The Productive Element of Isogesis

Classics of any tradition, in translation, are subject to isogesis. Comparison of the second stanza of Ode 54 re-created by Waley and Pound and transliterated by Karlgren clearly demonstrates the productive element of isogesis.¹⁵¹ Ode 54 is one of the few odes with an acknowledged composer – a woman. Lady of Wei, sister of the Duke of Wei, married to a Hu leader, uses an excuse of trouble in her homeland to return there against the wishes of her husband:

KARLGREN	WALEY	POUND
You disapprove of me, but I cannot deflect (my thoughts); I regard you as in the wrong, and use me, my thoughts cannot be kept away, you disapprove of me, but I cannot deflect and cease (my thoughts); I regard you as in the wrong, and my thoughts cannot be stopped. ¹⁵²	He no longer delights in me; I cannot go back, And now, seeing how ill you Surely my plan is not far fetched! He no longer delights in me; I cannot go back across the river. And now, seeing how ill you use me, Surely my plan is not rash! ¹⁵³	Without your visa I could not go, I cannot honour your act nor retract. My sympathy was real, your's the offense If I cannot carry my condolence. Wrongly you wrought. I cannot stifle my thought. ¹⁵⁴

¹⁵¹ Mao Ode 54, Waley Ode 102.

¹⁵² Bernard Karlgren, *The Book of Odes: Chinese Text, Transcription and Translation*, The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm, 1950, p. 36.

¹⁵³ Waley, 1960a, p. 92.

Karlgren keeps his transliteration succinct, expressing two almost identical thoughts as couplets. Waley creates two distinct stanzas, verbal graphics of the idea, layered one over the other and introduces vocabulary not in Karlgren's transliteration. This descriptive language is the creative element of isogesis that captures the attention of the reader. If Waley elaborates in order to compound the image, Pound stretches the stanza to portray the anxiety of the writer. If Karlgren disapproved of Waley's approach then Pound's must have earned his dismay. That Pound used Karlgren's ode to compose his rendition is obvious because both have the protagonist appealing to readers that she cannot stop her covert desires: 'My thoughts cannot be stopped' and 'I cannot stifle my thought'. Waley's protagonist, on the other hand, appeals to readers with rhetorical questions: 'surely my plan is not far fetched!' and 'surely my plan is not rash!' Karlgren objects to Waley's 'predilection' to unnecessary altering texts causing a change in meaning, for example, Karlgren and Pound address the husband by using the second person, 'You,' while Waley nominates the husband by using the third person, 'He,' giving a completely different connotation to the text.¹⁵⁵ Pound too strays from Karlgren but his interpretation heightens the sensation of the poet's covert confusion, anguish and feelings of frustration. Karlgren and Pound depict the author as a distressed woman while Waley portrays a petulant child. Why Pound rendered the stanza so differently in style from Waley and Karlgren may be explained in the difference in their sinological and poetic backgrounds. Pound was essentially a poet while Waley and Karlgren were sinologists – Waley committed to East Asian literature and Karlgren to philology.

¹⁵⁴ Ezra Pound (trans.), *The Confucian Odes: The Classic Anthology Defined by Confucius*, New Directions, New York, 1954, p. 25.

¹⁵⁵ Karlgren, 1942, p. 76.

Scientific and Concrete

Pound's scope for ideogrammic theory encompasses not only the arts – painting, drawing, literature particularly poetry, sculpture, and music – but also science. The 'scientific observation of particulars' should be regarded as a 'new pattern of thought', not merely the use of juxtaposition but a completely new method of analysis: 'the interlocking of cause and effect'.¹⁵⁶ Pound's emphasis lies in phenomenological observation, comparison of these observations, and induction of 'abstract concepts from the known' for example, redness:

Western ← relativist deduction from the abstract

Eastern ← induction from the concrete¹⁵⁷

Communication of the concept depends on the interaction of disparate concrete images and the translator/reader's interpretation of the interplay of 'noun-phrases' within a line or couplet.¹⁵⁸ Comparison of Ode 5 from the *Shijing* re-created by Pound with the same poem re-created by Waley shows Pound's emphasis on concrete images and Waley's on rhythm as stressed syllables.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶ Pound, 1937, p. 9.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 14.

¹⁵⁹ Pound Ode 5, Waley Ode 164.

POUND	WALEY
<p>Locusts a-wing, multiply. Thick be thy Locusts a-wing with heavy sound; strong as great rope may thy line abound. Wing'd locust, that seem to cease, in great companies hibernate, So may thy line last and be great in hidden ease.¹⁶⁰</p>	<p>The locusts' wings say 'throng, throng'; Well may your sons and grandsons Be a host innumerable. The locusts' wings say 'bind, bind'; Well may your sons and grandsons Continue in an endless line. The locusts' wings say 'join, join'; Well may your sons and grandsons Be forever at one.¹⁶¹</p>

Waley's interpretation shows many of the attributes of Pound's criteria for ideogrammic poetry. Pound's poem, however, does not attempt to conceal his image under pedantic repetition as Waley's does: 'throng, throng', 'bind, bind', or 'join, join'. Pound's images 'multiply', 'heavy sound' and 'in great companies' convey the same message with an openness of signification that allows readers to participate in the interpretive process. Pound is not bound to a specific metre, only to the edicts of succinct vocabulary, the image mobility of montage, and the artistic impact of vorticism.

Pound postulates translation as a 'process of interpretation' producing tradition relevant for twentieth century readers. Paul Ricoeur agrees, citing the 'price' of maintaining tradition is its reinvention in each contemporary setting.¹⁶² Fenollosa mooted

¹⁶⁰ Pound, 1954, p. 4.

¹⁶¹ Waley, 1960a, p. 173. The three noises made by locusts' wings are punned upon and interpreted as omens.

¹⁶² Paul Ricoeur, *The Rule of Metaphor: Multi-disciplinary Studies of the Creation of Meaning in Language*, Kathleen McLaughlin Robert Czerny, John Costello, SJ. (trans.), Routledge & Kegan Paul, London and Henley, 1978, p. 27.

that '[p]oetry only does consciously what the primitive races did unconsciously', that is, 'feeling back' to the poet's 'ancient lines of advance' to utilise 'all their subtle undertones of meaning'.¹⁶³ Pound's footnote to this assertion welds the theories of interpretation and metaphor:

... in the rendering of ancient texts. The poet, in dealing with his own time, must also see to it that language does not petrify on his hands. He must prepare for new advances along the lines of true metaphor, that is interpretive metaphor, or image, as diametrically opposed to untrue, or ornamental, metaphor.¹⁶⁴

In Pound's view metaphor was 'the very substance of poetry' because it 'gave concrete truth' by revealing nature.¹⁶⁵ Classical Chinese poetry complements the nature of Chinese written characters and *visa versa*. Pound's interpretation from character poem to alphabetic poem depended on the development of a theory of moving images superimposing themselves on top of each other in logical spatial sequence – montage.

Metaphor and Montage

In Ode 52 from the *Guo Feng* (Folk Songs) section of the *Shijing*, the earliest Chinese book of poetry, a rat is a metaphor for a corrupt official.¹⁶⁶ Considering the time, c.600BCE, and the cultural space in which it was written this scenario might represent an official who cheated farmers of their grain to fill his own purse. Appendix B juxtaposes

¹⁶³ Fenollosa, 1936, pp. 23-24.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ Pound (Mao) Ode 52, Waley, Ode 270.

Pound's and Waley's renditions of *Shijing* Ode 52.¹⁶⁷ Pound's re-creation uses an ideogrammic method by alternating compound images of vermin with a dishonourable person. Powerful concrete images layer rapidly one over the other: 'skin', 'feet', 'rat's modus' and 'beast'; 'all his size' and 'a rat's level'; 'death', 'hell's gate' and 'exodus'. Brief glimpses of vivid images flash onto the retina of the reader's eye to form a collage recorded as a cognitive pattern, schemata, in the neural networks of the reader.

In comparison, Waley's interpretation involves the type of repetition that Pound would label unnecessary: 'A man without dignity', 'A man without poise' and 'A man without manners'.¹⁶⁸ Certainly the words 'skin', 'teeth' and 'limbs' enhance 'rat' but the total composition fails to arouse the stark images that Pound's poem does. Waley believed it necessary to include a footnote supplying cultural and historical context to hone reader interpretation. According to Jin, Pound's ideogrammic theory is justified by his use of 'the methodology of exegesis and hermeneutic interpretation' to construct poetry utilising ideograms and the thought processes they entail'.¹⁶⁹ On his quest for an ideogrammic language, Pound could not overlook his original *haiku* and the imposts of Japanese literary scholarship.

¹⁶⁷ Appendix B. Mao Ode 152.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ Jin, 2002, p.3.

Significant Influences

Waley, Pound/Fenollosa and Japanese Scholarship

The influence of Binyon on Waley and, to a lesser degree, Pound, meant that their early interest in classical Chinese poetry was equally steeped in Japanese art.¹⁷⁰ The scholarly links between early Chinese and Japanese art and literature continued for both Waley and Pound. During the first two decades of the twentieth century, Pound corresponded with many Japanese scholars.¹⁷¹ These included: Michio Ito, exponent of Japanese Nô plays in Japan and London; Kitasono Katue, a foundation member of the Vou Club that aspired to advance Japanese avant-garde poetry; and Fujitomi Yasuo, who wrote avant-garde poetry and produced ‘an international poetry magazine called *Sette* – in English and Italian – *on the typewriter!*’¹⁷² Pound continued to influence Japanese poetics into the 1950s. It was his wider interest in art genres that led him into correspondence with Noguchi Yonejirô (1875-1947), a gifted Japanese poet.

In 1911, Noguchi sent Pound two volumes of his work in English.¹⁷³ Yoko Chiba argues that it is probable that Noguchi’s friendship with both Pound and Mary Fenollosa

¹⁷⁰ David Ewick, ‘Laurence Binyon: unpublished materials, “The Influence of Japanese Art on Western Civilization”’, in *Japonisme, Orientalism, Modernism: A Critical Bibliography of Japan in English-Language Verse, The Margins*, updated 2003, Accessed 29 November 2004, <http://themargins.net-bib-B-BC-bc34.html>. 2 December 2004.

¹⁷¹ Iwahara, Yasuo, ‘Ezra Pound to Noguchi Yonejirô, Pound No Nippon Tono Kaikô (Pound and Noguchi, The Beginning of Pound’s Involvement with Japan)’, *Kôgakuin daigaku kenkyû ronsô*, vol. 28, 1990, pp. 33-43, in Ewick.

¹⁷² Reck, pp. 96-101.

¹⁷³ Yonejirô Noguchi, *From the Eastern Sea*, Unicorn, London, 1903 and *The Pilgrimage*, vols. 1 & 2, Matthews, London, 1908. Whether Noguchi sent both volumes of *The Pilgrimage*, and *From the Eastern Sea* is unclear.

during this period explained how Pound came into possession of Fenollosa's notes.¹⁷⁴ Through his use of Fenollosa's notes, including those on Japanese Nô plays, Pound too was indebted to Japanese literature for whetting his appetite for both Chinese and Japanese literature. On the title page of *Cathay*, Pound acknowledged his debt not only to Fenollosa for his 'notes' but also to both Fenollosa's mentor Mori Kainan (1863-1911) and his note-taker Ariga Nagao (1836-1916), of the Tokyo Imperial University, for their 'decipherings' of the Chinese poetry of Rihaku.¹⁷⁵ Fenollosa's essay is a polycultural perspective on the Chinese written character: 'a creative English representation of traditional Chinese scholarships transmitted and interpreted by Japanese scholars'.¹⁷⁶ Pound used the deficiencies of working through another translator's interpretation of the Chinese poems to intuitively produce a text close to the meaning of the original:

Fenollosa's interlinear translations, as far as they are known, are often cryptic and often misleading. His, or Ariga's, prose is sometimes idiosyncratic. The deficiencies of Pound's sources, their obscurity, worked as a powerful stimulous to his imagination¹⁷⁷

Fortunately, the negative aspects of both Fenollosa's notes and the Japanese scholarship produced a positive result. The theories contained in Fenollosa's essay, published by Pound in 1920, had a profound and lasting effect on the way classical Chinese poetry was viewed in both Chinese and Western poetry critique.

¹⁷⁴ Yoko Chiba, 'Ezra Pound's Versions of Fenollosa's Noh Manuscripts and Yeats's Unpublished "Suggestions & Corrections"', *Yeats Annual*, 1986, p. 300.

¹⁷⁵ Pound, 1915, Introduction.

¹⁷⁶ Cai, 2002, p. 178.

¹⁷⁷ Anthony Tatlow, 'Stalking the Dragon: Pound, Waley, and Brecht', *Comparative Literature*, vol. xxv, no. 3, 1973, p. 195.

Pound, Waley and Publishing

Waley forged a career based on his passions – the art and literature of China and Japan – instigated by his work as assistant to Lawrence Binyon.¹⁷⁸ While Pound published profusely, including his acclaimed re-creations of Chinese poetry, *Cathay*, Waley was forced to self-publish forty booklets of re-created classical Chinese poems, which he thought rendered well in English, after the publishing arm of his Oriental sub-department deemed publication of the poems unprofitable.¹⁷⁹ He gave these booklets to friends including T.S. Eliot, one of Pound's protégées, and Roger Fry of the Bloomsbury group.¹⁸⁰ Henri Gaudier-Brzeska, was inspired and supported by the same social, artistic and literary groups as Waley and his artistry was supported by Pound.¹⁸¹ Through Fry and Gaudier-Brzeska, Pound had ample opportunity to know of Waley's difficulty in publishing. Although there is little evidence that Pound encouraged the publication of

¹⁷⁸ Waley was Assistant Curator of the Oriental [sub-] Department in the British Museum.

¹⁷⁹ Pound published: *A Lume Spento*, 1908; *Personae, Ripostes*, 1909; *Spirit of Romance* 1910; *Canzoni, New Age*, 1911; *Poetry*, 1912; *Cathay*, 1915; and *Lustra*, 1915.

¹⁸⁰ Jerry Carroll, 'Bloomsbury Group Bared In Strachey Biography', *The San Francisco Chronicle* Sunday November 5 1995, Front Page. The Bloomsbury Group: 'That glittering group of Bohemian thinkers and doers who revolted against the manners and morals of Victorian England included the great economist John Maynard Keynes; Virginia Woolf and her husband, Leonard, a famed British civil servant; the novelist E.M. Forester; and any number of poets, philosophers, artists and titled eccentrics.' [cont. p. 73] T.S. Eliot was one of the Bloomsbury Group with access to Leonard Woolf, a novelist and publisher; Michael Loewe, 'The Origins and Growth of Chinese Studies', *European Association of Chinese Studies*, 1998, Survey No.7. Chinese texts, such as the *Lun Yu* and *Shijing*, appealed to the ideals of the Bloomsbury Group.

¹⁸¹ Francis Miller, 'Gaudier-Brzeska: Lost Avant-Garde', book review Evelyn Silber, *Gaudier-Brzeska: Life and Art*, [New York, Thames Hudson, 1996], *Art Journal*, vol. 54, no. 3, 1997, p. 92. Roger Fry, of the Bloomsbury Group, supported Gaudier-Brzeska's sculptures as a result of 'significant study of the British Museum's ethnographic galleries'. Fry also had his own 'Omega Workshops' where Brzeska was able to work, display and sell his art between 1912 and 1914.

Waley's re-creations in England, he offered qualified support for their publication in an American magazine.¹⁸²

In 1917 Pound secured some of Waley's Bo Juyi re-creations for the American Magazine, *The Little Review*, although his accompanying letter to the editor is highly critical:

Some of the poems are magnificent. Nearly all the translations marred by his bungling English and defective rhythm ... I shall try to buy the best ones, and to get him to remove some of the botched places. (He is stubborn as a jackass, or a scholar.)¹⁸³

Pound's observations on the inadequacies of Waley's renditions and his manner of proffering changes for the poems suggests that tension existed between these two translators. Notwithstanding this, Pound's recommendation took Waley's re-creations of the genre into American literary circles. Secondly, the School of Oriental Studies published 'several hundred Tang and pre-Tang poem translations' and his article 'A Chinese Picture' was simultaneously published in *Burlington Magazine*. As with Pound's *Cathay* in 1915, Waley received only praise for his first book of Chinese poems – *Hundred and Seventy Chinese Poems*.¹⁸⁴ De Gruchy sums up the difficulty of Waley's employment:

¹⁸² Ezra Pound, letter to Margaret Anderson, 'Dear M.C.A.', Letter to Margaret Anderson, *Little Review* (Chicago, Ill.) Records, 1914-1964, UWM Manuscript Collection 1, 2nd July, 1917. See also Sinor.

¹⁸³ Ezra Pound, letter to Margaret Anderson, 2 July 1917, *Little Review* (Chicago, Ill.). Records, 1914-1964. UWM Manuscript Collection 1.

¹⁸⁴ Arthur Waley, *A Hundred and Seventy Chinese Poems*, Constable and Company Ltd., London, 1918.

The paradox is that as a British orientalist employed by the British Museum he inevitably became part of a complex dialectic of knowledge and Power in which most of the power lay on the British side.¹

Waley resolved this seeming inconsistency by leaving the British Museum in 1929 ‘ostensibly to avoid doing the Museum painting catalogue, but chiefly to devote himself to his studies’.² He was by then accepted by the London publishing academy, as the sinologist who ‘never left home,’ and was financially able to choose whatever Chinese or Japanese texts he wished to publish.³ The publisher of Waley’s 1941 publication, *Translations from the Chinese*, demonstrates a care in presentation that parallels the ‘three perfections’ of classical China – painting, poetry and calligraphy.⁴

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NOTE: This image is included on page 69 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library

NOTE: Footnote numbering has been changed to edit this document.

¹ de Gruchy 2003, pp. 44-45.

² Sinor.

³ Jonathan Spence, ‘The Explorer Who Never Left Home — Arthur Waley’, *Renditions*, no. 5, Autumn, updated 1975, accessed 27 August 2005, http://www.renditions.org/renditions/sps/s_5.html

⁴ Robert E. Harrist, Jr and Wen C. Fong, *The Embodied Image*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1999, p. 281.

⁵ Ma Yuan, ‘On a Mountain Path in Spring’, Yang Mei-tzu (calligrapher), in *Words and Images: Chinese Poetry, Calligraphy, and Painting*, Alfreda Murck and Wen C. Fong (eds.), The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1991, p.179. ‘Southern Song dynasty, album leaf, ink and light colours on silk, 27.3cm x 43.1cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei’. Rhonda and Jeffery Cooper, *Masterpieces of Chinese Art*, Todtri Book Publishers, New York, 1998, p. 83. The painting is titled, ‘Walking on a Path in Spring’. These two English titles, the Murck-Fong edition and the Cooper book, demonstrate a difference in emphasis – ‘walking’ (verb) as opposed to ‘mountain’ (noun) – and fluidity in the interpretation of transcultural visual art forms as occurs in transcultural written art forms such as re-created classical Chinese poetry.

Waley's edition had commissioned ten watercolours, English re-creations of classical Chinese poetry printed on buff paper in a font designed specifically for this book.

1

NOTE: This image is included on page 70 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library

Both Pound and Waley published what they believed were close renditions of the original Chinese poems but the difference in their approaches to interpreting the genre have ramifications for aspects of creating transcultural texts.

NOTE: Footnote numbering has been changed to edit this document.

¹ Arthur Waley, *Translations from the Chinese*, 2nd ed. Illustrated by Cyrus LeRoy Baldrige, A. Knopf, New York, 1991, p. 142.

Returning to Cultural Roots

From the Tang dynasty onwards the three perfections were used in combination but presentation in this format for the re-created genre is rarely found. One of the few publications boasting this combination, apart from Waley's 1941 edition, is *Songs and New Enchantment* by Huang and Foley which features all three: Chinese calligraphy and English re-creations accompanied by line drawings.¹⁹¹ Ideogrammic theory recognises similarities and compounds them to create a montage effect signifying one clear image. This is an important element of re-created poetry where threads common to those of target literature prompt recognition by readers. Pound's perception of Chinese written characters as ideogrammic and as the perfect medium for poetry taps into the montage effect of classical Chinese poetry easily created in European languages, specifically English.

Pound's belief in the importance of music and rhythm to effective poetics is particularly important for re-creations from classical Chinese poetry. The *Shijing* or *Book of Poetry* more literally translated is the *Book of Songs* or *The Odes*. In fact, all of the poems were originally sung odes but Achilles Fang, however, suggested that no music from this period, c.600 BCE, has been preserved.¹⁹² This makes strict adherence to an authentic metre of poems from this period merely educated guesswork and Waley's claim of re-creating the metre of classical Chinese poetry in his English renderings is an unsustainable claim. However, Fang stresses that 'it cannot be too strongly insisted that the Odes were actually sung in Confucius' day'

¹⁹¹ Amy Huang and Gwen Foley, *Songs and New Enchantment*, Eramboo Press, Sydney, 1984.

¹⁹² Pound, 1954, p. xi.

so attention to their musical elements is important.¹⁹³ Pound's interest in rhythm stemmed from the musical attributes of poetic form. His creation of rhythm in English interpretations of classical Chinese poems demonstrates sensitivity to the importance of musical intentionality of the original poets but wisely makes no claim to be authentic. Nevertheless, the efforts of both translators raised an awareness of the cultural roots of the genre.

Recapitulation

There have, for instance, been notable translators. Ezra Pound's *Cathay* created the manner followed with more learning but with less subtlety of rhythm by Arthur Waley in many volumes.¹⁹⁴

Eliot called Pound 'the inventor of Chinese poetry for our time' but it was the notes of Fenollosa that initiated change in Pound's approach to re-creating Chinese poetry. Fenollosa's theory about the poetic nature of Chinese characters inspired Pound to develop a new method of interpreting classical Chinese poetry. Pound's concept, inspired by Fenollosa's notes on ideogrammic theory, is often perceived as a false premise: that Chinese written characters are totally semantic entities. The Fenollosa/Pound ideogrammic theory ignores the reality that almost all characters are a composite of semantic and phonetic agents. The indisputable aspect of ideogrammic theory emphasizes a connection between Chinese characters and nature and thereby a link between classical Chinese poetry and nature.

¹⁹³ Ibid., p. xii.

¹⁹⁴ W.B. Yeats, 'Introduction: *Oxford Book of Modern Verse: 1892-1935*', in John Hollander (ed.), *Modern Poetry: Essays in Criticism*, Oxford Press, London, 1936, p. 103.

Both Pound and Waley aspired to the same goal – to re-create classical Chinese poetry as English poetry for readers in their time and place – modernist Europe – and both made important contributions to twentieth century Western poetics. Pound, in particular, was sensitive to the turbulence of modernism but he was not a passive canvas onto which it painted. Modernism upheld the nineteenth century's search for a 'universal language' thus making 'ideographic language' a fruitful find. Modernism cultivated a climate of change, renewal, and creative experimentation in Euro-American poetry. Western fascination with the Orient extended to language and literature combined with rejection of the conservative, romanticist, iambic pentameter. Furthermore, a shift towards the freedom of the *vers libre* opened the door to a completely new approach to the interpretation of Chinese poetry re-created as English poetry. Pound's masks and *personae* constitute a theory of *method translating* which is omnipresent in his translations from the Chinese such as *Cathay*.

Imagists Mallarmé and Pound centred a revolution on Western poetic theory which disrupted the romantic, traditional interpretation of re-created classical Chinese poetry: Mallarmé initiated discussion of blurred boundaries of word semantics in poetry while Fenollosa and Pound pioneered the physical irreducibility of a word's maintaining its meaning. Imagism upheld the edicts of succinctness, rhythm and clarity. These attributes formed a base on which to build a revolutionary theory for re-creating poetry from Chinese characters. Pound not only utilised modernist principles but also built on them to establish a lasting treasure for global poetics. Politically, the allure of Fascism almost proved fatal for Pound and his anti-Semitic perception of usury turned post-WWII readers away from him but his poetic genius kept him in the public eye. The minimalism

of modernism led Pound to the theory of imagism. Others have been credited with publishing the first imagist poem but Pound's *haiku* poem 'In a Station of the Metro' stands as the benchmark for modernist poetry.

Pound's greatest contribution to twentieth century poetic theory was to have led alphabetic language poetry away from its dependence on nineteenth century iambic pentameter and towards an ideogrammic method. Pound contributed to the Euro-American modernist poetic revolution with an ideogrammic method using the fragmentation and minimalism of modernism, the snapshot effect of imagism, the collage technique of montage and the avant-garde methodology of vorticism in a poetic attempt to mimic nature – poetry as natural process. Ernest Fenollosa's scholarship, in absentia, and Pound's creativeness and poetic expertise combined to synthesize the early modernist theories. Pound proposed his ideogrammic method as 'universal poetics': formed from the theories of imagism, vorticism and montage and honed by Fenollosa's theories on the Chinese written character and Chinese poetics.

Many scholars view Pound's ideographic theories as derived solely from his good fortune to be endowed with the notebooks of the late Fenollosa. However, Jin argues persuasively that Pound had already introduced the basics of ideogrammic theory before these notes came into his possession. Modernist poetry, including imagist poetry and vortex poetry, is compatible with ideogrammic poetics. Ultimately, the validity or invalidity of the notion of the Chinese written character as an ideograph is unimportant to purist philologists. Jin's appeal to *etymorhetic*, based on traditional Chinese literary analysis, accommodates Pound's perception of ideogrammic and Fenollosa's

ideogrammic theory refined Pound's method by positing the composition of the Chinese written character as a model for a perfect, poetic tool.

Waley's sinologically sound and aesthetically appealing presentation of the genre, with strictures of cultural accuracy and replication of the original Chinese poem's rhythm, provided balance to Pound's radical approaches. Waley's impact was subtle but powerful. His influence on Western perceptions of classical Chinese poetry was subtle: by winning the Queen's Gold Medal for English Poetry he forced English literary critics to view the genre as a valued poetic product and he focused attention on the cultural roots of the genre by attempting to reproduce its aesthetic qualities. His impact was powerful because he chose to re-create predominantly those poems that he believed would translate well for the readers of his time resulting in their popular appeal. The climate of change in early twentieth century modernism and the influence of pre-1911 Chinese literature produced Pound and Waley, each of whom developed approaches for re-creating classical Chinese poetry that continue into the twenty-first century. It would take another world war to produce the next significant change in approach to interpretation of the genre.

2 BURTON WATSON AND GARY SNYDER

Introduction

Pound, Waley and other modernists continued to influence approaches to the genre well into the second half of the twentieth century. Pound's poetic theories and Waley's sinological scholarship, along with collaborative re-creations such those of Kenneth Rexroth and Ling Ching or of Witter Bynner and Kiang Kang-hu, provided a foundation for the re-creation of classical Chinese poetry in English.¹ Among the plethora of re-creators, who sprang forth in the latter part of the twentieth century, significant contributions to approaches to interpreting the genre were made by two American translators – Burton Watson (1925-) and Gary Snyder (1930-). To demonstrate the continuity of the approaches of Pound and Waley for re-creation during the post-WWII period, I shall compare the Snyder and Watson re-creations of poems by Tang poet Han Shan.² Juxtaposing re-creations of Han Shan's poetry published during the 1950s and 1960s by three translators – Waley, Watson and Snyder – will allow comparative analysis of their choices to reveal the effect of personal partialities on their choices.³ Waley's re-creations will provide a basis for comparison of the interpretive approaches of Snyder and Watson. By highlighting similarity and difference, along with environmental and critical

¹ Kenneth Rexroth (1905-1982): one of the founding fathers of the San Francisco Poetry Centre. See French, 1991, for Snyder-Rexroth connections; Witter Bynner, 'On Translating Chinese Poetry', *Asia* 21, December 1921, pp. 993-997; Bynner (1881-1968) asserted that Chinese enriched his education far more than either Hebrew or Greek; Bynner and Kiang.

² Tang Dynasty (618-907CE). Arthur Waley (trans.), '27 Poems by Han-shan', *Encounter*, vol. 3, no. 3, 1954b, p. 3; Waley dates Han Shan to the 'late sixth to early ninth centuries'. Burton Watson (trans.), *Cold Mountain, 100 Poems by the T'ang Poet Han-Shan*, Grove Press, New York, 1962, p. 9; Gary Snyder, *Riprap & Cold Mountain Poems*, Four Seasons Foundation, San Francisco, 1965, p. 33. Snyder says 'Hu Shih dates him [Han Shan] 700-780'.

³ Robert Henricks, *The Poetry of Han-Shan: A Complete, Annotated Translation of Cold Mountain*, Series in Buddhist Studies, Kenneth K. Inada. (ed.), State University of New York Press, Albany, 1990, p. 459. Henricks records a fourth re-creator of Han Shan poetry into English during the same period: Wu Chi-yu, 'A Study of Han Shan', *T'oung Pao*, no. XLV, 1957, pp. 392-450.

influences, I shall demonstrate how approaches to the interpretation of this genre affected Western perceptions of this genre.

Watson's Way

Placing the Person

Watson was born and raised in New York, which provided him with the experience of an intense urban environment and perhaps explains why he chooses to live in Tokyo today. Educated at Columbia and Tokyo Universities, he lectured in Chinese and Japanese languages and literature at three universities – Tokyo, Columbia and Stanford – possibly a reflection of his passion for East Asian literature. Watson has received two noteworthy prizes for translation: the Columbia University Translation Centre gold medal (1979), and the PEN Translation Prize (1981). Although he has published more than twenty books of translations of Chinese and Japanese literature, Watson has also published translations of Chinese poetry and history in *Renditions*. Watson has established a reputation not only for expertise in translation but also for re-creating classical Chinese poetry as English poetry.

Watson and Translation

In *The Columbia Book of Chinese Poetry* (1984), Watson noted two divergent approaches by 'translators of Chinese poetry into English'.⁴ While some modernist translators urged for even greater freedom to re-create the poems rather than be restrained by the formalities of classical Chinese poetics, others returned to late 19th century approaches in their English re-creations by attempting to adhere to the strictures of classical Chinese poetics such as rhythm or rhyme. Watson embraced 'innovation' in poetic translation in the hope that the resultant re-creations

⁴ Burton Watson, *The Columbia Book of Chinese Poetry: From Early Times to the Thirteenth Century*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1984, p.13.

might reveal even more of the poignant beauty of the original Chinese poem. In his opinion there are three elements essential for appreciating the work of pre-eminent classical Chinese poets: ‘extensive excerpts’ of their poetry, ‘sufficient biographical’ material and ‘critical information’.⁵

Watson’s stipulated essentials for appreciating classical Chinese poetry seemingly pose a problem for appreciating the poetry of the *Shijing*. Due to its antiquity, most of its contributors are unidentified yet it is a rich source of pre-Confucian Chinese cultural information.⁶ The value of the *Shijing* to the construction of a reasonable impression of early Chinese society cannot be overrated. Watson, however, does not mean to eliminate ancient poetry on the grounds of insufficient contextual support material because he advocates this genre as text relevant for contemporary readers:

Other literary genres may show off more of the intellectual and philosophical aspects of the Chinese personality, or give greater scope to its fondness for pomp and ornateness, for mystery, fantasy, or rollicking fun. But no other type of literary expression so clearly reveals the basic humanism and realism of the Chinese, their abiding concern with the world that confronts us day to day.⁷

Watson’s assertion regarding the importance of classical Chinese poetry also holds true for its relevance for third millennium readers, both Chinese and Western, as the pace and tenor of modernity create a need to reconnect people with the simplicity of basic human needs lost in the rhetoric of global materialism. In this assertion Watson joins Snyder in presenting classical

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Wm. Theodore de Bary, Wing-tsit Chan and Burton Watson, *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, Records of Civilizations, Sources and Studies, vols LV and LVI, Columbia University Press, New York, 1960, pp. 15-16. Confucius (551-479 BCE): Confucius is the Latin form of Kong Fuzi (family name Kung, personal name Qin) also called Master Kong.

⁷ Watson, 1984, p. 14.

Chinese poetry as a link to natural processes – a spiritual connection to the essentials of humanity and its environment.

As we saw above, Watson acknowledges the English Han Shan re-creations by Waley, Snyder, and Iriya, as influences to his own but firmly distances himself from any suggestion that he relied completely on any of them:⁸

Some reviewers of my work apparently have the idea that I translated not from the Chinese originals of the work I translated, but from Japanese translations of such work. This is not true. I always translate directly from the Chinese. But to make certain that I have understood the Chinese correctly, I often look at the Japanese or other translations of the poem or prose that I am working on.⁹

Watson also acknowledges a debt to a poet friend of Snyder, Cid Corman, for steering him towards improved poetic re-creation.¹⁰ Snyder also sent his own poetry publications and ‘other books on poetry’ to help Watson develop his poetic skills.¹¹ While Watson mused that his Han Shan translations ‘still leave much to be desired,’ he shares his approach to translating Chinese poetry:

Classical Chinese, the language of traditional Chinese poetry, is close to English in word order, and if one sticks to the wording and sequence of the original, one usually comes out with something quite good in English. Moreover, Classical

⁸ The influences acknowledged by Watson are: Waley, 1954; Gary Snyder, ‘Cold Mountain Poems’, *Evergreen Review*, vol. II, no. 6, Autumn 1958, pp. 33-36; Iriya Yoshitaka, ‘Kanzan (Han-Shan)’, in *Chugoku Shijin Senshu (Selected Works of Chinese Poets)*, vol. 5, Kojiro and Tamaki Ogawa (eds), Iwanami Shoten, Tokyo, 1958.

⁹ Burton Watson, letter to the author, Tokyo, 2004, p. 2. Appendix D.

¹⁰ Burton Watson, ‘Gary Snyder: Dimensions of a Life’, in Jon Halper, *Gary Snyder: Dimensions of a Life*, Sierra Club Books, San Francisco, 1991, pp. 56-57. Corman gave Watson blunt feedback regarding ‘bad or sloppy English’ in his re-creations.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 57. Among the books Snyder sent to him, Watson specifically mentions an anthology of modern American poetry by Donald Allen, *The New American Poetry: 1945-1960*, Grove Press, New York, 1960.

Chinese is largely monosyllabic, so that a line written in five characters will generally go easily into a line in English.¹²

Watson clearly establishes the conscious influences on his re-creations but what of the unconscious pressures and biases? He produced his re-creations of Han Shan poems at the same time as Snyder produced his and, like Snyder, he was educated primarily in the United States so if he interprets the poems differently, why and what factors caused this? These questions shape the structure of this exploration of change in post-WWII interpretation of the genre.

Snyder: Wilderness Beat

In early childhood, Snyder spent time with Coast Salish people, Washington, from whom he learnt to understand the special relationship between Native American people and nature. During his youth, Snyder's employment varied, for example, he worked as a logger, a sailor, a fire look-out, a timber scaler and undertook mountain climbing as a camp counsellor – all outdoor occupations. Snyder's attachment to indigenous ecological thought was strengthened by his studies at Reed College, where he met Philip Whalen, and at Indiana University, where he studied anthropology and taught himself Zen practice.

Inspired by the writings of D.T. Suzuki, he left university to join the San Francisco 'Beat Movement' or 'Beat Generation,' which arose in response to the aftershock of WWII in the United States. The 'Beat Generation' poetry was 'spontaneous', 'ungoverned' and

¹² Burton Watson, 'The Pleasures of Translating', Soshitsu Sen XV Distinguished Lecture on Japanese Culture, Donald Keene Centre of Japanese Culture, 1 May 2001, accessed 2 January 2006, http://www.columbia.edu/cu/ealac-dkc-sen-burton_watson_text.html

‘colloquial’.¹³ Shrugging off inhibitions, Beats laid bare raw emotion in their work and shunned rules of grammar to the point where writing bordered on ‘incoherence’.¹⁴ The Beats wrote through the preconceived literary rules resisting the status quo and establishing their own genre. Snyder was influenced by other Beats such as writer Jack Kerouac and poets Whalen, Kenneth Rexroth and Allan Ginsberg but he also influenced their urban experiences with his experiences of wilderness.¹⁵

Snyder’s Poetics

Snyder’s English poetics show the influence of imagism, reminiscent of HD: concise, succinct and blasting visual patterns onto the cortex of the brain. An example of this, from his Pulitzer Prize-winning volume *Turtle Island*, integrates Zen with pantheism, imagism and modernism.

WITHOUT
the silence
of nature
within.

the power within.
the power
without.

¹³ For further information on ‘Beat poetry’ and links between Rexroth and Snyder, see French, 1991.

¹⁴ Gene Baro, *Beat Poets*, Vista Books, London, 1961, p. 6. Foundation Beat poets were Neal Cassady from New York, William S. Burroughs from Manhattan and Gary Snyder, Lawrence Ferlinghetti, Michael McClure, Phillip Whalen and Lew Welch from San Francisco. Kenneth Rexroth also made a significant contribution to the re-creation of classical Chinese poetry. He is one of the few translators to specifically acknowledge women Chinese poets.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 7; see also Kenneth Rexroth, *100 Poems from the Chinese*, New Directions, New York, 1956, p. x, ‘The Poetess Li Ch’ing Chao’ and p. xi, ‘The Poetess Chu Shu Chen’ and two books with Ling Chung, *Women Poets of China*, New Directions, New York, 1972 and *Li Ch’ing-chao Complete Poems*, New Directions, New York, 1979.

the path is whatever passes – no end
in itself.

the end is,
grace – ease –
healing,
not saving.

singing
the proof
the proof of the power within.¹⁶

It is this perception of the world, this vision of global awareness that places his poetry in a unique temporal space. Snyder takes these perceptions into the translating arena when he interprets classical Chinese poetry and sets his re-creational skills into play. Watson acknowledges Snyder's practical experience of nature without lowering respect for his own translating prowess. This practical experience came from two major sources: Snyder's studies in Japan and his involvement with Native American and Japanese islanders.

Snyder in Japan

Snyder spent two long stints between '1956 and 1968' studying Zen in Kyoto at Shokoku-ji and the Daitoku-ji monastery.¹⁷ His continuing self-education in the areas of 'geomorphology and forestry' added to his practical experiences such as living on a volcanic island in the South China Sea, Suwanose, with Japanese islanders practicing an alternative lifestyle, on fish and 'edible plants'. Snyder was initiated into Shugendō, a blend of Buddhist and Shinto religions

¹⁶ Gary Snyder, *Turtle Island*, Shambala Publications, Boston & London, 1993 rpt 1969, pp. 9-10.

¹⁷ Wikipedia contributors, updated 1 July 2006, accessed 3 July 2006, http://en.wikipedia.org-w-index.php?title=Gary_Snyder&oldid=61540326

that demands ‘asceticism and feats of endurance’.¹⁸ His sojourns in Japan merged his practice of Zen with his embrace of indigenous rapport with nature.

Bioregionalism

Snyder’s love of wilderness, mountaineering, a fascination with the thought of indigenous shamanistic cultures, American Indian, Japanese and Chinese poetry, led to a commitment to bioregional theory.¹⁹ This theory claims that eco-environmental responsibility is only possible through thorough and intimate empathy with the natural elements of one’s local region, ‘wilderness’.²⁰ Working from the architectural inspiration of rural Japanese and Native American architecture, Snyder built his home in the Sierra Mountains of Northern California.²¹ He acknowledged that his strong leaning towards wilderness poetry was significantly influenced by his exposure to Japanese and Chinese poetry, and of the latter Tang poetry proved the most alluring for Snyder.

Snyder, Watson and Tang Poetry

In his early writing, Snyder was influenced by the poetic theories of Pound although the dominant influence on both his re-created classical Chinese poetry and his own compositions

¹⁸ Wikipedia, updated 1 July 2006, accessed 10 July 2006, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yamabushi> ‘Yamabushi began as yamahoshi, isolated clusters (or individuals) of mountain hermits, ascetics, and “holy men,” who followed the path of shugendo, a search for spiritual, mystical, or supernatural powers gained through asceticism’. For further information on Ratti, Oscar and Adele Westbrook, *Secrets of the Samurai*, Tuttle, Rutland, VT, 1973.

¹⁹ Watson, 2004, p. 1. ‘He [Snyder] was born and raised in the Pacific northwest, where there are many large mountain ranges, and he had had experience in mountain climbing when he approached the Han Shan poems’.

²⁰ Robert Kern, ‘Mountains and Rivers Are Us: Gary Snyder and the Nature of the Nature of Nature’, *College Literature*, vol. 27, no.1, 2000, p. 119.

²¹ Wikipedia, ‘Gary Snyder’, updated 1 July 2006, accessed 3 July 2006, http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Gary_Snyder&oldid=61540326

was Zen, Japanese for Chan, a mystical form of Chinese Buddhism.²² The complexity of Tang mysticism need not concern us here. It is enough, for the purpose of this thesis, to understand that it existed and affected poets such as Han Shan, motivating his retreat to a simple life on a mountainside. It is small wonder that Snyder, student of Zen, was drawn to the poetry of Han Shan, because much of what this classical Chinese poet espoused was what Snyder held dear – rejection of materialism and a desire to live harmoniously with nature.

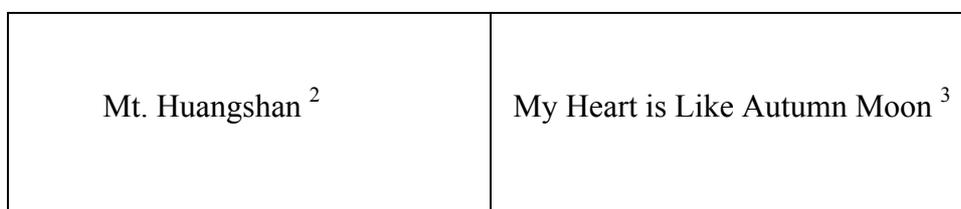
Watson, on the other hand, approached the genre with considerable scholarship in Chinese and Japanese history. His interest in re-creating Chinese poetry stemmed from his research and writings on early Chinese historical literature. Watson's first publications centred on translations of Chinese historical documents, for example, *Ssu-ma Ch'ien: Grand Historian of China* (1958) and *Records of the Grand Historian of China* (1961), however, from this point onwards he combined his interest in Chinese translation – history and translating classical Chinese poetry. While Watson approached the genre steeped in sinological expertise, Snyder approached with a balance of scholarship and passion for Zen and mountainsides.

The focus of this chapter is the process of re-creation as a complex product of environment, poet, poem and reader response along with overt and covert influences on Watson and Snyder. Prominent among these influences were Japanese art and literary cultures.

²² Faure, p.3. 'As is well known, Zen is the Japanese pronunciation of the Chinese character Chan (itself the transcription of the Sanskrit *dhyana*), and Japanese Zen developed out of the Chinese tradition known as Chan Buddhism. There is undeniably a continuity between Chan and Zen, and most scholars consider the terms interchangeable. However, there are many historical, cultural, and doctrinal differences as well, and these differences are not superficial: they would surely affect the "essence" of Zen, if this term had any referent. ... Zen and Chan are not monolithic entities, but fluid, ever-changing networks'; Bob Steuding, *Gary Snyder*, Boston, Twayne Publishers, Boston, 1976, p. 39. Ezra Pound was reputedly a favourite poet of Snyder during his college years. Livia Kohn, *Chinese Mysticism: Philosophy and Soteriology in the Taoist Tradition*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1992, p.9.

Han Shan: Eccentric Tang Poet

Snyder's choice of Han Shan's poetry for re-creation is unsurprising because of its content. It is full of spiritual and lifestyle issues reflecting Snyder's own passions – love of and respect for the natural environment.¹ Han Shan was a recluse who left a conservative lifestyle to retreat onto a mountainside in the Tiantai mountain range, southwest China, occasionally visiting a friend, Shi De, in an adjacent monastery. The following poem, 'My Heart is Like Autumn Moon' credited to Han Shan and re-created in English by Red Pine, juxtaposed with the poem in Chinese character calligraphy and a photograph, provides an example of how powerfully the 'three perfections' combine to create an entity. The rugged mountainside is 'Han Shan', the poet is 'Han Shan' and the mental processes of the poet is also 'Han Shan'. Therefore, 'Han Shan' is each individual part and yet all three, just at the 'three perfections' are individual and yet a whole.



NOTE: These images are included on page 84 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library

NOTE: Footnote numbering has been changed to edit this document.

¹ Gary Snyder, email to the author, 21 October 2003. Appendix E.

² Unknown photographer, 'Mt. Huangshan', Vancouver China International Travel, updated 2004, accessed 5 July 2006, <http://www.citscanada.com/cities/mountains.htm>

³ Unknown artist, 'My Heart is Like Autumn Moon', calligraphy, Ming L. Pei Website Manager, updated January 2006, accessed 6 July 2006, <http://www.chinapage.org-hanshan2n.html>

The trail to Cold Mountain is faint the banks of Cold Stream are a jungle birds constantly chatter away I hear no sound of people	gusts of wind lash my face flurries of snow bury my body day after day no sun year after year no spring ²⁶
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Buddhists and Daoists alike claim Han Shan because his poetry appeals to the values of both ideologies. Chan accommodates both Daoist and Buddhist philosophies so if Han Shan needs to be held to any particular ideological label, Chan seems to be the reasonable choice.²⁷

Snyder ends his preface to Han Shan's biography – written in the seventh century by the Governor of Tai Prefecture Lu Qiu-Yin – with a contemporary analogy:²⁸

*He [Han Shan] and his sidekick Shih-te (Jittoku in Japanese) became great favourites with Zen painters of later days - the scroll, the broom, the wild hair and laughter. They became Immortals and you sometimes run onto them today in the skidrows, orchards, hobo jungles, and logging camps of America. G.S.*²⁹

²⁶ Red Pine (trans.), 'My Heart is Like The Autumn Moon', updated January 2006, accessed 5 July 2006, <http://www.chinapage.org-hanshan2n.html>

²⁷ Faure, pp.208-209. Chan and poetry have a tense relationship: J.D. Schmidt 1974, 'Ch'an, Illusion, and Sudden Enlightenment in the Poetry of Yany Wang-li', p. 232 draws an analogy between 'studying poetry' and 'starting to study Ch'an'.

²⁸ Gary Snyder, *RIPRAP & Cold Mountain Poems*, Four Seasons Foundation, San Francisco, 1965. Riprap was originally published by Origin Press in 1959 and 'Cold Mountain Poems' were first printed in *Evergreen Review*, no. 6, 1958, pp. 33-36. Watson, 1962a, pp. 7-8.

²⁹ Snyder, 1965, p. 33.

Han Shan and Shi De 1

NOTE: This image is included on page 86 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library

This analogy accommodates the traditional Chinese belief that recluses were possessors of wisdom, sages. Daoists, who were mystics, supported the notion that a sage was not one who retreated from society but one who achieved ‘social and political achievements’, however, they might only achieve these by allowing nature to take its own course.² Snyder, an environmentalist and a fervent advocate of the rights of Native American Indians, was attracted to the spiritual connection between human thought and behaviour and nature in Han Shan’s poems and in this he was not alone.

Watson was also drawn to Han Shan’s poetry. While Iriya Yoshitaka’s renderings of Han Shan’s poems encouraged Watson – he used 90 of Yoshitaka’s 126 Japanese re-creations – he acknowledged a debt to both Waley and Snyder for their prior publications of some of the poems in journal articles.³ In response to the first draft of this chapter, Watson said:

NOTE: Footnote numbering has been changed to edit this document.

1. Shubun, Tensho 2006, ‘HanShan (Han Shan) and ShiDe (Shih-te)’, painting, National Museum, Tokyo, Ming L. Pei (ed.), accessed 30 June 2006, <http://www.ukonline.co.uk-images-hanshanshide.jpg>; Shubun, Tensho painted in the mid 15th century.
2. de Bary et. al., p. 280.
3. Iriya Yoshitaka, *Kanzan*, Vol 5: *Chūgoku shijin senshū* (Selected Works of Chinese Poets), series edited by Kōjirō and Tamaki Ogawa, Iwanami Shoten, Tokyo, 1958. Watson 1962a, p. 15.

... although Gary's translations were published in 1958, I did not see them immediately and when I did see them, the first draft of my [Han Shan] translations was already completed. So I was not directly influenced by Gary's work, although I admired it. It was only later that I began to read the Beat poets such as Ginsberg and was influenced by their work.³³

Watson and Snyder may have been motivated by Waley's renderings of Han Shan's poetry, although Snyder does not cite this, yet, they were by no means the only notable re-creators to be attracted to Tang poetry. Two of these were Red Pine in *The Collected Songs of Cold Mountain* (1983), and Robert Henricks in *The Poetry of Han Shan* (1990), who furnished the most complete English re-creations of Han Shan's poems of the twentieth century.³⁴ Henricks annotated all 311 known Han Shan poems and made a comparative table of all four previous English editions of the poems by Waley, Snyder, Watson and Wu Chi-yu; thematic tabling and acknowledged of Buddhist and Sanskrit terms used.³⁵ He provides the opportunity to see whether Watson's and Snyder's collections are representative of Han Shan's work and whether their choices are attributable to personal preferences of one kind or another.

Two years before the publication of his Han Shan poems, Watson co-compiled the *Sources of Chinese Tradition* where he discussed the tension between twentieth century Chinese culture and its Western counterpart.³⁶ Han Shan's poetry dealt in some measure with society's focus on materialism and Watson chose to re-create many of these poems centred on

³³ Watson 2004. Appendix D.

³⁴ Red Pine, *The Collected Songs of Cold Mountain*, Copper Canyon Rest, Washington, 1983. Red Pine is the pen name of Bill Porter; Robert Henricks, *The Poetry of Han Shan: A Complete, Annotated Translation of Cold Mountain*, Series in Buddhist Studies, Kenneth K. Inada. (ed.), State University of New York Press, Albany, 1990; Stephen Owen, *Anthology of Chinese literature: Beginnings to 1911*, Norton, New York, 1996, pp. 404-406.

³⁵ Chinese source of Han Shan poems is *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, vol. 12.

³⁶ de Bary et.al., pp. 846-854.

or around the topic of greed.³⁷ Not surprisingly, Watson was influenced by the past while Snyder was influenced by the present and future. Watson's views on re-created poetry are, however, worthy of quoting in full:

At the present time, some translators of Chinese poetry into English continue to press in the direction of greater freedom, while others experiment in the reintroduction of rhyme and other formal elements that were earlier jettisoned. My own belief is that all types of innovation and experiment are to be welcomed, for from them hopefully will evolve even more effective methods for bringing the beauties of Chinese poetry over into English.³⁸

Although written in 1984, this could have been written at any time during the twentieth century. Certainly Snyder, with Poundian theories plus Beat inspiration, felt little constraint in keeping to a conservative path. Watson's view tallies well with Pound's edict that 'Each generation must translate for itself'.³⁹ This is important because Watson, like Waley, came to the translating table with considerable expertise in Chinese language, literature and history while Pound had none of these but had far greater expertise in poetics and translation in general.⁴⁰ That the sinologists Waley and Watson both chose to re-create Han Shan is unsurprising but that the poet Snyder, who seemingly had more in common with Pound, chose to translate Han Shan poems, while Pound did not, is significant. Snyder's choices were motivated by his passions revolving around Zen (Chan) and environmental responsibility.

³⁷ Henricks, pp. 433-437; Watson, 1962a, pp. 31, 33, 35, 36, 38, 39, 41, 43, 44, 52, 91, 94, 96, 105. [Pagination for Watson is my own.]

³⁸ Watson, 1984, p. 13.

³⁹ Eliot, 1972, p. 15; Watson 2004.

⁴⁰ Pound, like Waley, was multilingual, however, where Waley excelled in Far Eastern languages and was competent in modern European and Middle-Eastern languages, Pound's strengths lay in modern and classical European languages; he had little knowledge of Eastern languages.

Both Chinese poems and English re-creations, however, are subject to the critical imposts of their respective literary cultures.

Snyder and Watson Re-create Han Shan

Of the 311 recorded Han Shan poems Waley re-created 27, Snyder 24 and Watson one hundred.⁴¹ Comparing these reveals different choices made by the re-creators, discerns a thematic thread and suggests possibilities for their choices. Juxtaposing the eremitic poems of Han Shan re-created by Snyder with those re-created by Watson exposes similarities and differences between their approaches to the genre – the imagist, ideogrammic interpretations of Pound and the modernist, romanticist interpretations of Waley. The differing qualities between Snyder’s re-creations and those of Watson highlight the importance that their distinct talents brought to the re-creating process.

Considering the last two lines of this Han Shan poem highlights the difference between Snyder’s and Watson’s interpretations:⁴²

<p>[L7] And now I’ve lost the shortcut home, [L8] Body asking shadow, how do you keep up?⁴³</p>	<p>[L7] Now it is that, straying from the path, [L8] You ask your shadow, “What way from here?”⁴⁴</p>
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Both feature Han Shan’s internal dialogue, covert and rhetorical, but while line 8 of Snyder’s re-creation reads of the poet’s tiredness, Watson’s is of choosing his life’s path. It is the subtle

⁴¹ Waley, 1954; Snyder 1958; Watson 1962,

⁴² For the rest of Chapter 2, Snyder’s re-creations will appear on the left hand side whilst Watson’s appear on the right unless only one re-creator is being quoted.

⁴³ Snyder, 1965, p. 37.

⁴⁴ Watson, 1962a p. 66.

shift in meaning that can open or close the opportunity for readers to interpret for themselves. Each re-creation is equally valid because it is a primary text in its own right – an advantage of re-created poetry. Re-creation of the same source poem by many translators provides an opportunity to access and compare multiple, published re-creations. As a consequence of this, each reader can find the re-creations that best suit their interpretive needs. When the influences of literary theories, ideological movements and personal experiences are evident in the re-created poems, difference is worthy of note, for example:

And here am I, high on mountains, And here a wanderer, drowned in delusion,
Peering and peering, but I cannot see the Looks and looks but cannot see the sky.⁴⁶
sky.⁴⁵

Snyder uses the first person and simple language and therefore his interpretation leaves readers with options. Han Shan could be literally ‘high’ as in altitude; he could be affected by the toxicity of mushrooms: or he could be intoxicated with the awesomeness of the pristine wilderness so far up on the mountain.⁴⁷ Snyder creates an open text, open to interpretation by the reader to a greater extent than is usually the case. By allowing readers to enter more fully into the interpretive process, Snyder’s rendering provides the opportunity for them to employ the creative element of isogesis. Watson uses a metaphor, judging and closing the interpretation of the line with a finality that excludes readers from interaction with the meaning of the poem and denies them the opportunity to discover their own truth – a truth

⁴⁵ Snyder, 1965, p. 39.

⁴⁶ Watson, 1962a, p. 65.

⁴⁷ Liesa Tyler, ‘Magic Mushrooms: Chinese Villagers Strike Gold with a Much-Sought-After Fungus’, *Time International (Asia Edition)*, vol. 164, no. 14, 2004, p. 61. ‘Boasting one of the richest ecosystems on the planet, the lush, temperate mountains of northern Yunnan are, for two months of the year, home to maturing *matsutake* (known in Mandarin as *songrong*)’.

Final couplets from two different poems with a common theme further support the notion that Watson used conservative language while Snyder employed language that reflects his interests in Zen and wilderness. Although both understood the precepts of Chan, it was the life experiences of Snyder that took his re-creation into the Chan realm of spontaneity. It is evident that his passionate beliefs about human relationships with the natural environment unconsciously affected his language choices in re-creating Han Shan's poems.

Snyder's passion for environmental responsibility, coupled with the influence of Pound and imagism, makes his re-creation of the poem Henricks numbers as '9' distinct from other re-creations of this poem in English:

L4 The rising sun blurs in swirling fog.	L4 Though the sun comes out, the fog is blinding.
L5 How did I make it?	L5 How can you hope to get there by aping me?
L6 My heart's not the same as yours.	L6 Your heart and mine are not alike.
L7 If your heart was like mine	L7 If your heart were the same as mine,
L8 You'd get it and be right there. ⁵²	L8 Then you could journey to the very center! ⁵³

Vernacular, first mooted by Pound as the efficient mode of transmitting historical poems in contemporary times, is embraced and utilised by Snyder in terms such as 'make it'⁵⁴ and 'get it'.⁵⁵ The succinctness of Snyder's Line 5 'How did I make it?' is aided by his use of contemporary language just as Pound had advocated, while Watson's 'How can you hope to get there by aping me?' might be literally correct but is long-winded and possibly unappealing

⁵² Snyder, 1965, p. 42.

⁵³ Watson, 1962 a, p. 100.

⁵⁴ Snyder, Line 2.

⁵⁵ Ibid., Line 5.

to a third millennium readership. As a point of further comparison it is interesting to see how Waley interprets the last couplet:

L7 If only your heart was the same as mine
L8 You would be living where I live now.⁵⁶

Waley's composition, which was certainly consulted by both Watson and Snyder, offers greater emphasis in Line 7 by placing 'only' ahead of 'your heart'. This sense of longing for the reader to adopt a more enlightened attitude to the corruptive influences of a material world becomes an abrupt announcement from Snyder that sounds distinctly judgemental. It certainly does not project the whimsical note that Waley's re-creation does nor the simple statement of fact that Watson's does. What all three have in common is the element of openness of meaning. Interpretation of the information is left to the reader. The merit of these three re-creations confirms that each must necessarily be accepted as an aesthetic product in its own right.

Comparison of the following final couplet allows further reflection on the impact of life experience on a translator's renderings and the consequences of this for their approaches:

L7 Who knows that I'm out of the dusty world	L7 Who would ever have thought I would leave the dusty world
L8.Climbing the southern slope of Cold Mountain? ⁵⁷	L8 And come bounding up the southern slope of Cold Mountain? ⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Arthur Waley, '27 Poems by Han-Shan,' *Encounter*, vol. 3, no. 3, 1954, p. 4.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

Snyder used one word while Watson used four words to express the same notion yet Watson expresses a desire to render classical Chinese texts in ‘as concise English as possible’.⁵⁹ Snyder used ‘climbing,’ influenced by his personal experience in wilderness pursuits, whereas Watson added a fauna-like quality to the line with his ‘bounding’.⁶⁰ Both demonstrate sensitivity to Han Shan’s environment. Snyder employed a synonym of ‘bound’ in the next example:

‘Who can leap the world’s ties’⁶¹

‘Who can break from the snares of the world’⁶²

His ‘leap’ has transcendental connotations whereas Watson’s ‘break’ is harsh and unforgiving. Snyder, a practitioner of Zen, employed ‘ties’ to convey a softer tone to the temptations of conservative values and perhaps materialism. On the other hand, Watson used ‘snares’ to depict the lures of society, conjuring up sinister images of traps set for the unwary rather than natural products of worldly life. In this way Snyder interprets closer to Daoist philosophy and Watson closer to Buddhist.

Snyder, with only twenty-four re-created Han Shan poems, focused on depicting avariciousness as a stumbling block hindering humans from entering into a meaningful relationship with nature. He saw American society as racing headlong into environmental disaster in its drive for achieving excessive personal wealth. Han Shan wrote many poems on the topic of greed. At least nine were specifically on this topic, up to nineteen on poverty, and

⁵⁹ Watson 2001.

⁶⁰ Henricks, p. 195. Henricks uses ‘drives up’ lending support to the Pound notion that classical Chinese poetry needs to be re-created for its own time.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 44.

⁶² Ibid., p. 58.

tens of others alluding to the consequences of pursuing material possessions at the expense of spiritual development:

I've got no use for the kulak,
 With his big barn and pasture—
 He just sets up a prison for himself.
 Once in he can't get out.
 Think it over—
 You know it might happen to you.⁶³

Men like that
 Ought to stick to making money.⁶⁴

Further, in a choice of only twenty-four poems, from a possible 311 preserved poems of Han Shan, Snyder chose a large number that denigrated materialists by urging readers to consider the consequences of their lifestyle, for example:

<p>Go tell families with silverware and cars “What’s the use of all that noise and money?”⁶⁵</p>	<p>Then go on, my friend, as you are today. Let money be your whole life for you!⁶⁶</p>
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Watson chooses to express the image differently. Snyder questions the reader while Watson warns. Both stimulate the same idea although it is noteworthy that Snyder believes that he

⁶³ Snyder, 1965, p. 52.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 56.

⁶⁵ Snyder 1965, p. 38.

⁶⁶ Watson, 1962a, p. 91.

parallels Watson, both keeping closely to the original text.⁶⁷ Certainly they do project the same value but Snyder renders his in an imagist mode with an ecological reading while Watson constructs his in a metaphorical mode with religious overtones.

Continuing on this theme but with a stronger Buddhist element, Snyder and Watson part ways in this poem.

L5 His shack's got no pots or oven,	L5 At home it doesn't bother with kettle or stove,
L6 He goes for a walk with his shirt and pants askew.	L6 On a journey it takes along no clothes,
L7 But he always carries the sword of wisdom;	L7 But always it carries the sword of True Wisdom
L8 He means to cut down senseless craving. ⁶⁸	L8 To cut down the thieves of senseless desire. ⁶⁹

Snyder personalises the protagonist by using the third person 'he' while Watson keeps the subject gender neutral with third person 'it'. In Line 6 Snyder paints Han Shan as careless of personal appearance while Watson uses a metaphor for trusting fate – leaving unnecessary luggage behind. It is the last two lines that provide significant contrast highlighting the difference in their interpretive approaches. Snyder's 'sword of wisdom' and 'senseless craving' are imagist and inclusive. They are open to reader interpretation as they cover a large number of religious beliefs. Watson has narrowed choice for readers by capitalisation and word choice, for example, he uses 'True Wisdom' specifying a sole source of wisdom while Snyder's rendition suggests a means, a sword and wisdom without qualification. In the last line Watson employs 'desire' which has softer and more controlled implications than Snyder's

⁶⁷ Snyder, 2003.

⁶⁸ Snyder, 1965, p. 51.

⁶⁹ Watson, 1962a, p. 97.

‘cravings’. Word and phrase choices by translators are the result of conscious and unconscious biases.

Significant Influences

The Impact of War

Where WWI acted as a catalyst in Pound’s cry for change, WWII did the same for Snyder. He was part of a post-WWII poetic backlash against the destruction of nature resulting from the devastation of the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. After WWII, the increased wealth in the United States resulted in greater availability and dependence on technology, which caused an increase in damage to natural resources and the environment. A social movement, Beatniks, resisted a culture sustained through ecological harm and counterbalanced this technologically complex trend by advocating a simple lifestyle.

Japanese Influences

Just as the approaches of both Pound and Waley were affected by Japanese scholarship. Western literary methodology was influenced by Chinese poetry in its character form, by ideogrammic theory, the seeds of which were sown by Japanese scholars. The approaches of Watson and Snyder were no exception to this influence. Both re-creators drew inspiration for their interpretation of Chinese poetry from Japanese haiku and its impact on Pound’s poetic theories.⁷⁰ Snyder’s interest in Chinese poetry started at UC Berkeley under the tutorship of Ch’en Shih-hsiang and intensified through his study of Zen, in Japan, with Miura Issu Roshi,

⁷⁰ Ibid.

from 1956 to 1959, and Oda Sesso Roshi, from 1959 until Oda's death in 1966.⁷¹ Watson came to the interpretation of Chinese poetry from a position of East Asian literary scholarship.⁷²

Watson acknowledged use of 126 Japanese translations of Han Shan poems by Iriya Yoshitaka.⁷³ In a two-way exchange, Watson translated prose and re-created poetry into English for Yoshikawa's *An Introduction to Sung Poetry*, a text that still 'remains the best available in English'.⁷⁴ In response to a draft of this chapter, Watson offered the following insights regarding his contacts with Japanese scholarship:

In Kyoto I studied Chinese literature under Prof. Kōjirō Yoshikawa, the editor of the series in which Iriya's *Kanzan* appeared. ... I also might add a note about my use of such Japanese translations as that of Han Shan by Prof. Iriya. Some reviewers of my work apparently have the idea that I translate not from the Chinese originals of the work I translate, but from Japanese translations of such works. This is not true. I always translate directly from the Chinese.⁷⁵

⁷¹ Gary Snyder, email to the author, 21 October 2003. Appendix E; Robert Kern, 'Mountains and Rivers Are Us', *Mark College Literature*, vol. 27, no. 1, 2000, p. 20: Snyder resided at the 'Rinzai Zen temple compound of Shokoku-ji in Kyoto'; Gary Snyder, *The Gary Snyder Reader*, Counterpoint Press, Washington DC, 1999, p. 610.

⁷² Significant translations by Watson range from *Records of The Grand Historian of China* 1961, *Records of the Grand Historian of China, Records of civilization, sources and studies*, no. 65, Columbia University Press, New York, 1961 and Watson 1962b to *Po Chu-i: Selected Poems*, Columbia University Press, New York, 2000.

⁷³ Burton Watson (trans.), *Su Tung-P'o: Selections from a Sung Dynasty Poet*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1965. Translator's note: 'Like my volume of translations from Han Shan (*Cold Mountain*), New York, Grove Press, 1962), this book is based upon the work of a Japanese scholar: two volumes of translations from Su Ting-p'o, by Ogawa Tamaki'. Watson, 1962a, p. 15. The Han Shan poems re-created by Yoshitaka, *Kanzan*, and edited by Kōjirō Yoshikawa and Tamaki Ogawa, provided suggestions for 'reading and interpretation'.

⁷⁴ Kojiro Yoshikawa, *An Introduction to Sung Poetry*, Burton Watson (trans.), Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1967. Jonathan Pease, 'Contour Ploughing on East Slope: a New Reading of Su Shi', *The Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 112, no. 3, 1992, p. 470.

⁷⁵ Watson, 2004, p. 1. Appendix D.

Watson explained that poetry needs particular care so that meaning is not distorted and for that reason he checks his reading of the poem by reading Japanese translations. In this way he uses two literary sources, one offering a cross-cultural perspective, to confirm his intuition of the meaning inherent in the text.⁷⁶ Snyder, Watson suggests, had two distinct advantages in translating the poems of Han Shan: first, he was a poet⁷⁷ and second, he re-created them under ‘the supervision of Prof. Ch’en Shih-hsiang’.⁷⁸ It was admiration of Pound as a poet that led Snyder to classical Chinese poetry yet even then the Japanese influence was clear.

Contrary to the order for most twentieth century scholars, Snyder discovered Pound through Fenollosa.⁷⁹ Snyder studied Japanese Nō drama through its aesthetic strategies and exposure to Ernest Fenollosa’s *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art* in his student days at the University of California.⁸⁰ More specifically, Fenollosa’s essay ‘The Chinese Character as a Medium for Poetry’ touched the ideological Snyder, who was searching for a mode of expressing ‘direct experience of the natural world’.⁸¹ The edicts of this essay paralleled Snyder’s own theory of poetic composition: that imagination is of less importance than direct experience of the world or visual representation of it, for example, painting.⁸² Snyder says his task as a poet has often entailed ‘the work of seeing the world without language,’ and then of

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 2. ‘But to make certain that I have understood the Chinese correctly, I often look at Japanese or other translations of the poems or prose that I am working on. Otherwise I’m afraid that I might make important mistakes in understanding the Chinese – this is particularly a danger in the case of poetry’.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p.1.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p.2. Watson later had contact with Ch’en Shih-hsiang – ‘a professor at the University of California, Berkeley’ – during Ch’en’s two years in Kyoto.

⁷⁹ Kern, 2000, p. 120.

⁸⁰ Steuding, 1976, p. 13.

⁸¹ Kern, 2000, p. 120; Susan Kalter, ‘The Path to “Endless”’: Gary Snyder in the mid-1990s (Nature, Law, and Representation)’, *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, vol. 41, no. 1, 1999, p. 16-31.

⁸² Kern, 2000, p. 120.

bringing ‘that seeing into language’ which he claims is ‘the direction of most Chinese and Japanese poetry’.⁸³ Imagism appealed to the values that Snyder developed during this period. A montage of Japanese language, drama, art, and poetry provided a foundation for Snyder to build his approach to interpreting the genre. This Snyder-Pound link, ostensibly based on a shared admiration of East Asian values, is more credibly bound by poetry than ideology: while Pound, influenced by Fenollosa’s notes, focused on the Chinese written character and its effect on poetry, for Snyder the influence was the religious and ideological foundations of the same poetry.⁸⁴ This is not to say that Pound was not affected by inherent values of classical Chinese poetry or that Snyder had no interest in the mechanics of the poetry.

Beats and Buddhism

William Everson, otherwise known as Brother Antoninus, a central figure in the San Francisco ‘Beat Movement’, claimed in 1962 that poetry arises from the ‘essential speechlessness that mysticism is’.⁸⁵ It was perhaps inevitable that Snyder, a Beat and Zen practitioner, was also influenced by Nagarjuna’s ‘Doctrine of the Void’.⁸⁶ Xuan Zang introduced this theory of ‘emptiness’ to China from India in the seventh century.⁸⁷ To Snyder, Xuan was both ‘liberator and healer because the doctrine he spread gave intellectual form to unconscious knowledge’.⁸⁸

⁸³ Gary Snyder, *The Practice of the Wild*, North Point Press, New York, 1990; Snyder 1959 and 1958.

⁸⁴ Snyder, 1990, p. 44

⁸⁵ William Everson, *Earth Poetry: ‘The Mystical Call: The Attraction Between Poetry and Mysticism in the Erotic Deeps of the Psyche’*, 1980 p. 17.

⁸⁶ Daisaku Ikeda 1986, *The Flower of Chinese Buddhism*, trans. Burton Watson, 1986, p. 34: Nagarjuna (c. 150-250), an Indian scholar, taught Mahayana doctrine.

⁸⁷ Snyder, *The Practice of the Wild*, North Point Press, New York, 1990, p. 106.

⁸⁸ Steuding, 1976, p. 106.

For this reason, it is difficult to understand why Snyder ignored some Han Shan poems for re-creation, for example, this Tang poem re-created by Watson, describes a desired state:

In my house there is a cave,*
 And in the cave is nothing at all –
 Pure and wonderfully empty,
 Resplendent, with a light like the sun.

* The cave of the mind.⁸⁹

House as a metaphor for ‘self’ and cave a metaphor for ‘mind’ represents Buddhist mystical thought.⁹⁰ Watson chose this poem for re-creation yet Snyder, who echoed these sentiments, did not.

Consideration of Choices

Where Snyder had Zen, regional-ecology and the Beat trend to influence his interpretation of Chinese poetry, Watson was raised in New York but he had Chinese and Japanese scholarship to influence his interpretations.⁹¹ Watson’s extensive knowledge of Chinese traditions and cultural mores allowed him to assess classical Chinese poetics with discerning eyes, for example, he questioned the ‘unseemly vanity’ exhibited by the poem *Li sao* (Encountering Sorrow) from the *Elegies of Chu*.⁹² He backed his intuition with reference to the Confucian abhorrence of ‘competitive spirit’ and a critique of the *Li sao* by Chinese historian Ban Gu

⁸⁹ Watson, 1962a, p. 107.

⁹⁰ Kohn, p. 143.

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 1: ‘Although my parents and grandparents were from Texas, I was born and raised in the new York City area, where there are no mountains at all’.

⁹² Burton Watson, *Early Chinese Literature*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1962b, p. 231: ‘The *Ch’u Tz’u*, often referred to in English as the *Elegies of Chu*, is an anthology of poems attributed to Ch’ü Yüan, a statesman of Ch’u in late Chou times’.

(32-92 CE). Ban derided *Li sao* for poetic exhibitionism and his critique stimulated heated debate on the subject for centuries.⁹³ This could have influenced his choice of poems to re-create but it appears otherwise. Watson chose to re-create this poem by Tang eccentric Han Shan which clearly flaunts the poet's own poetic ability:

Do you have the poems of Han Shan in your house?
They're better for you than sutra-reading!
Write then out and paste them on a screen
Where you can glance them over from time to time.⁹⁴

Neither Waley nor Snyder chose to translate this poem but clearly Watson did not allow his knowledge of the social customs of the Tang period to edit his choices. He obviously shares Han Shan's belief in the merit of his poems or he would not have spent time in re-creating them in English while there is an abundance of untranslated classical Chinese poetry to choose from.

The choice of Han Shan

Watson may well have chosen to re-create the poems of Han Shan for post-WWII Western society because they challenge the values developing there during that period – materialism and environmental degradation. Han Shan re-created by Watson describes twentieth century life just as well as it did Tang China, as in the final quatrain of one Han Shan poem:

Morning after morning we must dress and eat;
Year after year, fret over taxes.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 239.

⁹⁴ Watson, 1962a, p. 118.

A thousand of us scrambling for a penny,
 We knock our heads together and yell for dear life.⁹⁵

Another final quatrain describes Han Shan's answer to this frenetic existence:

At home it doesn't bother with kettle or stove,
 On a journey it takes along no clothes,
 But always it carries the sword of True Wisdom
 To cut down the thieves of senseless desire.⁹⁶

Watson may not have been driven by ecological idealism as Snyder was but his Han Shan re-creations show sensitivity to the precepts of environmentalism.

Yesterday I saw the trees by the river's edge,
 Wrecked and broken beyond belief,
 Only two or three trunks left standing,
 Scarred by blades of a thousand axes.⁹⁷

Watson may also have chosen to translate Han Shan's poetry because of its commercial viability. The refreshingly non-material and ecological values espoused by Han Shan in his holistic views were not only relevant to Tang China and post-WWII Western culture but are even more relevant today – globally.

Watson has the advantage of a wide research background in Chinese historicity and therefore greater expertise in interpreting classical poetry than Snyder, who has more specific

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 96.

⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 97.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 83.

interests on his agenda. Both re-creations are unique texts and therefore must be valued for their originality. Snyder's re-creations show the influence of Pound and imagism, Zen and therefore Chan, whereas Watson's re-creations have the hallmarks of Waley and understandably so because both men come from a sinological background. It is their choices for re-creation that demonstrate a shift in direction. Although Watson espoused the promotion of innovation in poetic re-creation, it is Snyder's renditions that show greater courage in language choice. Watson admires Snyder's Han Shan re-creations yet he makes his work accessible through exposition rather than adoption of contemporary vocabulary as Snyder does. It is noteworthy that Snyder aligns his re-creations with those of Watson.⁹⁸ His denial of my suggestion that his Han Shan poems are 're-created' in favour of 'close' translation allows rare insight into his perception of his Chinese poetic re-creations. This is not necessarily a conflict of interpretation but a healthy difference in the value of re-creation as a poetic mode. Snyder reads 're-creation' as a threat to translation where he aims to 'hew pretty close' to the original Chinese poem, I see it as a Poundian style trans-generational approach to translation – reinvention for contemporary perception and therefore accommodation of literary culture.

Re-created Han Shan poems engage a contemporary Western audience because they embrace challenges affecting contemporary Western society – material, spiritual and ecological values. This makes the choice of his works by translators discerning in its own right. Snyder chose to re-create only twenty-four of the 311 known Han Shan poems and all are directly related to his acknowledged interests - Chan and mountaineering. Watson's choices of poems for re-creation were influenced by the theme of the set of translations: he re-created the *shi* form poems of Han Shan, Su Dongpo and Lu Yu and the *fu* or 'rhyme form'

⁹⁸ Snyder, 2004.

poems of Sima Xiangru.⁹⁹ Watson and Snyder, having different backgrounds, chose to re-create poetry with values relevant to the challenges facing the third millennium.

Recapitulation

Snyder's re-creations were part of a post-WWII backlash against war and the environmental savagery of rapid industrial expansion and his interest in Zen while Watson's re-creations reflected his expertise in classical Chinese history and philosophy and acknowledgement of the support of Japanese scholarship. Like Waley, Watson prefaced his edition with expositions on interpretation while Snyder, like Pound before him, let his re-creations speak for themselves. It is interesting to note that the poets, Pound and Snyder, felt no need to explain their approaches to interpretation while the historians, Waley and Watson did. Perhaps this is as much a lack of awareness of the pitfalls in transcultural text on the part of the poets as it is adherence to a specific approach.

Poems by Han Shan meld philosophical, environmental and religious motifs of Tang China and, in so doing, connect with the needs of contemporary Western readers. His poems re-create into seemingly simplistic poems, particularly in the hands of Snyder, and their uncluttered images are potent challenges to third millennium global society. Snyder has the knack of producing concise images in a carefully orchestrated rendering which often leaves the poem open to final interpretation by the reader. His colloquial language of the late 1950s still speaks to a third millennium readership because the concerns of Han Shan are still relevant to contemporary Western society. Watson tempers Snyder's re-creations by anchoring his own with scholarship of Chinese literary mores although, as we have seen, this did not appear to limit his choices for re-creation. The choice of Tang poetry by translators of the ilk

⁹⁹ Watson, 2001.

of Watson and Snyder made a significant impact on post-WWII Western readers – searching for peace and alternative solutions to the devastation of war and the threat imposed by the Cold War. This desire for alternative strategies to peace, health and wholeness by Western readers opened a global marketplace for Eastern thought. Han Shan and his Tang peers produced concrete imagery in a way that seduced a twentieth-century readership. Made accessible through re-creation into European languages, including English, copious volumes of the genre from this period were published. The result is obvious: Tang poetry re-created as English poetry is some of the most widely read of this genre.

Although Pound and imagism influenced Snyder, his passion for wilderness bioregional responsibility and Zen equally influenced him. Watson, with his passion for classical Chinese history and culture, necessarily had a different approach to interpreting Tang poetry. Both made significant contributions to the acceptance of the genre. Re-created Tang poetry affected Western modernity but, more significantly, Western modernity influenced the interpretation of re-creations of classical Chinese poetry. In the latter decades of the twentieth century, critical theories important to interpretation of oriental texts made their presence felt on Euro-American texts including English renderings of classical Chinese poetry.

3 ORIENTALISM AND WORLD POETRY

Introduction

In other words, a poem has no separate existence apart from the poet's experience of creating it in his mind, and the reader's of re-creating it in *his* mind.¹

This chapter examines shifts in approaches to interpreting the genre of re-created classical Chinese poetry during the latter half of the twentieth-century through the contributions of James J. Y. Liu (1926- 1986) and Stephen Owen (1946-). Liu made a unique contribution to interpretation of the genre by providing a Chinese perspective and Owen offered a fast approaching third millennium and the accompanying rise of globalisation a far-sighted opportunity to explore the possibility of world poetry as a genre. By altering perceptions of the genre, Liu and Owen contributed to shifts in its interpretation. Their contributions will be studied in the context of critical literary theories that made a significant impact on the genre during the last three decades of the twentieth century – orientalism and borderlands and reader reception theories.

This introductory section outlines the chapter. The second section explores the difficulties inherent in transcultural texts and explores three critical theories significant for the genre. Although the difficulties of orientalism, theoretic space and reader reception have always been present in Asian texts translated into Euro-American languages, they were raised and debated more vigorously during the latter part of the twentieth century. The third section is a concise biography of Liu followed by three

¹ James J.Y. Liu, *The Poetry of Li Shang-yin: Ninth-Century Baroque Chinese Poet*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1969, p. 34

aspects of his contribution to the genre: a Chinese perspective, a structuralist approach and finding cultural space. The fourth section provides a biography of Owen followed by three of his contributions to the genre: classical Chinese poetry old and new, open debate on Owen's theories by Yazhen Zhen and Mark Elvin and the question of impermanence. The fifth section examines the notion of a world poetics, otherness as unfamiliar in transcultural poetry, the fusing of temporal zones and re-created classical Chinese poetry in the context of world poetry. The sixth section examines the approaches of Liu and Owen through to the poetry of Du Fu and their approaches to publishing patterns. The summary reviews the critical theories of the 1970s and 1980s and the contributions of Liu and Owen to the corpus of theories affecting approaches to the interpretation of classical Chinese poetry rendered as English poetry.

Theoretical Challenges for the Genre

The Tensions of transcultural Texts

Both Chinese and Western critical theories were employed in the 1970s and 1980s, sometimes jointly and at other times in isolation. The application of Western critical theories to re-created Chinese poetry, however, is problematic because it imposes the values of Western discourse on an artistic product of the East. Isogesis is the most difficult challenge for translators of Asian texts to overcome because it is inherent in the process.

The Challenge of Orientalism

One consequence of using a Western theoretical paradigm to critique classical Chinese poetry is the risk of disempowerment.² Edward Said's seminal 1978 text, *Orientalism*, warns scholars about a 'structure of cultural domination' that interpreted Eastern cultures through a Western discourse.³ One might well argue, however, that Said's use of a Western critical framework to express this concern still favours hegemonic Western interests. Moreover, Said's thesis fails to acknowledge the extent to which Asian intellectuals contributed to Orientalism.⁴ Nevertheless, Said's failure to acknowledge this contribution does not rule out its existence.⁵

Finding a Theoretical Space

In the light of Orientalism, Western re-creators of Eastern texts needed to address the concerns raised. It was not, however, until the late twentieth century that practical solutions began to evolve. In 1995, Said suggested that the work of the 'critical scholar' was to find the connections between Eastern and Western 'struggles over historical and social meaning,' despite differences.⁶ Two years later, post-colonial theorist Arif Dirlik

² For a discussion of 'power' at greater length see Michel Foucault, *Power-Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings*, Colin Gordon (trans & ed.), Pantheon, New York, 1980.

³ Said, pp. 25, 202, 203. 'The Orient that appears in Orientalism, then, is a system of representations framed by a set of forces that brought the orient into Western learning, Western consciousness, and later, Western Empire ... Orientalism is a school of interpretation whose material happens to be the Orient, its civilizations, peoples and localities'.

⁴ Said, p. 105; Windshuttle; Faure, p. 5. '... while Said sees Western culture as an undifferentiated whole, a negative "essence" that cannot possibly be redeemed, he conspicuously downplays, and sometimes forgets, the recurrence of similar negative features in non-Western discourses'.

⁵ Arif Dirlik, 'Chinese History and the Question of Orientalism', *History and Theory*, vol. 35, no 4, 1996, pp. 96-119.

⁶ Said, 'Afterward', dated 1994, p. 332.

suggested producing discourse that escapes ‘the burden’ of orientalism by recasting historical, cultural and political relationships in the context of contemporary thought – providing ‘new theoretical departures in literary and cultural criticism’.⁷ Dirlik proposed that ‘contact zones,’ a term coined by Mary Louise Pratt, might prove useful in conceptualising ‘the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations’.⁸ Viewing the genre as a continually evolving process, classical Chinese poems re-created as English poems are ‘contact zones,’ as defined by Pratt, continuing to provide contact between two cultures.⁹ The difficulty lies in defining the space in which this ‘contact’ takes place.

If Said’s orientalism is a divisive concept, empowering the West at the expense of the East, then Dirlik’s viewing of orientalism in a more balanced light has important ramifications for text translation, particularly classical poetry.¹⁰ It offers a positive theory on which to base transcultural poetry and possibly world poetry. Unfortunately, Liu did not have the opportunity to review his approach in the light of Dirlik’s or Pratt’s theories, while Owen did, but this does not reduce the impact of Liu’s unique contribution to the genre. What both held in common was the importance of providing rich contexts for the interpretation of classical Chinese poetry. Interpretation rests on reader reception and, in

⁷ Dirlik, 1997, pp. 109-110.

⁸ Dirlik, 1996, p. 103; Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, Routledge, New York, 1992, p.6.

⁹ As new archaeological evidence reveals the development of traditional Chinese literary texts and English literary styles evolve, the re-creation of classical Chinese poetry as English poetry will always be an evolving process.

¹⁰ Dirlik, 1996, pp. 96–108.

the case of classical Chinese poetry rendered as English poetry, reader reception rests on the accuracy of information provided in the re-created poem and its context.

The Question of Reader Reception

Martin Heidegger might well have been writing of re-created poetry when he maintained that interpretation is ‘grounded on understanding’ and that meaning is interpretation articulated.¹¹ Reader reception of classical Chinese poetry expressed as English poetry motivates many readers to explore contexts of the genre. Meaning for an English-literate readership develops with understanding constructed from a contextual package – the re-created poem set in its historical Chinese context. This augurs well for the approaches of Liu and Owen who produced their re-created poems in a context rich in historical information that facilitates the production of meaning for readers.

James J.Y. Liu

Biography

Liu was born in China and completed his B.A. at Fu Jen University in Beijing in 1948 before earning his M.A. at Bristol University, England, in 1952.¹² He generated scholarly acclaim in the field of Chinese literature while teaching at various academic institutions, culminating in an appointment as Professor of Comparative Literature at Stanford

¹¹ Heidegger, pp. 188-195.

¹² Liu taught at London University, Hong Kong University, the University of Hawaii, the University of Chicago and Stanford University.

University in 1977, where he lectured until his death in 1986.¹³ His appointment in the Department of Comparative Literature is noteworthy because it indicates the start of a trend for translators of the genre in this period: Owen and Saussy, to name only those translators who are discussed in this thesis.¹⁴ Liu's papers show that his collaboration with Earl Miner, translator of Japanese poetry and comparative critic of Chinese and Japanese poetry, lasted from 1973 to 1984, drawing both Liu and Miner into each other's areas of expertise.

Japanese Studies

Like Pound, Liu supported younger translators such as Yu, Miner and Phillip Harries early in their careers. Miner's interest was specifically in comparative studies between Chinese and Japanese literary studies.¹⁵ Consultation of Liu by Miner and Harries, both Japanese Studies academics, and their deference to Liu regarding his involvement in Japanese Studies conferences, demonstrate the strong bonds between Chinese and Japanese poetics, particularly in the academy of comparative literature. Miner wrote to Liu of his Japanese translations:

¹³ This appointment establishes a link between Liu and Pauline Yu who completed both her MA and PhD there. Communications between Liu and Yu are in the Stanford University Archives: James J. Y. Liu, Box 7, Folder 1.

¹⁴ Stephen Owen, Harvard: Irving Babbit Professor of Comparative Literature and Professor of Chinese; Haun Saussy, Stanford: Department of Asian Languages - Department of Comparative Literature, Stanford University. Chair, Department of Comparative Literature.

¹⁵ Earl Miner, *The Japanese Tradition in British and American Literature*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1958.

I relied greatly on your Art of Chinese Poetry as you will see if you have time to look at the transcript enclosed.¹⁶

Miner's use of Liu's critical analyses of classical Chinese poetry confirms this strong link. Harries noted that Japanese imperial poetry anthologies were 'inspired by the great anthologies of Chinese literature,' for example the *Shijing*. However, only three traditional Chinese anthology categories were employed: 'personal grievances,' 'laments' and 'miscellaneous'.¹⁷ Liu's communications with Miner between 1973 and 1984 demonstrate a healthy relationship between Chinese and Japanese studies during this period.¹⁸

This was not always the case. Early Japanese use of classical Chinese poetry had mixed results. David Pollack claims that Chinese of the Tang dynasty were often pleased that the Japanese were appropriating their culture, including poetry but might not always have appreciated the use of these works of art. Bo Juyi, Waley's favourite Tang poet for re-creation in English, was disappointed that 'even in China it was the very poems he considered the most frivolous' that were 'on the lips of monks, courtesans and unmarried

¹⁶ Earl Miner, Letter to James J.Y. Liu, 7 February 1973, James J.Y. Liu Papers, SC 594, Box 4, Folder 12, Dept. of Special Collections and University Archives, Stanford University Libraries, Stanford, California.

¹⁷ Phillip Harries, 'Personal Poetry Collections: Their Origin and Development Through the Heian Period', *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 35, no. 3, 1980, p. 300. 'For their part, the Chinese were often [cont. p. 119] gratified that these "dwarf" barbarians were learning to ape civilized ways, but were not always pleased by what the Japanese were making of prized Chinese treasures'.

¹⁸ James J.Y. Liu Papers, SC 594, Box 4, Folder 3, Dept. of Special Collections and University Archives, Stanford University Libraries, Stanford, California.

women'.¹⁹ After Bo compiled his poems, c.845, he might have been displeased to find that:

... the Japanese were paring away from his collected poetry anything that did not adhere to an uncomplicated Six Dynasties and early T'ang taste for courtly elegance, leaving only selective couplets that were clearly lyrical and not particularly edifying.²⁰

For Japanese scholars, verses with aesthetic appeal took preference over those for moral instruction, forming the basis of their editing of Chinese poetry. Unfortunately, Japanese scholars editing attributed different the values to Chinese poetry.

To a certain degree, even today we have come to accept the view from the continent that these preferences represent aberrations of taste. They are not, of course. It is simply that Japanese concepts of China are rarely held by the Chinese themselves.²¹

Counterbalancing this aspect of Japanese scholarship of classical Chinese poetry is the appreciation of the fact that some of these texts have survived only because they were stored 'offshore'. Chinese texts saved from destruction by Japanese scholars strengthened the bonds between the two poetic literary genres.

¹⁹ David Pollack, 'The Informing Image: "China" in Genji Mongatari', *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 38, no. 4, 1983, p. 360.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

In a letter to Liu, Miner speculated that Harries would ‘adapt [well] out of the English and into the American practise’ under the mentorship of Liu.²² It is interesting to note that Miner draws a distinction between English and American practices in the area of East Asian literature. Certainly the hub of Chinese translation passed from English translators to American translators at the beginning of the twentieth century. Miner’s implication of difference between English and American East Asian literary academies, raised the probability of different critical approaches to interpretation of Chinese texts within different English language schools. Not only must differences in Chinese theories of poetics and Western theories of poetics be considered, but also differences between Western approaches, specifically differences within English approaches. Differences between, and within, Euro-American poetics detract from observations of similarities between Western and Chinese poetics. Liu, however, provided a model for Western theorists of re-created classical Chinese poetry to develop understanding of poetic critique from a Chinese perspective.

A Chinese Perspective

Liu influenced approaches to the interpretation of Chinese poetry re-created as English poetry throughout the latter decades of the twentieth-century by adding a different dimension. He approached the genre with structuralist analytical tools enhanced by cultural insight. Liu perceives *The Art of Chinese Poetry* as a synthesis of ‘traditional Chinese’ critique and the ‘modern Western technique of verbal analysis’.²³ In this publication Liu made a statement that signalled the direction of his approach – theory as

²² Liu, 1973.

²³ Liu, 1962, p. xv. Liu 1969, p. 199.

the context for re-creations. This has two key benefits for readers: it provides insight into significant conventions of Chinese poetics and places poems in socio-historical context. Liu believed that critical theories relevant to their own cultural poetry may also highlight universal concepts.²⁴

Liu aims at rendering Chinese poems in English so that they arouse a reader-response similar to his own experience with the original Chinese poem:

Therefore, to translate a poem is to try to reproduce the verbal structure of the original, so that the reader of the translation will respond to it, as far as possible, in the same way that the translator responded to the original poem, thereby re-creating, to some extent, what the poem originally created.²⁵

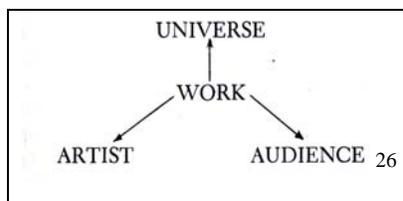
He responds to the original poems with an empathy associated with a first language Chinese reader. Pound's *Cathay*, re-creations using the notes of Fenollosa, is considered as close to the original Chinese poem as that of a Chinese language translator yet English is the first language of both Fenollosa and Pound. Liu's bi-theoretic theorising coupled with inscribed cultural sensitivity dominates his re-creations leaving less room for reader interpretation than Owen's. His expertise, however, does enrich the translation field with definitive Chinese poetic theories. His knowledge of classical Chinese poetics adds to what had already been published, but it was Liu's ability to communicate a Chinese point of view fluently in English that made his perspective so valuable.

²⁴ James J. Y. Liu, *Chinese Theories of Literature*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1975a, p. 2.

²⁵ Liu, 1969, p. 34.

A Structuralist Approach

Liu proposed a structuralist approach to the analysis of classical Chinese poetry. The aspects that he originally mapped were surprisingly similar to those suggested by a Western theorist, Meyer Abrams, in 1958:



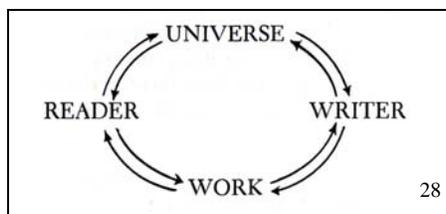
Liu pointed this out in a letter to Miner while also making it clear that the Abrams framework was based on Western theories while his was for Chinese theories:

At the time I wrote The Art of Chinese Poetry, I had not read Abram's [sic] The Mirror and the Lamp; later, when I did read it, I was struck by the esemblance [sic] between his four kinds of Western theories and my four kinds of Chinese ones.²⁷

Liu proposed a 'tetradic circle' for use as an analytical tool for visual and literary analysis – a model of creative causality – involving four elements:

²⁶ M. H. Abrams, *The Mirror and the Lamp: Romantic Theory and Critical Tradition*, New York, W.W. Norton & Company Inc., 1958, p. 6; Liu 1975, p. 9.

²⁷ Liu, 1973.



This model represents phenomenal and cognitive affects on the writer, the poet, influencing their work, the poem, and the subsequent response from the reader, viewer, suggested four phases of a creation. For Liu, phase 1 signifies the effect of the universe and the writer on each other, phase 2 signifies the creation of a poem, phase 3 signifies the response from the reader and stage 4 signifies the change resulting from the reader's 'interaction' with the poem. The double-ended arrows indicate that the 'tetradic cycle' works in reverse: the universe influences the reader both before and after his or her reading of the poem, the art form, and so forth.

Liu's model was intended as a representation of the interactive processes involved in the reader process. For analysis of Chinese texts, he nominated six concepts – 'metaphysical, deterministic, expressive, technical, aesthetic and pragmatic' – no two of which are mutually exclusive or equal.²⁹ In his analysis of Chinese texts Liu made a unique contribution to twentieth century approaches to interpretation of the genre and under this mantle he asserts a strong case for historical and cultural relativity.

²⁸ Liu, 1975a, p. 10. James J. Y. Liu, *The Interlingual Critic: Interpreting Chinese Poetry*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1982, p.1.

²⁹ Liu, 'Chinese Concepts of Literature', James J.Y. Liu Papers, SC 594, Box 4, Folder 3, Dept. of Special Collections and University Archives, Stanford University Libraries, Stanford, California, undated.

Liu and Cultural Space

In the case of classical Chinese poetry, the historical and cultural setting in which the poet creates causally impacts on reader reception. This suggests that the greater the background information known of the poet – historical, cultural and biographical – the more likely it is that the reader can respond sensitively to the text. Liu states his case for historical and cultural relativity:

As far as interpretation is concerned, historical relativism and cultural relativism are useful and even necessary, for we cannot correctly understand a work of literature or of criticism without taking into full account the historical and cultural environments in which it is produced; ...³⁰

Owen confirmed Liu's thesis on the importance of distance on interpretations made by re-creator and reader: '...interpretations are made by readers who consider the poem from an impregnable distance'.³¹ The readers, in the case of re-created poetry, can be either the translator or the reader of the rendered text. In either case, is distance truly 'impregnable'? Liu advocates that both re-creator and reader transcend 'historical and cultural barriers,' assuming the mantle of the artist creator, the reader-response is more likely to reflect the spirit of the poem.³²

... we must aspire to be transhistorical and transcultural, searching for literary features and qualities and critical concepts and standards that transcend historical and cultural differences.³³

³⁰ Liu, 1975a, p. 140.

³¹ Stephen Owen, *Mi-Lou: Poetry and the Labyrinth of Desire*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge and London, 1989, p.5.

³² Liu, 1982, p. 105.

³³ Liu, 1975a, p. 140.

Starting from the premise that reading poetry triggers an ‘intersubjective experience’ which necessitates knowledge of a poet’s ‘cultural world,’³⁴ Liu questions ‘tacit assumptions’ that Chinese and Western literatures have comparable standards, which are mutually applicable.³⁵ In a study of ‘Chinese Literature in the West’ Liu discussed the complexity of transcultural texts:

... it would be very difficult to discuss – in the same breath – works carried out in radically different social and cultural environment and under radically different assumptions about the nature and purpose of literary scholarship.³⁶

In the case of re-created classical Chinese poetry, Chinese historical culture and the environmental influences or interests of the re-creator must be transcended to create transhistorical and transcultural poems. Liu aimed to accomplish this while attempting to re-create the ‘verbal structure’ of the Chinese poem so that readers respond to it as he responded to the original poem.³⁷ This, he believes, is the tension facing all re-creators of poetry: providing balance between ‘literal’ and ‘literary’ translations.³⁸ Using the terms ‘literal translations’ as distinct from ‘literary re-creations’ of poems, provides a benchmark for accessing the appeal of one re-creator over another in the genre for readers. Liu aims for re-creations where the product is re-created poems with balance that

³⁴ Ibid., p.105.

³⁵ James J. Y. Liu, ‘The Study of Chinese Literature in the West: Recent Developments, Current Trends, Future Prospects’, *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. XXXV, no.1, 1975b, p.28.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 21; see also James J.Y. Liu, ‘Towards a Synthesis of Chinese and Western Theories of Literature’, *Journal of Chinese Philosophy*, vol. 4, no. 1, 1977, pp. 1-24.

³⁷ Liu, 1982, p. 34.

³⁸ Ibid., pp. 34, 35.

begets wholeness. His approach is echoed in the work of Owen, who continues to push the boundaries of re-created classical Chinese poetry for the Western reader.

Stephen Owen

Background

Owen, who began his involvement with the genre during a similar period to Liu, was educated at Yale. He won Fulbright, Guggenheim and ACLS fellowships and, in 2001, the Wilbur Cross Medal. Owen is a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and both the East Asian and Comparative Literature departments at Harvard University.³⁹ This dual position allows him continual access to the evolving understanding of problems confronting transcultural poetry. He has translated, edited and published anthologies of classical Chinese poetry since the mid-1970s, contributes to comparative literature debates, has forged new boundaries for critiquing classical Chinese poetry re-created as English poetry in the twentieth century and continues to do so into the third millennium. His vibrant contributions to the critique of the genre continue to pour into the academic arena so, inevitably, the discussion of his critiques in this chapter is greater than more recently published critiques. Owen continues to test new ways of perceiving classical Chinese poetry re-created in English.

In 1977 Owen expressed his thanks to ‘colleagues,’ predominantly Americans, for support in the preparation and presentation of *Poetry of the Early T’ang*.⁴⁰ This book

³⁹ Yale University Alumni, ‘The Wilbur Cross Medal’, 2004, accessed 6 July 2006, <http://www.aya.yale.edu-grad-wilburcross-2001.htm#3>

⁴⁰ Stephen Owen, *Poetry of the Early T’ang*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1977, pp. ix-x. Owen thanked Hans Frankel, Arthur Wright, Frank Westbrook, Robert Somers, David Knechtges and Phyllis Owen with Hiroko Somers (calligrapher).

illustrates the diversity of poetic styles used by a selection of poets in China from 618 to 713. Centred on ‘court poetry’ it witnesses the trend away from a traditional style towards a ‘new freedom’.⁴¹ Han Shan is one of several significant poets of this period whose work is not represented because Owen argues that he is difficult to date and ‘far outside of the mainstream’.⁴² Owen did, however, include re-created Han Shan poetry in *An Anthology of Chinese Literature: Beginnings to 1911* (1996), indicating a change of heart regarding these poems and their appeal to readers of English.⁴³ In his 1977 publication, Owen displays another noteworthy approach to the genre: the Chinese written characters from which the re-creations evolved accompany every poem or part of a poem. This allows character-readers greater information on which to base their interpretations of the texts, which ultimately strengthens reader reception of the re-created poems. Owen not only approaches his translation publications with reader reception in mind but also addresses the genre in the light of contemporary critical theories.

Classical Old or New

Owen asserts that ‘modern China has always had two poetries, classical and *xinshi*, like the two sides of a body that refuse to talk to one another’ and hence there exists a division

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. xi.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. xiii.

⁴³ Stephen Owen, *An Anthology of Chinese Literature: Beginnings to 1911*, Norton, New York, 1996, pp. 404-406. Owen reiterates the difficulty of dating in this publication and suggests that the poems accredited to Han Shan and Shi De are the work of several hermit monks in two different periods of the Tang dynasty.

even before re-creation begins.⁴⁴ With this assertion Owen supports my adoption of ‘classical’ for all Chinese poetry in traditional Chinese poetic form. Owen extends the critical boundaries by ignoring traditional interpretations of some classical poetics. For example, according to Ya-chen Chen, Owen challenges Confucian readings of ancient Chinese poetry by applying ‘an anti-traditional feminist interdisciplinary methodology’ to some Zhou dynasty poems from the *Shijing*.⁴⁵ Chen contends that Owen reclaims the voices of women silenced by traditional Confucian readings when he presents six poems of ‘boudoir lament’ under the umbrella of ‘motif of a drunken husband’ in *An Anthology of Chinese Literature*.⁴⁶ According to Chen, Owen achieves a ‘cross-field-ness or interdisciplinary-ness’ by applying both ‘feminist’ and ‘cultural studies’ approaches.⁴⁷

Under Friendly Fire

Owen’s incorporation of both a ‘feminist perspective’ and comparative methodology attracted attention in the previously male-dominated readings by sinologists.⁴⁸ Poems from the *Shijing* were traditionally read in Chinese patriarchal society as analogies of political ordeals, such as, emperor-official relationships, in line with Confucian values,

⁴⁴ Stephen Owen, e-mail to the author, 12 March 2004.

⁴⁵ Ya-chen Chen, ‘A Sinological Breakthrough of Gender Studies: Boudoir Lament’, *Nasty*, Kirsten C. Uszkalo and Darren James Harkness, 2001, p. 1, updated June 11 2003, accessed 6 February 2004, <http://www.nlc-bnc.ca/100/201/30...ty/2001/01-06-20/articles/8/chen/3.htr.06-02-2004.2004>

⁴⁶ Owen, 1996, pp. 562-569.

⁴⁷ Chen, p. 1.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* ‘Chinese feminist literary critics rely on their background of western languages and western comparative literary theoretical studies’. fn. 1. ‘For instance, Kang-i Chang, with educational background in American literature and comparative literature, is now teaching classical Chinese literature at Yale University. Pauline Yu, currently the dean of college of letters and science at UC Los Angeles, has both her master degree and doctoral degree in comparative literature’.

not as the trials of heterosexual partnerships.⁴⁹ Chen, however, argues that the two protagonists in the poem ‘Zui gongzi (To the Drunken Lord)’ by ‘sharing the same bed and sleeping together do not fit in the administrator-supervisee ethic’:⁵⁰

The hound is barking at the gate
 I know that my man has come.
 I go down scented stairs in stocking feet –
 My darling’s drunk tonight.

I lift him through the bed’s gauze curtains;
 He won’t take off these robes of gauze.
 If he’s drunk, well let him be drunk then –
 It’s still better than sleeping alone.⁵¹

I challenge this. The poem holds at least two possibilities. Chen’s proposal is that of a metaphorical nuance that fits with a traditional Confucian ethical stance, where the drunken man is an unfit supervisor and the woman the subservient employee. Owen supports this poem as a description of a drunken husband returning home to his long-suffering wife. Both readings have validity: Chen’s as literal and the Confucian as metaphorical. Owen reads this and similar poems in the *Shijing* as ‘Boudoir Laments’.⁵²

The ‘boudoir lament’ poems were written in a temporal space inaccessible to modernity except through the few surviving texts of the *Shijing*. Placing *Shijing* poems in accurate historical and cultural context is difficult due to the lack of supporting texts from

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 3.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Owen, 1996, p. 562. ‘Anonymous (8th century?) “To the Drunken Lord” (*Zui gong-zi*)’.

⁵² Ibid., pp.

the same era. Confucius practiced isogesis by reading into the classical texts what he wanted them to say, for example, his use of *The Odes*, *Shijing*, in *The Analects*, the *Lunyu*.⁵³ Considering how easy it is to misread signs in poetry from BCE China, either purposefully, like Confucius, or accidentally, the safest course is to leave interpretation open to readers. Owen is entitled to his interpretation just as Confucians are entitled to theirs. Not all responses to Owen's interpretation were as easily answered as Chen's.

The Gauntlet is Thrown

In 1994 Mark Elvin threw down the gauntlet to Owen regarding his 1989 publication, *Mi-lou: Poetry and the Labyrinth of Desire*.⁵⁴ In Elvin's opinion, Owen abandoned 'specificity and authenticity' to embrace 'generality' and 'values understood without compromise' in this comparative cross-cultural poetic study.⁵⁵ Elvin prefaced his argument with a lengthy parody of the approach Owen utilised in *Mi-lou*. Elvin called this 'an imitation' but it lacked the conviction that 'authentic' critique displays. I use 'authentic' to indicate a text of genuine critique and analysis. This is not to say that Elvin is insincere in his analysis but his prolonged preface defines his work as ironic critique, therefore, destructive as opposed to constructive critique.

Elvin brings Owen to book for his use of 'psuedoportentous pronouncements' and 'pseudoscientific vocabulary' in what Elvin purports is 'showbiz erudition' in *Mi-lou* but

⁵³ Arthur Waley (trans.), *Confucius: The Analects*, Allen & Unwin, London, 1938, *passim*.

⁵⁴ Owen, 1989; Mark Elvin, 'Stephen Owen. *Mi-lou and the Labyrinth of Desire*', *China Review International*, *China Review International*, vol. 1, no. 1, Spring 1994, pp. 192-201.

⁵⁵ Owen, 1989, p. 200.

his own exaggeration of Owen's foray into 'ahistorical' 'literary studies' fares no better.⁵⁶ Readers must wade through three pages of second-rate mimicry before finding that this is merely a cynical attempt to denounce Owen's methodology. Elvin's critique tells us more about himself than it does about Owen's. Elvin subsequently expressed his critical analysis succinctly: Owen's *Mi-lou* is 'a multicultural anthology of haphazardly jumbled poems' in 'a culturally undifferentiated mishmash ... without any seriously sustained analytical theme' conceding only that occasionally do 'insights of real perception' exist.⁵⁷

The Question of Impermanence

One of the 'insights' that Owen provides is particularly relevant to any study centred on classical Chinese poetry by addressing the question of impermanence. In the chapter on 'Replacement,' the section titled 'Empty Bed: Joys of Fin', Owen uses classical Chinese poets of the Tang and Song dynasties – Zhang Jianfeng, Bo Juyi and Su Dongbo – to demonstrate how poetry can 'reach for the place of another, just as it dreams of offering of place,' through the medium of *Mi-lou's* theme, love. According to Owen, Chang's love for his concubine, Pan-pan, is displaced and appropriated in a poem by Bo and two and a half centuries later Bo's poetic space is displaced and appropriated by Su Dongbo.⁵⁸ The whole segment effectively illustrates Owen's case that '[n]othing is stable: once replacement and substitution are set in motion, layers upon layers of multiple substitutions, displacement, coverings are formed'.⁵⁹ This analysis provides readers with

⁵⁶ Ibid., pp. 195-196.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 195.

⁵⁸ Ibid., pp. 118-124.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 116.

more than a simple observation that poets, in succeeding temporal spaces, appropriated a particular topic. It provides ‘insight’ into a particular facet of classical Chinese poetry: borrowing lines or phrases from works by other poets is considered a positive practice in classical Chinese poetry.⁶⁰ Far from a ‘mishmash ... without any seriously sustained analytical theme’, this chapter of *Mi-lou* provides readers with an understanding of classical Chinese poetry in a carefully constructed discourse that creates new critical space for a transcultural text.

It is hardly surprising that Owen defended his stance with vigour claiming that both supporters and detractors of *Mi-lou* responded to the same aspect, namely: ‘the way in which Chinese poems were seamlessly integrated into sets of poems from diverse traditions’.⁶¹ *Mi-lou* is an attempt to avoid discourse ‘in which Chinese texts are subsumed under Western theoretical constructs’ and therein lies the rub: in order to step outside of Western theoretical literary hegemony in a transcultural poetic analysis Owen needed to disregard ‘historically grounded’ ‘theoretical constructs’.⁶² In attempting this approach Owen was forced to abandon the theoretical *oeuvre* that he is renowned for and establish a foundation on which to build new space for critiquing transcultural poetry. It appears that Elvin failed to grasp Owen’s intention. In the light of Owen’s expertise, it is worth considering this genre as part of a critique future world poetic.

⁶⁰ Owen, 1977, pp. 258-259. Li Jiao and Su Tang were both early Tang poets. Tang employs the phrase ‘our host’s mountains mansion’ for the phrase ‘our host’s mountain mansions’ previously used by Jiao.

⁶¹ Owen, 1989, p. 197.

⁶² *Ibid.*

The Possibility of World Poetry

A prophet is not without honour, save in his own country, and in his own house.⁶³

This adage provides insight into the difficulties confronting lateral thinkers and Owen is no exception to this. In a 2003 essay Owen poses ‘international recognition’ of poetry of a type previously only achieved at national level. He suggests that lyrical poems are problematic for universal recognition because they are so closely associated with their mother language.⁶⁴ Although he is speaking about modern classical Chinese poetry, his proposition is also valid for traditional classical Chinese poetry re-created as English poetry. Owen contends that novels are more easily accepted in translation than poems because ‘the poem comes to us as existing elsewhere’.⁶⁵ The ‘elsewhere’ in the case of re-created classical Chinese poetry is traditional China but it is the production language, English, which extends its cultural domain.⁶⁶

Both English and French, offer greater access for a global audience than say a translation in an indigenous Australian language. Greater access equals greater cultural capital and it

⁶³ Bible, Matthew 13:57.

⁶⁴ Stephen Owen, ‘Stepping Forward and Back: Issues and Possibilities for “World” Poetry’, *Modern Philology*, vol. 100, no. 4, 2003, p. 532.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 532-533; Lydia H. Liu, *Translingual Practice, Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity - China, 1900-1937*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, California. 1995, pp. 1-42.

⁶⁶ Owen, 2003, p. 533.

is cultural capital that Owen writes about in this article.⁶⁷ He envisages difficulties in valuing writing that crosses cultural boundaries, and thus linguistic boundaries. Owen raises the issue of representation in a global judgement of written art affecting how this poetry is received and accepted by a global audience. As we have seen in Chapter 1, however, British literary critics designated Waley's re-created classical Chinese poetry as English poetry.⁶⁸ The fact that at that time this award was only given to British poets for English poetry makes Waley's award significant for transcultural poetry. Acknowledgement of re-created Chinese poetry as both Chinese and English⁶⁹ by the 'literati' of a parochial colonial nation, along with the easily recognised affect of the genre on modernist poets, 'Beat' poets and, to a lesser degree, European popular culture – popular music,⁷⁰ classical music,⁷¹ musical performance,⁷² magazines and novels⁷³ –

⁶⁷ The wide distribution of English and French languages throughout the global societies, stemming from the colonial era, gives these two in particular an advantage over languages with a small readership providing increased global capital and therefore making them more appealing to publishers.

⁶⁸ Owen, 2003, pp. 532-549.

⁶⁹ Ibid. The poetry is acknowledged as 'translations from the Chinese' yet they are written in English.

⁷⁰ Graham, A. C. (trans.), *Poems of the Late T'ang*, Penguin, London, 1965; Johan Lif, 'Set the Controls for the Heart of the Sun', Summer 1997, accessed 30 July 2003, <http://www.geocities.com/Area51-Lair-4152-controls.html>. The English renditions of Angus (A.C.) Graham (1919-1991), the sinologist and philosopher, *Poems of the Late T'ang*, inspired Roger Waters, an English rock musician, to appropriate and combine single lines from Graham's classical Chinese re-created poems to compose lyrics, for 'Set the Controls for the Heart of the Sun', recorded by the rock band Pink Floyd. World Wide Web publication of this appropriation of the genre, ultimately linked one of the oldest Chinese literary media, classical Chinese poetry, with the latest publication medium, the internet; see also Greg Pringle, 'Allusions to Pink Floyd', updated 27 January 2004, accessed January 30 2005, <http://www.cjvlang.com-Pfloyd-index.html>

⁷¹ Albert Roussel, *Deux poemes chinois, Opus 12*, 1927, *Deux poemes chinois, Opus 35*, 1932, *Deux poemes chinois, Opus 47* re-created from Chinese to French by Herbert Giles, 1907-08. Pavel Haas (1899-1944), *Cyri pisae na slova cinske poezie* [Four Songs to Chinese Poetry] (1944); *Zaslechsem divoke husy* (Wei Ying-wu), *V bambusovem haji* (Wang Wei), *Daleko mesic je domova* (Tschang Tiou-lin), *Probdena nos* (Khan I). Re-created from Chinese to Czech by Bohumil Mathesius. Gustav Mahler 1992, 'Das Lied Von Der Erde', Rec May 1952. CD audio. Victor Olaf, Vienna. Gustav Mahler (1860-1911), 1911, *Das Lied von der Erde* [The Song of the Earth]. Six poems re-created from Chinese to German by Hans Bethge, 1992; Benjamin Britten (1913-1976). In 1957 Britten composed 'Songs from the Chinese, op.58' using Chinese poems translated by Arthur Waley. [cont. p. 136]

suggests that devaluing of this particular transcultural poetry by a Western audience would appear to be unfounded. On the contrary, I suggest that the ‘otherness’ of this genre is what draws Western readers to it.

‘Otherness’ and The Transcultural

Owen emphasises that ‘understanding the historicity of values that have come to seem as if natural may be the essential base on which to view a world poetry’.⁷⁴ The ‘otherness’ of classical Chinese poetry seduces a Western readership into desiring knowledge about the context of the source poem.⁷⁵ Otherness as an exclusive binary is negative but as inclusive ‘desire’ it becomes a necessary part of wholeness.⁷⁶ For example, this digital image combines the symbolic elements of Western and Eastern cultures – an Australian goanna and a mythical Chinese dragon – demonstrates the possibility of a bi-cultural product surpassing both of its cultural origins to become an appealing composite art form read as a transcultural text where neither of the participating cultures dominates:

A survey ‘of Benjamin Britten’s Life and Works’, courtesy of the Britten-Pears Library, 2006, accessed 31 August 2006, <http://www.brittenpears.org->

⁷² Kim Cook, ‘A Musical Tour of China’, *Research-Penn State*, vol. 20, no. 2, May 1999. ‘Chinese audiences ... seemed particularly touched by the premiere of Bruce Trinkle’s trio, which was based on Chinese poetry. They appreciated the beauty of the piece and acknowledged it as a genuine expression of our desire to extend ourselves in order to find the common ground between our cultures’.

⁷³ Li Bo (701-762) untitled poem on autumn, *Your Garden*, May 2003, p.98; Du Fu (712-770AD), ‘Standing Alone’, David Hinton (trans.), in Deborah Ratcliffe, *The Tree*, 2001.

⁷⁴ Owen, 1977, p. 259.

⁷⁵ Jacques Lacan, ‘The Mirror Stage as Formative of the Function of the I as Revealed in Psychoanalytical Experience’, in Rivkin and Ryan, p. 181: The ‘moment when the mirror stage [when lack of something precipitates recognition as anticipation] comes to an end ... that decisively the whole of human knowledge into mediatisation through the desire of other, ...’.

⁷⁶ Rivkin and Ryan, ‘Introduction: “Strangers to Ourselves: Psychoanalysis”’, p. 124. ‘The small “o” other or initial object becomes the large “O” Other of the symbolic unconsciousness; it acquires meaning as what one cannot have and as that whose absence dictates the form of all subsequent desires, all the signifiers we pursue as hoped for fillers for an initial unfillable absence’.

... in the fusion of horizons we are able to transcend the boundaries of language and culture so that there is no longer the isolation of East or West ...¹

Art forms, such as ‘Beyond Linguistics,’ cross cultural boundaries and literary texts, such as poetry, have been accepted as an art form in Western critique for more than two hundred years.²

NOTE: This image is included on page 130 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library

‘Beyond Linguistics’³

This digital graphic signifies both Australian culture, in the goanna, and Chinese culture, in the mythical dragon, without privileging either of the contributing cultures. It provides a pictorial representation of Western re-creations of classical Chinese poetry – occupying a new holistic cultural space. Wholeness that facilitates understanding of Chinese

NOTE: Footnote numbering has been changed to edit this document.

¹ Zhang Longxi, ‘The Myth of Other: China in the Eyes of the West’, *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 15, no. 1, 1988, p. 131. See also Jacques Derrida, *Monolingualism of the Other; or, the Prosthesis of Origin*, Stanford University Press, California, 1996.

² Liu, 1982, p. 5. See also Derrida.

³ Gerhard Hillman, ‘Beyond Linguistics’, digital art, Melbourne, 2002. This image is a product of a reptile native to Australia, a goanna, and computer imagery by graphic artist Gerhard Hillman creating a representation of a mythical Chinese dragon.

historicity advances the genre of classical Chinese poetry re-created as English poetry onto the global stage as transcultural poetry, however, translation in any form remains contentious. Owen holds particular views on the translation of poetry.

Alien or Unfamiliar?

Owen challenges two commonly held fallacies: firstly, ‘the old notion that poetry cannot be translated’ and secondly, the contention that poetry is ‘bound to a particular language’.⁸⁰ According to Owen, ‘poetry has always been translated,’ for example, *into* Latin from Greek, particularly in manuscripts that ‘shifted textually and by dialect’.⁸¹ However much he argues the pervasive nature of translation, Owen sees transcultural writing, specifically twentieth century English renderings of classical Chinese poetry, as a far greater challenge:

There is nothing mysterious, alien, or even “other” about it – it is merely unfamiliar. The problem is that it is unfamiliar on a vast scale. There is so much history, so much lore, so many assumptions that need to be internalized. We cannot “be” Tang readers of Tang poetry – but neither could Chinese in the Qing. They had some advantages; we have some advantages – primarily an awareness of our distance.⁸²

This ‘awareness of our distance’ heightens our cognisance of similarities between cultures, such as common human experience. Use of these familiar resonances is evident in translator choices for re-creation of classical Chinese poetry. In the footnotes to Owen’s re-creation of the *Shijing* poem ‘I Went Along the Broad Road,’ he exercises

⁸⁰ Stephen Owen, email to the author, 12 March 2004. Appendix G.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² Owen, 2004. Appendix G.

restraint in background information because the reader response generated by the poem is a result of a human experience which fluidly crosses cultural and temporal difference. There is no ‘otherness’ to transcend:

I went along the broad road
and took you by the sleeve –
do not hate me,
never spurn old friends.

I went along the broad road
And took you by the hand –
Do not scorn me,
Never spurn a love.

Many of the “Airs” have a moving simplicity that is as clear now, even in translation, as it was two and a half millennia ago.⁸³

Owen gives the genre sufficient historical, cultural and bibliographical data to enable readers to interpret the poems but not such a quantity that reader-response is stifled. He places greater emphasis on reader-responsible discourse, however, where background information is necessary Owen provides it. In the poem titled *On My Laziness* by Bo Juyi (772-846), Owen deems it necessary to provide historical and cultural reasons for the apparent apathy divulged by the poet:

I have a post but
I’m too lazy to take the appointment;
I have fields, I’m too lazy to farm them.

⁸³ Owen, 1996a, p. 51.

Holes in the roof – I'm too lazy to patch them;
Rips in my gown – too lazy to mend them.

Wine I have, but I'm too lazy to pour it,
So it's just like having my cup ever

Bumbling Naïveté, spontaneity, and a zany disregard for polite self-control, both in verse and in behavior, were part of a self-image that attracted many Tang intellectuals. Public life (and Bo had a successful official career) required great self-restraint to conform to the norms of polite behavior; but for his private life, Bo could invent quite a different persona.⁸⁴

Here Owen provides essential background information in the form of a general comment about Tang times in order to explain Bo's apparent lethargic behaviour but does not dictate details of the 'different persona'. This allows readers the freedom to respond to the poem by interpreting the text with relevance for their own time and space.

Not 'Other' But 'Unfamiliar'

An 'awareness of distance,' in time and in location, also heightens sensitivity to cultural and historical difference. Owen reasserts his thesis that classical Chinese poetry is not 'other' but 'unfamiliar':⁸⁵

There are things that cannot translate, but there are things that many Chinese readers, modern and premodern, who might love a particular poem, would not know about that poem. We are always in the realm of approximation in

⁸⁴ Ibid., pp. 497-498.

⁸⁵ Owen 2004. Appendix G.

reading poetry; the poem is never finished. So what the translator can do is create interesting approximations, to point directions, to give echoes, to construct families of difference ...⁸⁶

With sensitive translation, re-created classical Chinese poetry generates a reader-response in the target language similar to that aroused in the translator by the original. Although this paper only addresses English re-creations of classical Chinese poetry, Owen's case for its acceptance into a genre of world poetry applies to other re-created poetry as long as it provides the cultural and historical information to allow informed reader-response. World poetry necessarily implies a living evolving body of poetry, so how then can a classical genre superseded by modern Chinese poetry be part of a modern world genre?

Fusing Past and Present

With the birth of 'modern poetry' in the early twentieth century, the genre of classical Chinese poetry could be expected to develop into a closed canon. Owen suggests that 'the oxymoron "modern Classical poetry"' – a resilient traditional poetic style that persists in contemporary China against a tide of modern poetry – continues to provide fresh poems for re-creation. It seems clear that the genre of classical Chinese poetry re-created as English poetry is destined to remain an open-ended genre in the foreseeable future. In the light of this unending supply of classical Chinese poetry, how can readers develop historical and cultural understanding that represents both when it was created and where it was re-created?

⁸⁶ Ibid.

Applying Hans-Georg Gadamer's stipulation – that 'understanding' happens when fusion of past and present occurs – to this aspect of Owen's re-created classical Chinese poetry shows a wider opportunity for readers to establish a fusion of cultural and historical horizons.⁸⁷ Certainly character inclusion is an advantage for character readers and, since we are considering re-created poems as an entity in their own right, it is not imperative to provide access to the character poem. Written characters, however, do enhance understanding by assisting readers to find their own horizon of aesthetic and cultural consciousness. The very aesthetics of the characters signifies Chinese, or at the very least, the Far East, and past rather than present. Owen is certainly not alone in having characters accompany re-creations in some publications of the genre but, in general, publishers do not appear to appreciate the aesthetic and cultural importance of written characters for the creation of historical consciousness in readers.⁸⁸ This is one facet of interpretation which readers must challenge in the future. In the meantime, re-created classical Chinese poetry needs theoretical space in Owen's world poetic canon.

Locating The Genre in World Poetry

How does re-created poetry fit into a world poetic canon? In the case of classical Chinese poetry expressed as English poetry, meaning, for an English-language readership, develops with understanding the re-created poem in the context of its Chinese historicity. This being the case, it augurs well for Owen who produces his re-created poetry rich in background information, both historical and cultural, to fuel the production of meaning

⁸⁷ Gadamer, pp. 268-269, 272-273.

⁸⁸ Economic rationalism by publishers results in many volumes of classical Chinese poetry re-created as English poetry without accompanying written Chinese characters.

by readers. Production of meaning in the case of this genre, involves translating across temporal and cultural spaces, which presents its own difficulties. In *The Location of Culture*, post-colonial theorist Homi Bhabha uses ‘cultural translation’ to suggest ‘beyond’ the time and space of creation yet in touch with both cultures in the ‘in between’ space produced by art working between two cultural realms:⁸⁹

The borderline work of culture demands an encounter with ‘newness’ that is not part of the continuum of past and present. It creates a sense of the new as an insurgent act of cultural translation. Such art does not merely recall the past as social cause or aesthetic precedent; it renews the past, refiguring it as a contingent ‘in-between’ space, that innovates and interrupts the performance of the present.⁹⁰

Taking poetry as the work of art and the cultural lands as traditional China and Western modernity, translation becomes the vehicle of creative production. In the case of classical Chinese poetry re-created as English poetry, the cultural and temporal borders become semipermeable membranes where the ‘new’ product is a poem that reinvents itself with each new generation of translators.⁹¹ Classical Chinese poems originated from a temporal space that is unfamiliar to contemporary readers, whether Chinese or Western.⁹² Liu offered a critical borderland for the genre by presenting the views of Chinese critics and synthesising them, however, he stopped short of drawing ‘facile analogies with European

⁸⁹ Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, Routledge, London, 1994, p.7.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Michael Alexander, *The Poetic Achievement of Ezra Pound*, Faber & Faber, London, 1979, p. 19.

⁹² Owen, 2004. Appendix G.

critics,' which might have misled readers.⁹³ He re-created in English, Chinese poems or parts of poems that supported Chinese critique, using a number of well known Chinese poets and even more unfamiliar ones.⁹⁴ Du Fu, a classical Chinese poet well represented in the genre of English re-creations, proves useful for comparing the interpretive approaches of both Liu and Owen.

Comparative Study: Liu and Owen

Why Du Fu?

Owen states the reason Du Fu (712–770) deserves particular attention in any discussion of a shared temporal space that is embraced by both Chinese and English literary traditions:

Du Fu *is* the greatest Chinese poet. His greatness rests on the consensus of more than a millennium of readers and on the rare coincidence of Chinese and Western literary values.⁹⁵

Owen compares Du Fu to Shakespeare because the sheer breadth of his 'poetic oeuvre' makes him central to 'historical formation of literary values'.⁹⁶ Both Liu and Owen used re-created Du Fu poems to illustrate literary theories: Liu for overriding Chinese poetic theories and Owen in the context of Western critique.

⁹³ Liu, 1962, p. 91.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Stephen Owen, *The Great Age of Chinese Poetry: The High T'ang*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1981, p. 183.

⁹⁶ Ibid. See also Du Fu, 'Ballad of the Old Cypress', updated 18 August 2004, accessed 28 September 2004, <http://www.chinapage.com-poet-e-dufu2e.html>

Liu and Du Fu

In *The Art of Chinese Poetry*, Liu quoted Du Fu no fewer than 16 times to illustrate six different aspects of Chinese poetics when he had the whole body of Chinese poetic texts to draw from.⁹⁷ Du Fu proved most useful to Liu in the chapter on ‘Imagery and Symbolism,’ in demonstrating the complexity of reading images as either ‘simple’ or ‘compound’. For example, Du Fu’s poem on fellow High Tang poet, Li Bo, can be read as either four simple descriptive images, comparing the geographical situations of Li Bo and Du Fu, or as compound images, comparing the attributes of Li Bo’s poetry to attributes of nature:

O Po, whose poetry none can emulate,
Whose thoughts soar above the common crowd!
Pure and fresh like the verse of Minister Yü;
Graceful and free like that of Counsellor Pao.
The spring trees north of the river Wei,
The evening cloud east of the Great River.
When will we, over a jug of wine,
Discuss in detail the art of writing again?⁹⁸

Liu suggests that the descriptions of earlier poets Yu Xin and Bao Zhao, ‘pure and free’ and ‘graceful and free’, are descriptions of their poetry resonating in Bo’s own poetry. These two images, suggestive of natural movement, link the first quatrain with the second, with its images of nature, ‘spring trees’ and ‘evening cloud’. Liu uses Du Fu to demonstrate poetic symbolism in Chinese poetry. In Appendix F, Lui proposed that in the poem ‘Painted Hawk,’ Du Fu not only described a particular hawk but also made the

⁹⁷ James J.Y. Liu, 1962a, pp. 34, 35 (3), 43, 46, 66, 107, 109, 123, 124, 126, 132, 142 (2), 149.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

hawk a symbol of ‘heroic strength and violent beauty’.⁹⁹ Where Liu used Du Fu poems to open aspects of classical Chinese critique to translator understanding, Owen opened aspects of Du Fu poems to reader understanding.

Owen and Du Fu

Owen dedicated a chapter of his 1981 publication *The Great Age of Chinese Poetry: The High T'ang* to Du Fu.¹⁰⁰ His perception of this poet, as quoted at the beginning of this section, as ‘the greatest Chinese poet’ did not make Owen impervious to the ambiguities and linguistic difficulties of rendering classical Chinese poems as English poems with one simple interpretation. An example of what Owen calls ‘propositional ambiguity,’ the counterbalance of “‘imagistic” language of the parallel couplet,’ is provided by his English renderings of Du Fu’s fifth poem of ‘Six Playful Quatrains’. Owen offers four readings of just these two lines:

Without belittling the moderns,
loving the ancients;
Clear phrases, lovely lines
shall surely be my neighbors.¹⁰¹

The interpretive difficulties start with the first couplet: who are ‘the moderns’ and who are ‘the ancients’? Are the ‘moderns’ the contemporaries of Du Fu and the ‘ancients’ Early Tang poets or are the ‘moderns’ Early Tang poets and the ‘ancients’ pre-Jin

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 126.

¹⁰⁰ Owen, 1981.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 219. For the full poem see Appendix F.

poets?¹⁰² Owen suggests that ‘serious problems of referent’ provide a weak base for the ‘real linguistics problems’ of this couplet:¹⁰³

I don’t belittle the moderns’
love of the ancients,
But clear phrases and lovely lines
will surely be *my* neighbors.¹⁰⁴

When Owen interprets the couplet in this way, Du Fu acknowledges his contemporaries’ admiration of pre-Tang poets but states his own preference for Early Tang poets. When Owen interprets the couplet using the hard conjunction ‘but’ the interpretation reads:

I don’t belittle my contemporaries, but love the poets of
long ago [either Yü Hsin et al or the pre-fifth century],
Their [poets of long ago, either version] clear lines ...¹⁰⁵

In yet another way of reading the couplet Owen uses the inclusive conjunction ‘and’ to soften Du Fu’s intention, as Owen puts it, ‘with magnanimity to all’:

I don’t belittle recent poets [Yü et al.] *and* love the ancients,
But their [recent poets] clear lines ...¹⁰⁶

Read this way, Owen interprets Du Fu as universally positive to both contemporary poets, Early Tang poets and pre-Tang poets. Yet the couplet has other possibilities:

¹⁰² Ibid. ‘Yü Hsin and the Four Talents of the Early T’ang ... pre-Ch’in poets like Ch’ü Yüan or Sung Yü’.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 219.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 220.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

I don't belittle the modern's love of the ancients.
 They [moderns] should have clear lines and lovely phrases [of
 the ancients] as their neighbors.¹⁰⁷

In this rendering, Owen honours his contemporaries, leaving open the possibility of including the Early Tang poets, while revering earlier poets as models of excellence in poetics. On the other hand, Owen suggests that Du Fu may well have wished to dispel the suggestion of division between the 'moderns' and 'ancients':

Their [ancient poets and more recent poets like Yü] clear lines
 and lovely phrases should be recognized as neighbors [i.e.,
 the post-fifth century poets and pre-fifth century poets have
 more in common than is usually claimed]¹⁰⁸

The scenario of multiple interpretations of a classical Chinese poem, caused by a difference in readings by the translator, is not an isolated problem, unique to interpretation of classical Chinese poetry. In a 2003 edition of *Southerly*, titled 'Translations,' David Malouf renders seven re-creations of his favourite Latin poem, 'Animula'.¹⁰⁹ Malouf claimed that *all seven* are 'faithful' reproductions in English of the Latin original.¹¹⁰ Malouf's perception of his multiple renderings of 'Animula' as

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ David Malouf, 'Translations', *Southerly*, vol.63, no.1, 2003, pp. 7-8.

¹¹⁰ David Malouf, personal communication to the author, Ira Raymond Room, Barr Smith Library, University of Adelaide, 26 February 2004; David Brooks and Noel Rowe, 'Editorial', *Southerly*, vol.63, no.1, 2003, pp. 5-8. 'David Malouf's 7 separate renditions in English of what he claims is an "untranslatable" four-line Latin poem. The idea that Malouf finds this poem "untranslatable" yet still attempts to render it in English sums up the dilemma of translators of poetry'.

‘faithful’ shows why Owen considers his analyses of Du Fu’s classical Chinese poetry to be a challenge for all transcultural interpretations.

One method of including readers in the interpretive process of transcultural poetry is to publish bilingually. In *The Great Age of Chinese Poetry*, Owen presented Du Fu poems bilingually, allowing access to both readers of traditional Chinese characters and English and the re-creations are embedded in analytical critique.¹¹¹ Owen continued this bilingual approach to presentation of examples of classical Chinese poetic critique through to the end of the twentieth century.¹¹² In this, Owen provides an enviable publication model for the third millennium, where economic rationalism outweighs literary effectiveness.

Publishing Patterns

Any comparison of the approaches of Liu and Owen must recognise the similarity in their pattern of publications in the genre although Liu focused on critique throughout his publishing career while Owen produced a more balanced approach.¹¹³ In the first phase of their scholarly writings on the genre, both translators focused on individual poets: in 1969 Liu published *The Poetry of Li Shang-yin; Ninth-century Baroque Chinese Poet* and in 1975 Owen published *The Poetry of Meng Chiao and Han Yu*.¹¹⁴ While Liu continued to concentrate on theoretical issues, Owen widened his approach from specific poets to

¹¹¹ Owen, 1981, pp. 183-224.

¹¹² Stephen Owen, *The End of the Chinese ‘Middle Ages’: Essays in Mid-Tang Literary Culture*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 1996b.

¹¹³ Liu, 1979, 1982 and *Language – Paradox – Poetics: a Chinese Perspective*, Richard John Lin (ed.), Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1988.

¹¹⁴ Liu had already published *The Art of Chinese Poetry* as discussed above; Stephen Owen, *The Poetry of Meng Chiao and Han Yu*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1975.

subject areas that encompassed periods of Chinese poetic history, specifically the most acknowledged era of Chinese poetry, the Tang. In his *The Poetry of the Early T'ang* (1979) and *The Great Age of Chinese Poetry: The High T'ang* (1981), chapters were designated to particular poets from within those dynastic periods.

Three publications in the mid-1980s took Owen into the general theory of Chinese poetics: *Traditional Chinese Poetry and Poetics: Omen of the World* (1985), *Remembrances: The Experience of the Past in Classical Chinese Literature* (1986) and a collection of papers co-edited with Lin Shuen-fu, *The Vitality of the Lyric Voice: Shih Poetry from the Late Han to the T'ang* (1986).¹¹⁵ By the end of that decade Liu had ceased his active role in interpreting the genre although his close academic relationship with Pauline Yu and other translators means that his approach to the genre continues by inheritance through their work.¹¹⁶ At the same time, Owen entered his third phase of activity in the field regarding the place of poetry.¹¹⁷ His critical studies, such as 'Salvaging Poetry: The "Poetic" in the Qing' (1997), 'Interpreting *Sheng Min*' (2000), and 'Reproduction in the *Shijing* (Classic of Poetry)' (2003), takes classical Chinese poetry into the open interpretation of postmodernism.¹¹⁸ Owen takes the interpretive

¹¹⁵ Stephen Owen and Lin Shuen-fu (eds.) 1986, *The Vitality of the Lyric Voice: Shi Poetry from the Late Han to the T'ang*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1986, p. ix: from a conference 'devoted to the evolution of Shih poetry during the period from the second to the tenth century'.

¹¹⁶ Pauline Yu 25 September 1976 - 8 November 1993 James J. Y. Liu papers, Dept. of Special Collections and University Archives, Stanford University Libraries, Stanford, California, SC 594, Box 7, Folder 1

¹¹⁷ Stephen Owen 1989, *Mi-Lou: Poetry and the Labyrinth of Desire*.

¹¹⁸ Stephen Owen, 'Salvaging Poetry: The "Poetic" in the Qing', in *Culture & State in Chinese History: Conventions, Accommodations, and Critiques*, Theodore Hutters, R. Bin Wong, and Pauline Yu (eds.), Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 1997, pp. 105-125. Stephen Owen, 'Interpreting Sheng Min', in *Ways With Words: Writing About Reading Texts from Early China*, Pauline Yu; [cont. p. 151] Peter Bol; Willard Peterson (eds.), University of California Press, London, pp. 25-31. Stephen Owen, 'Reproduction in the *Shijing* (Classic of Poetry)', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 61, no. 2,

process for the genre into the ‘open-ended spiral’ that Liu sees it as near the end of his career.¹¹⁹

Recapitulation

Since this book is intended to be an open-ended enquiry, the interpretive process itself being conceived of as an open-ended spiral, there can be no conclusion.¹²⁰

In the light of postmodern theory that liberates texts from one specific translation, Liu provides an enlightened view of writing. It raises the possibility of translation as an ongoing process and opens the door to Pound’s notion of re-creating anew for each generation. Owen carries this concept into the realm of ‘world poetry’.

Temporal and Cultural Space

Heightened awareness of Orientalism brought with it a new concern for translation. It challenged the innocence and accompanying freedom of early twentieth century translations. Henceforth, translating from Asian texts into Western language texts entailed continual reflection by translators to maintain the cultural integrity of the translated text. Bhabha proposed that art, which spans two cultural horizons, is in a place beyond either culture yet in touch with both – forming its own temporal and spatial zone

2003a, pp. 289-316. Stephen Owen, ‘Stepping Forward and Back: Issues and Possibilities for “World” Poetry’, *Modern Philology*, vol. 100, no. 4, 2003b, pp. 532-549.

¹¹⁹ Liu, 1982, p. 104.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

– turning transcultural texts into cultural bridges. Henceforth, re-created poetry needed to be considered in its own right, beyond yet in touch with both of the cultures that it bridged. Liu's structured representation of creative causality, the 'tetradic circle,' took into account the influence of the phenomenal and cognitive worlds of the re-creator but failed to consider a space for the newly created transcultural genre. Nor did it demonstrate the complexity of an artwork as the product of two cultures and three interpreters, the poet, the re-creator and the reader. Perhaps a new model of this complex interaction is a task for digital graphic artists, a boon of technology in the later decades of the twentieth century.

Liu and Interpretive Approach

Liu's seminal text, *The Art of Chinese Poetry* (1962), is still used as a basic text in university courses of the genre. It changed the perception of re-created Chinese poetry for English-language readers by providing them with the fundamentals of classical Chinese poetic concepts and concepts as perceived by Liu. Although he wrote a further six books, this one was the text that challenged the Western *status quo* in interpretation of the genre. His aim was to theorise, as opposed to re-create, poetry and his contribution to change in approaches to the interpretation of the genre came prior to the challenge of Orientalism. In the case of classical Chinese poetry re-created as English poetry, Liu provided a Chinese perspective of the genre, raising awareness of cultural spaces and historical values. He approached the genre as an art form that stimulates a similar reader response as the original poem. Liu's aim was to guide English-language readers to the Chinese literary horizon in relation to the European literary horizon. His renderings attempted to

re-create this response while maintaining the verbal integrity of the texts. Liu recognized the limitations in his approach but perhaps it is more his limitation in poetics – in either language – that results in their lack of verve. Whatever the case, Liu made a significant contribution to approaches to the interpretation of the genre by translators and subsequently on English-language reader reception of classical Chinese poems.

Owen's Approach

Owen also contributed to theoretical analysis of the genre but with access to the improved technology available in the 1990s, his ideas spread more quickly. Having endured a deluge of critical theories, both individually and collectively, by the end of the twentieth century, Owen continues to tackle the challenges of poetic translation fearlessly. He acknowledges 'modern classical' poetry, currently produced in contemporary China, that resists the hegemonic modern *vers libre* poetry approved of by Chinese academic policy and continues to provide a fresh supply of classical poems for re-creators. It seems clear that the genre is destined to remain an open-ended genre for the foreseeable future. According to Owen, translating is not an unnatural process. It was a common experience, historically, in both Asia and Europe and in both spoken and written language, which has repercussions for the genre. If, as Owen conjectures, Tang poets could only be read by Tang poets, then Chinese readers ever since needed to interpret poems in the light of their own experience. Owen's solution to the complex issue of translation is to produce re-created poems in anthologies so that readers interpret poems in as natural a context as possible – 'a cultural whole'. He is conscious of the difficulty of crossing cultures in text but poses the problems in a positive light – 'unfamiliar' – a notion that allows for

increased understanding in contrast to the negative proposition – ‘other’. Familiarity, leading to understanding, leaves the door open for another Owen proposition – critiquing world poetry.

World Poetry: Liu and Owen

Owen poses the possibility of a ‘world’ poetic canon, poetry free of national exclusivity, poetry that can be interpreted by a global audience and so necessitating some common ground. Liu challenges the conjecture that poetry has universal values because poetry necessitates knowledge of the culture that motivates it in order to trigger a parallel cognitive response from readers. Even knowledge of the culture producing the poem does not ensure cultural reception on equitable ground. When the poetry crosses effectively from one literary culture to another, it is not cross-cultural, a fractured movement, but transcultural, a fluid movement. To produce transcultural poetry, from the cultural lands of traditional China and contemporary English-language nations, translation becomes the tool of creative production. Cultural and temporal borders are permeated to produce ‘new’ poetry, which reinvents itself with each generation of re-creators.

Both Liu and Owen supported interpretive approaches that provide readers with more than merely the literally interpreted words or phrase equivalents of classical Chinese poetry. Liu’s contribution of critique from a Chinese perspective supported laying classical Chinese poetry open to informed reader interpretation, integral to any possibility of Owen’s world poetic canon. It is this new canon of transcultural poetry – bridging Chinese and English – that needs to embrace its own format for publication.

Perhaps the oldest Chinese classical anthology of poetry, the *Shijing*, holds the answer for third millennium publishers.

4 THE MILLENNIUM MILESTONE

Introduction

Content and Context

This chapter examines the contributions of Pauline Yu and Haun Saussy, as active translators and theorists of the genre during the latter part of the twentieth century. Their contributions to change in the interpretation of this genre are more subtle than that of the translators previously discussed. A study of these two re-creators' approaches to the genre needs to take a different direction from those taken in the previous three chapters because their contributions to interpretation of the genre are better defined in the context of Yu's and Saussy's professional direction than by direct comparative analysis of their re-creations. First, Yu is studied from her unique position as translator and administrator in the wider context of academe. Then Saussy, who approaches the genre of re-created classical Chinese poetry from activities in a broad spectrum of arts, will be considered from a holistic perspective.¹ The third section of this chapter is a comparative analysis of poetic montage as an interpretive tool based on multiple re-creations of a Wang Wei poem, including re-creations by Yu and Saussy, to illustrate the direction of translation approaches of the genre. Yu wrote her opus on Wang Wei, including one hundred and fifty re-creations of his poems, while Saussy used the *Nineteen Ways of Looking at Wang Wei* by Eliot Weinberger and Octavio Paz to illustrate re-creation at the end of the twentieth century.²

¹ Saussy's contribution to academic discussion is described as 'aesthetics, philosophy of language, German, French, Italian, Latin, Greek, Caribbean and premodern Chinese literatures', accessed 18 June 2006, <http://www.yale.edu-complit-saussy.html>

² Eliot Weinberger and Octavio Paz, *Nineteen Ways of Looking at Wang Wei: How a Chinese Poem is Translated*, Asphodel, Kingston, Rhode Island & London, 1987.

The final section notes shifts in interpretive approaches by Yu and Saussy and in reader reception of this genre in the 1980s, 1990s and the beginning of the third millennium. This section also notes that the start of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries held something in common for the genre – a renewal of literary approach. The end of the twentieth century heralded a time of change just as the beginning of the century had. Global disruption caused by WWI fostered high modernism in Western literary circles. WWII stimulated Snyder's return to a Poundian approach for Chinese poetic re-creation. A developing global marketplace, along with the use of English as the common European Union language and the trend towards interdisciplinary academic scholarship, precipitated change in approaches to the interpretation of the genre.

Pauline Yu: The Shifting Sands

Background

Yu, currently President of the American Council of Learned Societies, spent the latter part of the twentieth century involved with scholarship on East Asian languages and cultures, culminating in her appointment as Dean of Humanities in the College of Letters and Science at the University of California.³ Her major publications during this period, from *The Poetry of Wang Wei* (1980) to *Ways with Words* (2000), confirm her change from an interest in one specific Chinese poet to the broad spectrum of early Chinese texts in general.⁴ Yu perceives a shift in her approach to the genre from that of a critical

³ Pauline Yu, CV, 2006, <http://www.humnet.ucla.edu-humnet-ealc-faculty-pycv.html>

⁴ Pauline Yu, *The Poetry of Wang Wei: New Translations and Commentary*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington 1980; *The Reading of Imagery in the Chinese Poetic Tradition*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1987; (ed.) *Voices of the Song Lyric in China*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1994; *Culture and State in Chinese History: Conventions, Accommodations, and Critiques*, [cont. p. 158]

theorist to that of moving towards a ‘more historicist framework’.⁵ Her current position emphasises this trend from the specific towards the general.

Yu: The Importance of Anthologies

In her paper ‘Poems in Their Place: Collections and Canons in Early Chinese Literature,’

Yu discusses the value of anthologies of classical Chinese texts:

Thus for anyone interested in a study of evaluation, theories of literatures or literariness, the institutionalization of literature and literary values, and literary history in traditional China in general, anthologies provide materials that are at once rich, provocative, and no doubt inexhaustible.⁶

Yu refers to the *Shijing* and the *Chu Ci* (also referred to as the Elegies of Chu), the earliest anthologies of classical Chinese poetry; the *Yi Jing* and other classical anthologies. She does not, however, rule out modern anthologies of classical works, for example, Kang-i Chang and Haun Saussy’s *Women Writers of Traditional China*, the text that powerfully links Yu’s approach with that of Saussy. If, as Yu suggests, anthologies of classical poems ‘may be likened more closely to museums’ taking entities out of their original space for placement in collections according to ‘prosodic form,’ or poet, or time, choice of poems for inclusion or exclusion in anthologies of re-created poetry is of primary

Theodore Hutters, R. Bin Wong, and Pauline Yu (eds.), Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 1997, pp. 105-25; Yu, Peter Bol, Willard Peterson, (eds), *Ways with Words, Writing About Reading Texts from Early China*, University of California Press, London, 2000.

⁵ Pauline Yu, email to the author, 2 November 2004. Appendix G.

⁶ Pauline Yu, ‘Poems in Their Place: Collections and Canons in Early Chinese Literature’, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 50, no.1, 1990, p. 197.

importance. The editorial process represents judgment.⁷ What readers see is a collation made by editors who have a specific interest in the genre, for example, the Stephen Soong edited *A Brotherhood in Song: Chinese Poetry and Poetics*. Here the poems in Chinese characters, English translations and ‘critical treatments of their subject by Chinese scholars and poets’ are employed because of an editorial belief.

... that there is an intrinsic value in presenting translations of Chinese literature in a framework which helps the Western reader to perceive the work as the Chinese reader did and does.⁸

This framework includes the aesthetic qualities, as well as the practical qualities, of bilingual publications of the genre with the 1985 Soong edition presented in four sections – ‘Poetics ... Poetry ... The Art of Poetry Translation ... [and] Poems on Poetry’ – and examples of the complementary art forms – painting and Chinese calligraphy.⁹ Readers may assume that poems consciously excluded, or inadvertently overlooked, are of less poetic worth than those accepted by an editor who is driven by the marketplace rather than expertise in the genre. Choices made can affect Western perceptions not only of Chinese poetry but also of traditional Chinese culture. Yu writes of the importance of anthologies of Chinese poetry as repositories of historical information but the contemporary re-created genre is just as valuable for a multicultural readership trying to come to terms with a global literary market.

⁷ Yu 1990, p. 163.

⁸ Stephen C. Soong (ed.), *A Brotherhood in Song: Chinese Poetry and Poetics*, Editor’s Page, Chinese University Press, Hong Kong, 1985

⁹ *Ibid.*, Contents page.

The importance of choice, therefore, is of grave concern to the anthologist and is perhaps why so many anthologies in the 1990s, and indeed into the third millennium, attract a great deal of attention. The poets, poems and translators chosen by anthologists, along with balanced representation of periods and poetic forms, are crucial to sound representation of classical Chinese poetry. Yu stands tall in this respect by challenging what anthologists chose and the effect of ‘choice between representativeness and specialization’. The ‘why’ of choice, in relation to the effect of global politics on approaches to the interpretation of this genre, is left for further critical reflection.

Yu: Placing Poetic Canons

In 1997, Yu presented a paper titled ‘The Course of the Particulars: Humanities in the University of the Twenty-First Century’ for the American Council of Learned Societies.¹⁰ In this she argues that ‘distinct’ and ‘specific’ cultural facets shape the general discipline of the humanities – ‘cultural studies’ – and in this reaffirms Pound’s ideogrammic theory. Her evaluation of the future for humanistic studies – a move from discrete cells of study, at the best cross-disciplinary, to fluid and communicative mimicry of nature – international interdisciplinary studies challenging division and ‘traditional boundaries’.¹¹ The foundation of this holistic vision was part of Yu’s 1990 paper, ‘Poems in Their Place: Collections and Canons in Early Chinese Literature’.¹² Her commentary here on

¹⁰ Pauline Yu, ‘The Course of the Particulars: Humanities in the University of the Twenty-First Century’, Occasional Paper no. 40, 1997.

¹¹ Dirlik, 2002.

¹² Yu, 1990, pp. 163-97.

classical Chinese anthologies may well be applied to contemporary re-creations of the same texts:

... anthologies put poems in their place metaphorically and historically, addressing directly or indirectly the values of the time.¹³

Anthologies of re-created poems allow Western readers access to the work of many poets and, consequently, exposure to a range of interpretations. The number of anthologies of classical Chinese poetry re-created as English poetry published during the 1990s indicates a change in approach to the presentation of this genre.¹⁴ In some cases an anthology uses one Chinese poem re-created by a variety of re-creators allowing readers to experience different interpretive approaches.¹⁵ Saussy, too, places an emphasis on anthologies by focusing his collaborative anthology of the genre on women's writing.¹⁶ He makes the genre part of a mobile and energetic mosaic of specifics, compositely

¹³ Ibid., p. 196.

¹⁴ Yu, 1980; Marsha L. Wagner, *Wang Wei*, Twayne Publishers, Boston, 1981; Rewi Alley (trans.), *Selected Poems of their Tang & Song Dynasties*, Hai Feng Publishing Company, Hong Kong, 1981; Burton Watson, *The Columbia Book of Chinese Poetry: From Early Times to the Thirteenth Century*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1984; Yuanzhong Xu, *Book of Songs*, Chinese Literature Press, Beijing, 1994; Mair, Victor H. (ed.), *The Columbia Anthology of Traditional Chinese Literature*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1994; Michelle Yeh (trans. and ed.), *Anthology of Modern Chinese Poetry*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1992; Tony Barnstone, Willis Barnstone, and Haixin Xu, *Laughing Lost in the Mountains: Poems of Wang Wei Yang*, University Press of New England, Hanover, 1991; Hsien-yi Yang and Gladys Yang, *Poems by Qu Yuan (340 - 278 B.C.)*, Poetry Classics and Literature, Ancient Chinese Poems, Yang Shuan (ed.), Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1999; Kang-i Chang and Huan Saussy (eds), *Women Writers of Traditional China, of Poetry and Criticism*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 1999; Wan-Li Yang and Jonathan Chaves, *Heaven My Blanket, Earth My Pillow: Poems from Sung Dynasty China*, Companions for the Journey Series, vol. 4, White Pine Press, Buffalo, New York, 2004; Xianyi Yang and Gladys Yang, *Ancient Poems: The Songs of the South*, Shuan Yang (ed.), Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 2001.

¹⁵ Wienberger and Paz, 1987.

¹⁶ Chang and Saussy.

called the humanities, a further step towards world literature by collaborating and publishing anthologies that embrace the arts as a whole.

Yu: Publication Pressures

Re-creations of classical Chinese poetry are commonly studied in connection with a particular poet, as examples of period, such as Han, Tang or Song, or as a whole rather than by theoretical approaches.¹⁷ By the end of the twentieth-century, however, scholars such as Pauline Yu made one theoretical aspect the focus of their attention. For example, in 1980, Yu prefaced *The Poetry of Wang Wei* with a forty-two page ‘Critical Introduction’ but in 1987 she widened her source to include the work of several Chinese poets while restricting her focus to one theme, for example, the use of ‘natural imagery’ in Chinese poetry.¹⁸ This observation, however, does not take into account the role of editors and publishers in the publication process.

Letters from Yu to her friend and mentor James J.Y. Liu, between 1976 and 1979, show how publishers influence what is published.¹⁹ Yu’s letters confirm that several publishers, including the University of Chicago Press, gave her little encouragement until

¹⁷ A.R. Davies, *T'ao Yuan-ming (AD 365-427): His Works and Their Meaning*, Vol. ii, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1983; Meng-hu, *Tao Chien (Tao Yuan-ming), Poet of Reclusion*, The Hermitary, 2002, accessed 21 June 2006, http://www.hermitary.com-articles-tao_chien.html; Bynner and Kiang. Red Pine, *Poems of the Masters: China's Classic Anthology of T'ang and Sung Dynasty Verse*, Copper Canyon Press, Port Townsend, Washington, 2003; Shuen-fu Lin and Stephen Owen. Jonathon Chaves, *The Columbia Book of Later Chinese Poetry: Yuan, Ming, and Ch'ing Dynasties (1279-1911)*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1988; Kojiro Yoshikawa, *Five Hundred Years of Chinese Poetry, 1150-1650: The Chin, Yuan, and Ming Dynasties*, John Timothy Wixted (trans.), Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1989.

¹⁸ Yu 1980; Pauline Yu, *The Reading of Imagery in the Chinese Poetic Tradition*, P. Lang, New York, 1987.

¹⁹ Ibid.

Indiana University Press accepted it for its 'Chinese Literature in Translation Series'.²⁰ Indiana University Press showed interest in her manuscript without committing to publication and sounded Yu out about changing her Wang Wei thesis from a monograph to a comparative work with Liu's 'Northern Sung book' as a suggested model.²¹

I would have preferred to publish my Wang Wei book as a monograph, actually, but the publisher thought that it would sell better as a volume of translations (with commentary), and it probably did.²²

Therefore, relying on publication choices as an indicator of interpretive change is misleading because the approach used in the published form may be a result of the dictates of economic rationalism. Yu's experience in publishing her dissertation may have motivated her observation in a paper for the Association of Learned and Professional Society Publishers in 2004 when she noted the effect of financial reforms on educational publications:

Changes in federal funding for higher education, university financial practices, foundation priorities, and the cost structures of service industries have all left their imprint on the well-being of presses, individually and collectively. ... The university press was synthesized to help the university distribute knowledge, most notably in the form of books.²³

²⁰ Pauline Yu, 'Letters to James J.Y. Liu', James J.Y. Liu Papers, Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries, Stanford, SC 594, Box 7, Folder 1, 1976 to 1978. Stanford University Press, Chicago University Press and Indiana University Press.

²¹ Yu, letter to James J. Y. Liu, 27 August 1977; James J.Y. Liu, *Major Lyricists of the Northern Sung, A.D. 960-1126*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J., 1974.

²² Yu, 2002a. Appendix H.

²³ Pauline Yu, 'On Synthetic Technologies: the Book, the University, the Internet', *Learned Publishing*, vol. 18, no. 1, 2004, pp. 41, 42.

The financial constraints of publication dictate the way in which the genre is perceived because readers are limited to what publishers believe will have the best success in a market economy rather than what will make the greatest contribution to informed reader response. The role of editors and publishers is therefore crucial to reader interpretation of the genre. If publication formats give readers limited information then assumptions drawn about the genre may well be less accurate than if they have the best possible format for their interpretations.

Continuing her address to American publishers, Yu raised the role of ‘digital technologies’ in effecting change for the traditional guardians of ‘recorded scholarship’ – university libraries and publishers – which indicated her awareness of market forces in the publication process.²⁴ The economic benefits of publishing the genre in China are obvious but publication choices made on financial decisions may well deprive readers of the opportunity to access a necessary range of interpretations. For example, *An Anthology of Chinese Poetry: from the Chou to T’ang Dynasties* (1974) published in Hong Kong in Chinese characters and English, uses predominantly Giles’s re-creations.²⁵ The use of one translator per poem, as well as the focus on a specific translator, limits reader access to a range of interpretive approaches and increases the risk of isogesis and hence interpretive distortion.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Min Shih, *An Anthology of Chinese Poetry: From the Chou to T’ang Dynasties Selected with Notes*, Hong Kong University Press, Hong Kong, 1974. It also uses re-creations by W.J.B. Fletcher, Shigeyoshi Obata, Waley, L. Cranmer-Byng and C.H. Brewitt-Taylor.

Yu: The Importance of Interpretation

Yu speaks from a position of considerable power yet demonstrates humility regarding her contribution to the genre. On reading the proposal for this thesis she affirmed the centrality of anthologising in considering choice for poetic re-creation:

I'm glad you're talking about the importance of anthologies and critical choice in this whole process I would agree with your general points that translation of any poetry reflects critical tastes of the time (what you refer to as "isogenesis") and that anthologists' selections further shape popular perceptions of the genre in crucial ways.²⁶

Yu's understanding of 'isogenesis' supports that of Tuck and adds to it by focusing on the importance of choice to perceptions of re-created poetry. In her 1978 letter to Liu, Yu questioned whether he would 'stick with the Birch Anthology or use *Sunflower Splendor*,' as a text for his forthcoming re-created Chinese poetry course, or whether he would use 'individual volumes'.²⁷ In this discussion Yu confirmed the importance of anthologies to the genre as teaching texts. Yu also confirmed the value of anthologies, with contributions by multiple translators, by providing a range of interpretations for each period of Chinese poetry for readers in her edited book section, 'Perspectives on Readings of Sheng Min'.²⁸

²⁶ Yu, 2004a. Appendix H.

²⁷ Cyril Birch and Donald Keene (eds), *Anthology of Chinese Literature*, Grove Publishers, New York, 1965; Wu-chi Liu and Irving Yucheng Lo (eds), *Sunflower Splendor*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1975.

²⁸ Pauline Yu (ed.), 'Perspectives on Readings of Sheng Min', in *Ways With Words: Writing About Reading Texts from Early China*, Peter Bol Pauline Yu, Stephen Owen, Willard Peterson (eds.), University of California Press, London, 2000. Yu used re-creations by Bernard Karlgren, Willard Peterson, Stephen Owen and David Knechtges and her own.

In her email, Yu raises the issue of purpose, in the context of translation, noting that the use for which the re-creations are made determines the approach of the translator:

I think it's important to keep in mind that there have been many reasons for translations in the twentieth century, that many versions produced for purposes of scholarly argument have quite legitimately not attempted to keep the “poetry,” and that within the world of scholarly translation there's quite a spectrum of opinion on what “fidelity’ would be.²⁹

The question of fidelity will remain a point of contention for scholarly discourse into the foreseeable future: for the sake of this discussion ‘fidelity’ is taken to be the stimulation of the same reader response to the re-created poem as the original poem engendered.

Choice: Representation or Misrepresentation?

Reader response is dependent on information received. Thus, reader response to re-created classical Chinese poetry depends on the choices made by translators and editors. From the overwhelming volume of classical Chinese poetry available, some attract the attention of translators while many are overlooked for a variety of reasons. Yu noted a similarity in meaning for anthologies in Chinese and European classical roots: Chinese traditional understanding of a collection of texts by different authors was ‘a garden of letters’ or a ‘literary garden’ while the ‘Greek root of the word anthology, *anthologia*, ... [and] its Latin counterpart, *florilegium*,’ refer to the ‘gathering of flowers’.³⁰ The garden varies according to the taste of the person choosing the style – formal or informal – and

²⁹ Pauline Yu, letter to James J. Y. Liu, 23 Jan 1978, Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries, Stanford. Yu also regretted that Graham’s *Poems of the Late T’ang* was out of print at that time making it difficult to provide ‘the Autumn Meditations’ other than in the Birch anthology.

³⁰ Pauline Yu, ‘Charting the Landscape of Chinese Poetry’, *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews (CLEAR)*, no. 20, 1998, p. 71.

the flowers available – wildflowers from a natural setting or cultivated blooms from a formal European garden – just as re-created Chinese poems in anthologies reflect choices of translators and editors and the availability of Chinese poems. Yu warns that when a translator has edited several volumes of re-created classical Chinese poems, no single volume or anthology of re-created classical Chinese poems adequately represents the critical tastes of that person.³¹ Another choice for translators and editors is the context of the published poems.

Positioning Yu

Yu wanted readers to connect with re-created classical Chinese poetry in the context of ‘Western critical theory’.³² She, like Snyder, strived to ‘translate in as straightforward a way as possible’ yet embedded her re-creations in analysis. Yu enigmatically describes her contribution to the genre: ‘I wouldn't claim to call myself a translator for the sake of translation, although I have translated a lot of poetry’. She considers that her theoretical position has moved from her ‘phenomenological reading of Wang Wei’ to ‘arguing the importance of understanding dimensions of the Chinese critical and historical context’. Yu aimed for English re-creations with annotations informing students with ‘some Chinese’ attempting the task ‘who don't seem to appreciate the stylistic liberties other translators with other aims may take’. Her aim of producing ‘straightforward’ re-creations as models for novice translators produces uncluttered images, for example:

³¹ Ibid., p. 72.

³² Yu, 2004a. Appendix H.

Through the thin curtain the bright moon shines:
A cool wind blows my lapels.³³

There is no need to explain this image. It appeals directly to the senses of sight and feeling: seeing moonlight through a light fabric filter and feeling the wind tugging at the clothing. The implied stillness of moonlight in the first line of the couplet is balanced by the suggestion of movement by jacket lapels.

Yu and Karlgren

Yu's clarity in re-creation is even more marked in comparison with Karlgren, whom she cites as a source for re-created *Shijing* poems. Karlgren approaches the translation process from a philological perspective. He provides transliterations of *Shijing* poems, with alternative phrases when necessary, allowing readers to make the definitive choice in the context of the poem as a whole.

YU

KARLGREN

Don't take the big carriage:

You'll just get dusty.

Don't ponder a hundred worries:

You'll just become ill.³⁴

Do not help forward the great carriage,

you will only make yourself dusty;

do not think of the many anxieties,

you will only make yourself ill.³⁵

³³ Pauline Yu, 'The Poetry of Retreat', in *Masterworks Of Asian Literature In Comparative Perspective*, Armonk (ed.), ME Sharpe Inc., New York, 2004c, p. 226.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 223.

³⁵ Bernard Karlgren (trans.), *The Book of Odes: Chinese Text, Transcription and Translation*, The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm, 1950, p. 158: Karlgren gives three renditions of this poem, the other two being:

Do not help forward the great carriage,
the dust will (darken =>) blind you;
do not think of the many anxieties,
you will not (be able to) come out in the light.

Karlgren's rendering is pedantic and certainly not poetry, however, his literal translations allow translators access to a philologically sound text to check against their interpretations. From this perspective, his expertise is valued and even essential for translators of classical Chinese poetry. Karlgren provides a range of options in his literal translations of each *Shijing* poem, allowing readers to access his interpretations of the text from which to make choices meaningful for them. On the other hand, the succinctness of Yu's rendition is not the only quality which sets it apart. The clarity of the image it creates follows Pound's edict for each generation to translate for itself. Yu's use of 'just get,' in comparison to Karlgren's 'only make yourself,' rests easier with English usage in the latter part of the twentieth century. Yu's 'ponder a hundred worries' is poetic language while Karlgren's 'think of many anxieties' demonstrates why poetic interpretation favours re-creation rather than pedantic translation.³⁶ Yu's intuitive vocabulary choices place her in an elite group of re-creators of the genre but it is another area of choice that claims greater significance for her contribution to interpretation of the genre.

Crossing Cultural Boundaries

Yu's greatest contribution to the genre of English re-creations of classical Chinese poetry is her foresight regarding the importance of anthologising Chinese poetry. In this context her approach to 'anthologies as instances of the contingencies of choice' could be

Do not help forward the great carriage,
the dust will cover you;
do not think of the many anxieties,
you will only weigh yourself down.

³⁶ Yu, 1994c, p. 223; Karlgren, 1950, p. 158.

regarded as a 'post-modern tradition'. Yu continues: 'I certainly would not support the notion that the ideal reader is a naïve one,' making her position for translator responsibility quite clear. In *Ways With Words*, a compilation of interpretations of the *Sheng Min* bears witness to the importance of reading multiple approaches of one poem.³⁷ Among the contributors to this compilation, which represents a sub-group for anthology, was Owen. There appears to be a strong connection between Owen and Yu just as there was between Liu and Yu.

In *Ways With Words: Writing About Reading Texts from Early China*, co-editors Yu, Peter Bol and Willard Peterson aim to 'restore the complexity of voice and diversity of interest' for 'the humanities of China and Western humanistic inquiry' by acclaiming the 'wisdom' of Matteo Ricci and his fellow Jesuits and to 'illuminate' and 'sharpen' reader acumen of 'interpretive practices'. The key to classical Chinese poetic re-creation lies in the passage:

... if we want the practice of the humanities to include many cultures and to cross boundaries between past and present, between ancient China and the United States [or Australia] today, and between history and literature, then we must learn to work around the occasional transliteration and the seemingly impenetrable scholarly reference.³⁸

In the framework of 'Perspectives on Readings of *Sheng Min*,' Yu critiques a myth from the *Shijing*, through interpretations by David Knechtges, Stephen Owen and Willard Peterson. In so doing, Yu bases her discussion of the *Sheng Min* interpretations on the understanding that '... reading is an art whose methods and goals have been discussed

³⁷ Yu, 2000a, pp. 34-40.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 9.

and debated for as long as readers have encountered texts' and that, within the corpus of classical Chinese texts, few challenge interpretation as much as the poems of the *Shijing*.³⁹

Knechtges' essay opens up meaning by giving just enough information to torment readers with 'the uncertain and unknowable'. Yu sees his interpretation as philologically sound: it urges readers to use re-creations of the Mao edition of the *Shijing* because it 'incorporates variant readings and interpretations of poems'.⁴⁰

Just as understanding an individual poem is often enriched by looking at others like it, so a method of reading is best illuminated through many examples.⁴¹

This supports Yu's view on the importance of anthologizing, but it also highlights the importance of destabilising classical texts, by consulting and incorporating several interpretations of the one poem to stimulate a reader response that recognises the 'limitation,' the 'tentative' and the 'inconclusive'.⁴² Yu notes that Owen acknowledges the 'thorny philological problems, many of which can never be solved with certainty' and focuses the 'highly fragmentary nature' of the Min tribe creation-myth and the multiple ritual purposes of the poem.⁴³ In his final analysis Owen makes a Homeric comparison of

³⁹ Ibid., pp. 34-35.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 35.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 36.

⁴² Ibid., p. 36.

⁴³ Ibid., pp. 25, 36, 37.

the cyclic nature of the poem mirroring its agrarian cycle in words.⁴⁴ Yu concludes that the *Sheng Min* establishes its own worth by claiming only to be a tale and seeking meaning through the cadences of its poetry.⁴⁵ This critical examination of the *Sheng Min* epitomises Yu's approach to the interpretation of the genre and provides a contrast to the approach of Saussy.

Haun Saussy: Translator as Artist

Saussy: Background

Saussy, a product of postmodern comparative literary studies, spreads his talent across the artistic palette of the humanities with verve. In the narrow sense, interpretation is the focus of his work and he argues for the existence of this skill in academe:

One thing we do well in this corner of the university is interpret: we interpret ordinary conversation, sacred texts, avant-garde novels, books of philosophy, shouts of despair, songs, sonnets and jive. We are a kind of satellite dish through which information flows to our home cultures from cultures farther away. That, I think, should be enough to justify our existence, for isn't there always a lot of the kind of misunderstanding that interpreters can dispel?⁴⁶

Dispelling the doubt and confusion caused by misinterpretation and cultural ignorance is, arguably, the most important challenge for translation in the third millennium. From a macro-perspective, the increased speed of communication technology will place greater stress on trans-global politics. From a micro-perspective, the choice of poetic re-creations

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 38.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p.40.

⁴⁶ Haun Saussy, 'Address at the Diploma Ceremony for the Division of Languages, Cultures and Literatures', Stanford University, June 2003.

for inclusion or exclusion in an anthology of Chinese poetry will not only affect perceptions of what are ‘sound’ or ‘poor’ classical Chinese poems but also Western perceptions of traditional China, through the images created by the translators. Difference in translator interpretation, coupled with the choices made by collators of anthologies of re-created classical Chinese poetry, along with other translated classical Chinese texts, take on the burden of representation of that nation’s cultural roots. In this context, Saussy weaves the genre into the tapestry of a global artistic product.

Saussy: The Rosetta Stone

Arguably, Saussy’s interdisciplinary activities such as the creative project ‘Recoleciones,’ and particularly a multilingual electronic screen entitled ‘The Rosetta Stone,’ add new dimensions to his poetic recreation choices as well as his editorial choices.⁴⁷ Mel Chin, chief creator of the ‘Recoleciones’ project, collaborated with

⁴⁷ Mel Chin, Haun Saussy, Robert Batchelor and James Millar Co-Designer, ‘Before Recognition’ art project, ‘Recoleciones’, 10 September 2003, Stanford Humanities Lab, accessed 2 October 2004, http://www.stanford.edu/~saussy-shl-recol_html-Page1.html 33 artworks installed in the new Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Library; “Recoleciones” is the Spanish word for “recollections” -- as in “memories.” It also means “harvests” or “gatherings.” The Latin root “LECT-“ from which “recoleciones” derives means both “to gather” and “to read”: the ancient Romans seem to have envisioned reading as a process of gathering up scattered bits of information (the letters of the alphabet) and combining them into meaningful sequences. Readers are thus gatherers, harvesters. The library is a place where people come together to recall and reformulate their common heritage, a place designed for “re-col-lection,” that is, etymologically, “reading or harvesting again together.” The library’s public art collection is primarily designed to support this function’. http://www.stanford.edu/~saussy-shl-recol_html. Mel Chin and Haun Saussy, 1 August 2003, ‘The Rosetta Screen’, http://www.stanford.edu-group-shl-research-rosetta_screen.html ‘The Rosetta Screen’ is a permanent electronic screen of literary texts, created by Mel Chin and Haun Saussy, based on the Rosetta Stone, an Egyptian artifact now at the [cont. p. British Museum. ‘The Rosetta Stone was discovered in 1799. Its trilingual inscription, which made it possible to decipher hieroglyphics, is recognized as an image for the mutual intelligibility of diverse languages Behind the glass is an LED board on which appear fleeting digital messages, including an anthology of multi-lingual writing from or about *San Jose* a bulletin board for public announcements related to the library, and hexagrams from the Chinese classic Book of Changes’.

multidisciplinary expertise including Saussy, historian Robert Batchelor and artist James Millar.¹ For Saussy:

... the Screen is meant to confront people with a paradoxical combination of the permanence of stone and the fluidity of electronic media, and a highly visible sampling of the cultural layeredness of San Jose.²

NOTE: This image is included on page 164 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library

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The ‘Rosetta Screen,’ a digital display of intermittent Chinese characters and hexagram graphics, represents Chinese literary culture and demonstrates the world’s first use of binary coding. According to Saussy, the *Yi Jing* or *Book of Changes* signifies the binary tension between social and natural processes.⁴ As such, this text links classical Chinese literature with contemporary Western literature in the context of a joint university and public library.⁵ Saussy collaborated in a second art project, ‘Before Recognition,’ where

NOTE: Footnote numbering has been changed to edit this document.

¹ Mel Chin had previously collaborated with ‘biologists, psychologists, geologists, medical doctors and television producers’ to produce complex, cross-cultural, political artworks.

² Chin et al.

³ ‘Rosetta Screen’, opened 10 September 2003, Stanford Humanities Lab, accessed 5 July 2006, http://shl.stanford.edu/research/before_recognition.html

⁴ ‘Before Recognition’ art project, ‘Recolecciones’, opened 10 September 2003, Stanford Humanities Lab, accessed 2 October 2004, http://www.stanford.edu/~saussy-shl-recol_html-Page1.html

⁵ Dr Martin Luther King Jr Library, 2 March 2004, SJ Library.org., accessed 26 October 2004, <http://www.sjlibrary.org/index.htm> The Dr Martin Luther King Jr Library is a joint facility incorporating the San José Public Library and the San José State University Library.

art was used to raise self-awareness of cognitive perceptions.⁵³ This art construct reflects the Poundian explanation of montage where images bombard the retina of the eye with particulars until the idea is recognised. Pound and Saussy have more in common than this study has the space to develop but it is enough, for the purposes of this thesis, to acknowledge that the connection between their approaches to art, including the re-creation of classical Chinese poetry, rests on a cognitive experience.

These artistic projects are important to this study because Chin, who Saussy describes as an ‘old friend,’ is a political artist, sometimes described as an ‘environmental artist’ with a developing interest in ‘ecological systems’ and ‘sustainability ecological issues’.⁵⁴ This friendship and artistic collaboration connects Saussy with the interests of Gary Snyder and perhaps shows an artistic-holistic trend among post-WWII American translators of classical Chinese poetry.

The holistic nature of literature and art, implicit in traditional Chinese art, explored by Fenollosa and Pound was made explicit by Waley as specific graphics and calligraphy to accompany re-creations.⁵⁵ Interconnectedness dominates Saussy’s

⁵³ Pamela Davis Kivelson Artist in Residence, SCIL; Robert F. Dougherty (Senior Research Scientist, Department of Psychology, Stanford); Kalanit Grill-Spector (Assistant Professor, Department of Psychology, Stanford); Haun Saussy (Professor of Asian Languages and Comparative Literature, Stanford). Collaboration for ‘Before Recognition’ drew on expertise from: ‘psychology, [cont. p. 175 aesthetics, cognitive science, art history and art practice to elucidate the perception of artworks’, accessed 17 June 2006, http://shl.stanford.edu-research-before_recognition.html

⁵⁴ Haun Saussy 2004a, email to the author, 1 October. ‘glad you liked the San Jose pieces, they were great fun to think up and work on with several old friends’. Appendix I. ‘Recoleciones’, The King Library Public Art Collections, updated 1 August 2003, accessed 25 October 2004, <http://www.sjlibrary.org-mlkart-about.htm>. ‘Mel Chin originally began working in sculpture which addressed political and social issues. He became interested in environmental art as his ideas expanded to include a greater consideration for ecological systems and sustainability ecological issues’.

⁵⁵ Lian Yang, ‘In the Timeless Air: Chinese Language, Pound, *The Cantos*’, *Painted Bride Quarterly*, Camden Online Poetry Project, Rutgers University-Camden, no. 65, 2000, accessed 29 July 2005, <http://www.pbq.rutgers.edu-issues-65-LianTimeless.htm>. Pound- Fenollosa viewed the [cont. p. 176] Chinese written character as a holistic sensory experience: ‘Characters are not only pictorial. The

translations, in the form of lengthy notes. For example, in the book he co-edited with Kang-i Chang, Saussy's annotations place the re-created classical Chinese poetry in its socio-historical context.⁵⁶ It is this cultural connectedness that signifies his approach to this genre.

Saussy: The Next Generation

Saussy has an eclectic energy laterally spent in a wide diversity of projects – all under the umbrella of the humanities. It is his diversity of talents and his passion for his work in this field that takes him from the lecture-room to art laboratories to collaborate in projects such as 'Recolecciones'.⁵⁷ Saussy's translations into English, like Pound's and Waley's a century before him, cover both Eastern and Western languages. He is a global translator and re-creator, forging the path of Yu's vision for third millennium humanities as global

juxtaposition of different constituents of each character leads to visual, audio, denotative and associative combinations. A character itself is a poem, a multi-layered space'.

Waley, 1961, gives rare attention to the details of artistic presentation; Yin-nan Chang and Lewis Walmsley, *Poems by Wang Wei*, Charles Tuttle Company, Rutland, Vermont and Tokyo, Japan, 1958, demonstrate artistry in the presentation of their re-created poems - illustrations in sepia, cream paper; Ch'eng-ta Fan, *Five Seasons of a Golden Year: A Chinese Pastoral*, Gerald Bullett (trans), Stephen C. Soong and George Kao (eds), Renditions, Hong Kong, 1981. Fan 'embellished these pages with his calligraphy', paintings 'from a [cont. p. 176] landscape album by Li Jan (1747-1799)' and Mrs Patsy Wong 'rendered invaluable help in the design of the book'. (Acknowledgements) Ian Johnston, *Singing of Scented Grass*, Pardalote Press, Lauderdale, Tasmania, 2003. 'The illustrations by Melba Nielson, Susan Collis and Keith Smith of the "Forest of Brushes" school of Chan painting on South Bruny Island complement the poems, especially those by Wang Wei, very well indeed. This is not surprising given the strong Buddhist flavour of these poems and their many descriptions of nature. I like to think that Wang Wei, equally renowned as painter and poet, would appreciate this conjunction'. (Preface)

⁵⁶ Chang and Saussy; Haun Saussy, 'Haun Saussy CV', updated, 18 May 2005, accessed 18 December 2003, Yale University, <http://www.yale.edu-complit-saussy.html>. 'Annotated translations of: *Wen shi*, "Ni sao," three poems and a preface (c. 1600); Wang Duanshu, preface to *Ming yuan shi wei* (1667); Sun Huiyuan, preface to *Gu jin ming yuan bai hua shiyu* (1685); Zhao Shijie, preface to *Gu jin nü shi* (1628); and Zhi Ruzeng, preface to *Nü zhong caizi lanke er ji* (c. 1670)', in Chang and Saussy.

⁵⁷ Since 2002, Saussy has been a professor in the Stanford University Department of Asian Languages - Department of Comparative Literature; Chair, Department of Comparative Literature.

interdisciplinary studies, challenging artificial division defined by language boundaries.⁵⁸ Yu is one of many re-creators of classical Chinese poetry in English who joined forces with Saussy in an action which prima facie appeared to be divisive – gender divisive. In 1999 Saussy collaborated with Kang-i Chang to produce a substantial anthology of classical Chinese poetry, composed by women, to ‘demonstrate the efforts of women to maintain a tradition and locate themselves within it’.⁵⁹ It was the first significant publication of the genre focusing entirely on the work of Chinese women poets since the 1972 Kenneth Rexroth and Ling Chung edition, *Women Poets of China*, a small volume of re-created poems without accompanying notation, and their 1979 edition of *Li Ch’ing-chao: Complete Poems*, with a biography of the poets.⁶⁰

In *Women Writers of Traditional China* Chang and Saussy aimed to ‘spur reflection’ among scholars of Chinese poetry and promote a ‘canon of female poets’. Chang confirms the canonical aspect of anthologies:

⁵⁸ See, for example, Félix Guattari, ‘L’objet écosophique’ (‘The Object of Ecosoph’), in Amerigo Marras, ed., *ECO-TEC: Architecture of the In-Between*, 1999, pp. 11-20. Haun Saussy (works in progress), *The Ethnography of Rhythm, Three Haitian Poets: René Depestre, Jean Métellus, and René Bélance*, 2004b, and a translation of Karl Rosenkranz, *Aesthetik des Häßlichen*, Reclam, Leipzig, 1996.

⁵⁹ Chang and Saussy, p.7; Kang-i Chang major publications in English include Chang and Haun Saussy (eds), Chang and Ellen Widmer (eds), *Writing Women in Late Imperial China*, Stanford University Press, Stanford 1997; Chang, *The Late-Ming Poet Ch’en Tzu-lung: Crises of Love and Loyalty*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1991; Chang, *Six Dynasties Poetry*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1986; Chang, *The Evolution of Chinese Tz’u Poetry: From Late T’ang to Northern Su*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1980. This last publication has a strong focus on the influence of music on Late Tang to Northern Song poetry.

⁶⁰ Kenneth Rexroth and Ling Chung, *Women Poets of China*, New Directions, New York, 1972; Kenneth Rexroth and Ling Chung, *Li Ch’ing-chao: Complete Poems*, New Directions, New York, 1979.

I can only say that anthologizing is a productive form of publishing, as it is the most important way of canonizing worthwhile authors in a field.⁶¹

Chang and Saussy made modest contributions to the re-creations in their publication but their attention to detail, in both annotations and presentation, confirmed a unique approach. Their section on 'Editorial Conventions' covers format, references, sources and nomenclature, maps and gender balance of contributing re-creators as well as the editors.⁶² This analysis reflects the concern shown by the Chang and Saussy contribution to the corpus of the genre, in the current socio-political climate of gender equity, in a meaningful and sustainable way.

Saussy: The Art of Poetics

Saussy, like Yu, saw neglect of culture occurring through neglect of language as a danger of internationalisation.

What is called globalization – the interconnected worldwide market for goods and services – seems to function on the assumption that it will be based on a single world language, English ...⁶³

Euro-American nations favour communication in English – for media, including film and television, science and technology fields – so inarticulate renderings of the genre in

⁶¹ Kang-i Chang, email to the author, 16 March 2005. Appendix J

⁶² Both genders are equally represented as translators.

⁶³ Haun Saussy 1999b, 'Introducing Bei Dao', 29 November 1999c, accessed 6 June 2006, p. 3, <http://prelectur.stanford.edu-lecturers-dao-daoaudience.html>.

English affect reader perceptions of Chinese poetry. Saussy draws on Weinberger to explain the effect of poor English renderings of Chinese:

This makes me think of something else I said in a piece about Bei Dao that is probably still on the Web somewhere: that Eliot Weinberger is the first translator to make him sound like a subtle, articulate person. There's a clear example of someone ill-served by the caveman-speak that's what people expect in translations from the Chinese.⁶⁴

Saussy's exposition of Bei Dao, Chinese modernist poet and short story writer, included several points applicable to re-creations of classical Chinese poetry in general.⁶⁵ First, Saussy used extensive endnotes to provide as complete a background as possible for readers unfamiliar with Dao's work.⁶⁶ In one endnote, Saussy described Weinberger's translation of Dao's poetry as an example of 'translating' grammar in order to re-create in English the form of Chinese poem:

Of course, not all good English poetry (however "impressionistic") is so structureless, nor is Bei Dao's Chinese. Eliot Weinberger's translations are the happy exception, for their attention to grammatical structure and rhythmical variety.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Saussy, email to the author, 1st Oct 2004a. Appendix I.

⁶⁵ Saussy, 1999b.

⁶⁶ Nine pages of critique and three pages of expository endnotes.

⁶⁷ Saussy, 1999c.

With this observation, Saussy supports re-creation of structure and variety reflecting those of the original poem and commends Weinberger because he accomplishes both. This affirmation of Dao is particularly poignant because in Saussy's own words:

Bei Dao talks about landscape, a term from easel painting, and mentions his technique of Montage, a metaphor borrowed from movies.⁶⁸

In aligning poetry with art, Saussy not only addresses 'the three perfections' of traditional Chinese culture but also Pound's interest in the sculptures of Brancusi and Gaudier-Brzeska, their compatibility with his ideogrammic method and where they did not.⁶⁹ On the other hand, Saussy differs from Pound in his warning that 'an art of language' such as poetry differs from and affects reader perceptions of 'an art of images,' such as 'cinema or painting,' because the poet transmits the means for inquiring readers to observe 'causes and effects' and form 'correlations' – even infinite truths. Saussy claims this as an exclusive attribute of poetry but a similar claim can be made of visual art although poetry joins music as an art form that can be memorised.

When Saussy points out that memorising and reciting poetry 'serves as a means of grasping experience' creating an identity of its own, independent from the poet and the book in which it is written, he explains a cognitive process that is true of any memorised language.⁷⁰ The importance of his statement for classical Chinese poetry, however, is too profound to be ignored. If the *Shijing*, the most ancient written text and most widely translated, unwittingly transmits perceptions of Zhou China to Western readers, then

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Eliot, 1954, pp. 441-445.

⁷⁰ Saussy, 1999c.

misinterpretation carries a heavy burden. Misinterpretation causes misunderstanding so the damage to Western perceptions of Chinese cultural roots is all too easily seen.

Saussy: Poetic Re-Creation

Lastly, Saussy poses a challenge for Chinese poetry: its limitation as global capital. Although Bei's work is modern, Saussy argues its *disability* in connecting with audiences other than in China. This complicates the notion of intercultural connection for classical Chinese poetry, which raises temporal and spatial difficulties:

The context of Chinese poetry in China is self-evident; Chinese poetry in an international space has no such obvious context, and its readers fall back on such devices as choosing to take the poems as political statements, as expressions of "alienation" (a good vague category for all uses!), as biography, and so forth.⁷¹

This powerful statement by Saussy appears to argue against the notion that classical Chinese poetry can be international poetry because placing it in an unfamiliar time and space shrouds its context but, in the light of his re-creations of classical Chinese texts, I doubt that this is what he means. In Chapter 3, a case was made for Chinese poetry re-created as English poetry as transcultural poetry, particularly if published in a bilingual context, setting the original text in relationship with a new temporal and spatial dimension.⁷² Saussy acknowledges the genre of English re-creations by investing time in

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² This argument, regarding Chinese characters and English, holds true for other alphabetic languages with a success rate dependent on the relationship of the target language to Chinese. Use of the original

his collaboration with Chang for their anthology, *Women Writers of Traditional China* where he resolves the problem of ‘alienation’ by thorough annotation supporting his re-creations. The question of ‘re-creation’ versus ‘translation’ lies in the cognitive understanding of translators – in their perception of the word ‘re-create’ as valid translation of poetry. Saussy finds no difficulty in expressing his thoughts about poetic ‘translation’. His views support his re-creations of classical Chinese poetry and his renditions of French poetry.⁷³ In the light of this approach, it is useful to examine Saussy’s views on approaches to re-creation in relation to anthologies:

Faithful Re-Creation

Saussy, if not in his overtly expressed views then in his ruminations regarding interpretation, approaches re-created poetry as a range of possibilities.

I plead as guilty as anyone else in my academic translations, but if I were to be more adventurous I would try to do "variations on a theme by..." instead of flat translations-- maybe I will get around to that late one night, if the spirit moves me.⁷⁴

Saussy suggests a way of avoiding ‘flat translations’ by taking a ‘more adventurous’ approach to the mission. He sees multiple interpretations of a single poem as ‘adventurous’ yet also a worthy goal. Pound’s ideogrammic theory, as an interpretive

character poem alongside of the English re-creation provides access to both character readers and readers of English.

⁷³ Huan Saussy, ‘Three Haitian Poets: René Depestre, Jean Métellus, and René Bélance’, CV, updated 18 December 2003, accessed 6 August 2004, <http://www.stanford.edu/~saussy->

⁷⁴ Saussy 2004. Appendix I.

methodology, was a revolutionary theory that aimed to solve the hard problem of re-creating the genre but Saussy claims that the limitations of English mount the main challenge to reproducing the essential qualities of Asian texts:

... most translators have given up on the resources of English grammar. It's all short sentences, end-stopped lines, often very loose appositive constructions. You don't see subordination of clauses, anaphora, or any of those fun Indo-European tricks being used.⁷⁵

The points that Saussy raises pose a problem for translators of classical Chinese poetry rendered in English. Translating, Saussy argues, transforms a stimulating genre into something quite different:

That seems to me a pity, and it makes Chinese poetry in translation a monotonous thing to read. In Chinese it's not monotonous at all, but that's because the writers used their own grammatical, tonal, allusive, etc., resources.⁷⁶

It is, of course, difficult to keep the re-creator's voice and approach out of the English rendition. It is possible, however, to undertake the task with a mind open to the possibility of a change in emphasis in interpretive approaches. For example, publishing several interpretations of a poem by one translator provides choice for reader reception.

Saussy's plan of attempting to capture a range of possibilities, which occur to translators during the re-creative process, highlights one of the challenges of poetic

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

translation – faithfulness to the original text.⁷⁷ Multiple interpretations of one poem by a translator also demonstrates the difficulty in producing a definitive translation of a poem and why re-creation is a better description of the process than translation. In the case of re-created poetry the aim is to produce the same reader response as the original text inspired in the translator. Saussy raises the difficulties of objectivity in translation.

Saussy: Returning to Cultural Foundations

Saussy read a Sigmund Freud (1856-1939) statement – ‘Everyone possesses, in his own unconscious, an instrument with which he can interpret the expressions of the unconscious of others’ – as a metaphor for translation.⁷⁸ Succinctly put, one creates the ‘past’ from the ‘present’:

... the reception of actual events in the other person's past as something we can understand only as a present tense interaction that we both contribute to making strikes me as a germ of a program for accounting for what goes on in translation, interpretation, and the critique of these devices.⁷⁹

Saussy aims to demystify ‘difference between Western and Chinese concepts of meaning’ by challenging their foundations, much as Said did, starting from the earliest

⁷⁷ Saussy does not specify in this remark that the text translation he speaks of is poetry but his email was about his approach to the translation of classical Chinese poetry. Therefore this assumption seems reasonable.

⁷⁸ Haun Saussy, *Great Walls of Discourse and other Adventures in Cultural China*, Harvard University Asia Centre, Cambridge and London, 2001, p. 8; Sigmund Freud, *The Standard Edition of the Complete Works of Sigmund Freud*, James Strachey et al. (eds), The Hogart Press and the Institute of Psychoanalysis, London, 1953, vol. 12, p. 320. Sigmund Freud (1856-1939): [cont. p. 184] ‘physiologist, medical doctor, psychologist and father of psychoanalysis, is generally recognised as one of the most influential and authoritative thinkers of the twentieth century. Working initially in close collaboration with Joseph Breuer, Freud elaborated the theory that the mind is a complex energy-system, the structural investigation of which is proper province of psychology’.

⁷⁹ Saussy, 2001, p. 8.

attempts at translation by the Jesuit missionaries.⁸⁰ Saussy suggests that ‘dissident groups of scholar-officials’ influenced these scholars:

The translation works as a transference; it generates a counter transference of counter translation in the same measure that the semantics of the target language receive and reshape what was to be translated (the pidgin-effect). Reciprocity bedevils a stable economy of meaning ...⁸¹

Saussy wants unproductive data reassessed to produce different knowledge, what he calls a ‘reflexive method,’ embracing the dictum of ‘self-awareness’ and avoiding ‘mutually reinforcing and refocusing feedback loops’.⁸² When applied to re-created poetry, anthologies such as the Weinberger and Paz, *Nineteen Ways of Looking at Wang Wei*, with multiple copies of one poem, or *The New Directions Anthology of Classical Chinese Poetry* by Weinberger with several poems in multiple translations, offer greater interpretive options of the image or images in a poem:

Just as a translator must compromise between fidelity to the original text and creating a well-written and moving poem in English, Weinberger’s anthology presents both the range of classical Chinese poetry and a catalogue of translations to compare and contrast. ... Just as Chinese landscape painting never developed a one-point perspective, always preferring to see the same mountain from many sides at once, this anthology presents Chinese poetry as viewed from several angles. And ultimately, with such many-sided and multi-

⁸⁰ Legge 1991, Preface. Pièrre Lacharme SJ, the first to translate the *Shijing* into Latin c. 1733. Early Jesuit missionary translators include Matteo Ricci SJ (1552-1610), Wenceslas Pantaleon Kirwitzer SJ (1588-1626), Johann Adam Schall von Bell SJ (1591-1666) and Ferdinand Verbiest SJ (1623-1688).

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p.10.

faceted viewing, the reader ends up with a richer, more developed sense of the poems and their literary tradition.⁸³

Reviewing Weinberger's anthology, Lucas Klein returns the genre to its roots in painting, as the Tang poets did, and to anthology just as the earliest models of Chinese poetry did in the *Shijing*. Juxtaposing re-creations of the same poem opens them to reader-interpretation 'as close to the original in spirit and in letter' as a transcultural poem possibly can do, for example, Wai-lim Yip's anthology *Chinese Poetry: Major Modes and Genres*.⁸⁴ Calligraphy of the original Chinese poem is juxtaposed with both word-for-word and literal translations in English to allow readers of English 'to have some sense of the operation of the originals'.⁸⁵ This and other anthologies providing multiple interpretations of poetic images utilise montage.

Poetic Montage: Returning to Cultural Roots

Saussy and Poetic Montage

Poetic montage has a two-fold role in image transference: firstly, montage as repeated images within poems such as in the *Shijing*, and, secondly, montage as multiple re-creations of a poem either by one or more translators in an anthology.⁸⁶ One approach to anthology, thematic anthology, focuses on one aspect of poetry, for example, spring or

⁸³ Lucas Klein 'Book Review: Weinberger, Eliot (ed.), *The New Directions Anthology of Classical Chinese Poetry*, New Directions, New York, 2003', *Raintaxi Online Edition*, Fall 2003, accessed 5 June 2005, <http://www.raintaxi.com/online/2003fall/chinese.shtml>.

⁸⁴ Wai-lim Yip, *Chinese Poetry: Major Modes and Genres*, University of California Press, Berkeley, California, 1976.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, Preface.

⁸⁶ Malouf 2003, pp. 7, 8; Weinberger, 2003, *passim*.

love.⁸⁷ Thematic anthologies are composed of multiple unique poems as opposed to multiple interpretations of a unique poem. In considering single re-creations of classical Chinese poems, Saussy raises doubts that a single rendering of a poem in another language can ever signify ‘faithful reproduction’. He proposes poetic montage to increase the probability of transmitting a ‘faithful’ image such as in the translation theories expressed by Weinberger and Octavio Paz in *Nineteen Ways of Looking at Wang Wei*, where they provide multiple re-creations of one single Wang Wei poem by different translators.⁸⁸

Weinberger and Paz use poetic montage, the layering of multiple re-creations over each other to create a single image. This solves the problem of single re-creations in a European language: the perception of internal motion that Chinese characters portray.⁸⁹ This perception of motion reaffirms the Fenollosa/Pound theory of the Chinese character. By the end of the twentieth century the internet made multiple renderings of an English rendering of classical Chinese poem by several re-creators more easily accessible. The Wang Wei poem provides an example of montage technique both in print and on the internet.⁹⁰ Wang Wei, anthologised by Yu in 1980, was also re-created in English by Liu,

⁸⁷ Anne Birrell, *New Songs from a Jade Terrace: An Anthology of Early Chinese Love Poetry*, Allen & Unwin, London, 1982.

⁸⁸ Weinberger and Paz, 1987. Appendix J.

⁸⁹ Fenollosa, 1936, pp. 8, 9.

⁹⁰ Wienberger and Paz 1987; Ming L. Pei, 1994, accessed 13 October 2003, <http://www.chinapage.org-poem-wangwei-wangwei-trs.html>

Watson and Snyder – to name only those relevant to this study.⁹¹ Most are available in the translation study by Weinberger and Paz.⁹²

Yu and Poetic Montage

The Wang Wei poem used by Pavel Haas in his chamber music, titled ‘Bamboo Lodge’ by Yu, offers an excellent example of her interpretive approach to the genre.

Bamboo Lodge

Alone I sit amid the dark bamboo
 Play the zither and whistle loud again.
 In the deep wood men do not know
 The bright moon comes to shine on me.

NOTES [poem 204]

Line 1: This alludes to a poem entitled “The Mountain Spirit” (*Shan Gui*) the ninth of the *Nine Songs* in the *Songs of Chu*, 2/140-42. There the speaker grieves over the failure of his lady (the spirit) to arrive, and he waits in sorrowful solitude in a dense and gloomy bamboo grove.

Line 2: For an explanation of this “whistle,” see poem 109, line 8n.⁹³

NOTE [to poem 109]

Line 8: A “whistle” (*xiao*) was probably a combination of Taoist breathing techniques and whistling which was said to express feelings and was associated with harmonizing with nature and achieving immortality; the word

⁹¹ Translators: W.J.B. Fletcher, 1919; Bynner and Kiang, 1929; Soame Jenyns, 1944; G. Margoulies, 1948; Peter A. Boodberg, 1954; G. Yin-nan Chang and Lewis C. Walmsley, 1958; C.J. Chen and Michael Bullock, 1960; James J.Y. Liu, 1962; Kenneth Rexroth, 1970; Burton Watson, 1971; Wai-lim Yip, 1972; François Cheng, 1977; Gary Snyder, 1978; H.C. Chang, 1977 and Pauline Yu, 1980.

⁹² Appendix J.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p.204.

has also been translated as “humming,” “singing,” and “crooning.” The tradition of the *xiao* began during the Jin dynasty and has always been linked with Taoism. Its most famous practitioner was Sun Deng, a friend of the poet Ruan Ji, whose *xiao* was supposed to sound like a phoenix (see poem 46, line 11n.). By the Tang there were apparently twelve different types of *xiao*.⁹⁴

Yu provides footnotes with attention to detail not present in the re-created poems of Pound and Waley at the beginning of the twentieth century. Both Yu and Saussy give annotations of customs and traditions for their poems, in an attempt to avoid reader misunderstanding. In this they return to the comprehensive annotations of Legge. This does not eliminate all misinterpretation, inadvertently caused by isogesis, but it does reduce the likelihood of terminology confusing or thwarting the reader from receiving accurate poetic images. Supplying annotation can work completely in reverse as can a cascade of annotations, such as in the example above, Yu’s annotations, where notes for poem 204 lead to notes for poem 109 and these lead, in turn, to poem 46. At this stage the reader is concerned with terminology, history and myth to the extent that, by following the trail of well-meaning information, they may well be distracted from the image of the poem. Balance and sensitivity to the reader, as Liu implied in his depiction of Chinese poetry as art, is vital for maintaining the integrity of both the original poem for interpretation by the translator and its re-created form for reader interpretation.

Yu aimed to make her rendering opaque and accessible for her readers. Yin-nan Chang and Lewis Walmsley go to quite the opposite extreme in their rendering of the poem:

⁹⁴ Ibid., p.191.

My Hermitage in the Bamboo Grove

Deep in the Bamboo Grove, sitting alone,
 I thumb my lute as I whistle a tune.
 No one knows I am in this thicket
 Save the bright moon looking down on me.⁹⁵

The use of the word ‘thumb’ by Chang and Walmsley, as opposed to ‘play’ by Yu, raises an issue worth exploring because ‘to thumb’ is ‘to play (a stringed instrument) monotonously or unskilfully’ whereas to ‘to play’ is ‘to perform or be able to perform on (a musical instrument)’.⁹⁶ One re-creator implies a degree of competency on the instrument whereas the others imply a lack of skill. This might be intentional, however, it might just as easily be an effort by the re-creators to add a degree of antiquity to the line by using a word close to ‘strummed’ but not in common modern use, unintentionally sending a message that they had no intention of conveying. Trying to create a sense of antiquity in a poem that is c.1300 years old has merit, however, using words not in contemporary usage in the target language can inadvertently misrepresent the original poet’s text.

Anthology as Montage

Another Wang Wei poem, re-created in English by several translators in this study – Yu, Liu, Watson and Snyder – as well as other re-creators during the twentieth century, provides an even better opportunity for comparative analysis and access to interpretive approaches throughout the twentieth century. Yu calls her re-creation of the poem ‘Deer

⁹⁵ Yin-nan Chang and Lewis C. Walmsley (trans), *Poems by Wang Wei*, Charles Tuttle Company, Rutland, Vermont and Tokyo, Japan, 1958, p. 42. Appendix K.

⁹⁶ Oxford English Dictionary.

Enclosure’ but this is the translator’s choice because classical Chinese poems were untitled in their original form.⁹⁷

The fact that most translators in *Nineteen Ways of Looking at Wang Wei* chose to give their interpretations a title, which shows the dominance of Western critical tastes in the genre and raises another important issue: what conventions are acceptable in the ‘borderlands’ that this genre inhabits?⁹⁸ Should the Western convention of titles be deferred in a sense of respect or accommodation to the Chinese convention? The stable or normative factor for this study is the Chinese poem in character form, from which the re-created poems are derived. If there were no titles for the original poems, why do they need titles in English? Each translator answers these questions according to their own approach; their adherence to the presentation of the Chinese original may be their choice or imposed by publication imposts.

In *Nineteen Ways of Looking at Wang Wei*, eleven out of twenty re-creators chose to title their interpretations.⁹⁹ Among other re-creators who ‘invented’ titles for their English rendition of Wang’s poem were Watson, Chang and Walmsley and Yip and two

⁹⁷ Ibid. Changes in approach to the interpretation of re-created classical Chinese poetry re-created as English had a similar effect other alphabetic re-creations, for example, G. Margoulies, 1948 (French) pp.14-15; Octavio Paz, 1974 (Spanish) pp. 30-31 and François Cheng, 1977 (French), pp. 36-37.

⁹⁸ Weinberger and Paz 1987. Seventeen translators created titles for Wang’s poem: Fletcher, ‘The Form of the Deer’; Bynner and Kiang, ‘Deer-Park Hermitage’; Jenys, ‘The Deer Park’; Margoulies, ‘La Forêt’ (in French); Chang and Walmsley, ‘Deer Forest Hermitage’; Chen and Bullock, ‘The Deer Enclosure’; Rexroth, ‘Deep in the Mountain Wilderness’; Watson, ‘Deer Fence’; [cont. p. 191] Yip, ‘Deer Enclosure’; Robinson, ‘Deer Park’; Paz, 1974, ‘En la Ermita del Parque de los Venados’ (Spanish); McNaughton, ‘Li Ch’ai’; Cheng, 1977, ‘Clos aux cerfs’ (French) and Yu, 1980, ‘Deer Enclosure’.

⁹⁹ Ibid. Appendix J.

who did not – Snyder and Liu.¹⁰⁰ The creation of titles, or indeed non-use of titles, is significant because it provides valuable insights into the approaches of these re-creators. Watson’s use of a title follows the approach of Waley who consistently used titles. Yu, Watson and Waley use footnotes to guide readers where Pound and Snyder do not. The risk takers, the generational renewal translators, seem to want their re-creations of classical Chinese poems to speak for themselves. Weinberger and Paz provide a large number of re-creations of this poem in *Nineteen Ways of Looking at Wang Wei*, and it is in their choices for inclusion and exclusion that the importance of interpretation becomes visible.¹⁰¹

Comparative Analysis: Poetic Montage

Weinberger and Paz start with the poem in Chinese written characters, give the poem in *pin-yin* and then as a literal translation before proceeding to the re-creations in English. This gives the greatest opportunity for readers to appreciate the poem in as many formats as possible – with all forms equally accessible. Taking only those re-creations made by translators that are the subject of this thesis – Watson, Snyder and Liu – interpretive differences are evident. Liu uses a traditional English format: rhyming the end of lines two and four, ‘resound’ and ‘ground,’ and starting each line with a capital letter. The

¹⁰⁰ Weinberger and Paz: Watson, p. 24: ‘Deer Fence’; Chang and Walmsley, p. 16, ‘Deer Forest Hermitage’; Rexroth, p. 22: ‘Deep in the Mountain Wilderness’; Yip, p. 26: ‘Deer Enclosure’. Appendix J; see also Yu, 1980, p. 202: ‘Deer Enclosure’; Liu, p. 20 and Snyder, p. 42. Appendix J.

¹⁰¹ Translators: W.J.B. Fletcher, 1919; Bynner and Kiang, 1929; Soame Jenyns, 1944; Peter A. Boodberg, 1954; Yin-nan Chang and Lewis C. Walmsley, 1958; C.J. Chen and Michael Bullock, 1960; James J.Y. Liu, 1962; Burton Watson, 1971; Wai-lim Yip, 1972; H.C. Chang, 1977; Gary Snyder, 1978. See also Yu, 1980. Appendix J.

English is cumbersome in order to achieve these formalities, for example, ‘human voices are heard to resound’. His last couplet reads:

The reflected sunlight pierces the deep forest
And falls again upon the mossy ground.¹⁰²

Watson, using neither rhyme nor capitals, creates a clear image in uncomplicated language:

late sunlight enters the deep wood,
shining over the green moss again.¹⁰³

He states the colour of the moss whereas Liu merely implies it. Snyder also states the colour of the moss and uses simple language to create his image but his line placement adds complexity for the reader as does his enigmatic ‘moss, above’. This line challenges readers to interpret the ‘above’ in the light of their own experience. This places different expectations on the reader than either of the other two translators:

Returning sunlight
enters the dark woods;
Again shining
on the green moss, above.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 20.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 24.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 42; Gary Snyder, 1978.

This example demonstrates possibilities that open up interpretation of re-created poetry to make it ‘anew’ for each generation, as Pound had hoped. Snyder and Weinberger, according to Saussy, re-created it with Pound’s methodology:

... by now this is more or less ‘how we do it’ in English, and if you tried to do it some other way it would probably sound false, Victorian and strange.¹⁰⁵

It is in the choices of Weinberger and Paz, different re-creations of the same poem by Wang Wei, that Saussy becomes visible. Saussy sees this approach to re-creating poetry as a continuum cascading down from Pound to Snyder and Weinberger:

And that is just when the ‘naturalness’ argument about Chinese poetry began to re-emerge as an interpretive position. The path then runs from a theory about Chinese writing (Fenollosa [and Pound]) to a practice of translation and a poetic canon (Watson, Yip, Snyder, and many others) to an ethnographically inflected attitude about the reception of literature (Owen, Yu, and others).¹⁰⁶

Yet, as we have seen in Chapter 2, Watson does not follow Pound to the same degree that Snyder does and yet his re-creations do not sound ‘Victorian and strange’. His interpretation follows a middle path – bound by neither rhyming nor radical theory – so perhaps he is a special case. The life experiences, their past, that each translator brings to the process is the key to his or her approach, however, biographical details are not always readily available. Historical context is more readily available and in the case of re-created poetry although Saussy warns that ‘historical influence is indirect, filtered, and

¹⁰⁵ Saussy, 2004a. Appendix I.

¹⁰⁶ Saussy, 2001, p. 65. The addition of Pound is mine in placing the theory of ‘Chinese characters’ in context.

moderated' it becomes the process through which 'Chinese poetry has come to have a voice in English'.¹⁰⁷

Montage and Reader Reception

Saussy's Weinberger and Paz example, which offers the poem in characters, pinyin, a transliteration and interpretations of sixteen different re-creators, is an example of how 'success or failure of translations' are determined by how 'potentials in the original become entrenched over time'.¹⁰⁸ In order to focus on shifts in interpretive approaches to the genre, comparisons will be limited to renderings from approximately each decade of the twentieth century. Close reading of the following opening couplets is followed by considering them as poetic montage: images layered one upon another until one unified idea, one clear image, is confirmed by the neural networks of the reader as a pattern – schemata. In this way alphabetic language depicts thought communicated by a Chinese character or characters. This is Pound's vision, his ideogrammic theory in practice and it is what Saussy sees as the continuation of this theory in practice:

1919: J. W. B. Fletcher

So lone seem the hills; there is no one in sight there.
But whence is the echo of voices I hear?¹⁰⁹

1929: Witter Bynner & Kiang Kang-hu

There seems to be no one on the empty mountain...
And yet I think I hear a voice,¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 64.

¹⁰⁹ W.J.B. Fletcher, 1919, in *ibid.*, p. 8. Appendix J.

1944: Soame Jenyns

An empty hill, and no one in sight
But I hear the echo of voices.¹¹¹

1962: James J. Y. Liu

On the empty mountains no one can be seen,
But human voices are heard to resound.¹¹²

1971: Burton Watson

Empty hills, no one in sight,
only the sound of someone talking;¹¹³

1978: Gary Snyder

Empty mountains:
 no one to be seen.
Yet - hear -
 human sounds and echoes.¹¹⁴

1980: Pauline Yu

Empty mountain, no man is seen.
Only heard are echoes of men's talk.¹¹⁵

The montage is made, the image formed and the verdict obvious: composite concrete images transmit a clearer picture than any one re-created image can make. Individually, each image lacks something and some qualify for 'caveman-speak'. Saussy might well have difficulty with the couplet attributed to Yu due to the lack of contemporary language flow, however, Yu's goal is to emphasize the emptiness of the mountainside. Her

¹¹⁰ Bynner and Kiang, 1929, *ibid.*, p. 10. Appendix J.

¹¹¹ Soame Jenyns, 1944, in *ibid.*, p. 12. Appendix J.

¹¹² Liu, 1962, in *ibid.*, p. 20. Appendix J.

¹¹³ Burton Watson 1971, in *ibid.*, p. 24. Appendix J.

¹¹⁴ Gary Snyder, 1978, in *ibid.*, p. 42. Appendix J.

¹¹⁵ Yu, 1980, p. 202.

succinct, re-created couplet has four negative images – ‘empty,’ ‘no,’ ‘only’ and ‘echoes’ – to Snyder’s three – ‘empty,’ ‘no-one’ and ‘echoes’. Snyder’s rendition also has a positive image – ‘Yet – hear – human sounds’ – distracting the reader from the full force of the lonely place. Yu suggests that ‘empty’ may imply three elements: ‘unpopulated state,’ the mountain’s ‘illusionary nature’ and its ‘ultimate reality’. The concrete images of each couplet compound to create a powerful image which rests on auditory sensory appeal, as opposed to visual.¹¹⁶ Employment of concrete imagery is an important element of classical Chinese poetry. Concrete images must continue in re-created forms making the approaches of translators vital to the genre.

Recapitulation

Yu and Saussy provide us with an overview of their interpretive trends taking the genre to the global stage from two different approaches. Yu is a striking example of a twentieth century translator of classical Chinese poetry who made unique career choices taking her approaches to poetic re-creation with her into the administrative realm. Saussy also chose a different path, a wider perspective, to most translators of the genre. His interests complement the traditional roots of Chinese poetry – part of the arts in general – returning the genre to its Chinese roots. Yu and Saussy provide each other with a comparative mirror.

Saussy represents a new breed of re-creators: multilingual, internet literate, tireless in their pursuit of texts that move with ease artistically and transculturally across

¹¹⁶Ibid., p. 167.

borderlands, and sensitive to the poetry's cultural roots. Saussy, Chang, Weinberger and Paz, acting as editors, offer wider options to readers: Saussy and Chang by anthologising the widest selection of the genre composed by women poets and Weinberger and Paz by anthologising multiple re-creations of one poem by several translators. In both of these the role of editor is central to publication of future innovative anthologies of the genre. This requires, however, both administrative power and a deep awareness of the value of re-created Chinese poetry. Ideally, editors are translators of the genre.

As translator and critical analyst of re-created classical Chinese poetry over the past thirty years, Yu has a major investment in the genre. She raised the notion of anthologies as a rich source of historical Chinese texts and a canonical tool for anthropological research. Her analogy of the poems as 'museums' empowers translators and editors; it increases the importance of their choices for publication. Re-created poems assume enormous importance as museum pieces taken out of their original time and space to become representative of it. The inherent dangers of choices made by translators and editors places additional pressure on these curators of Chinese historicity. Both are constrained by similar entities: translators intuitively choose classical Chinese poems that re-create fluidly into English and editors choose what will be published and sold to readers, completing the necessary chain of events for reader reception. Informed interpretive choices by translators who are also editors of anthologies, such as Yu or Owen, and editors of collaborative anthologies, like Chang and Saussy or Rexroth and Chung, where choices have both gender and isogetical balance, offer a greater possibility of avoiding narrow editorial choice.

Compound anthologies, with multiple renderings of the one poem by several translators, with several re-creations of particular poems by specific translators or multiple renderings of one poem by one re-creator, all allow readers to interpret the poetic images as montage. Karlgren's transliterations of *Shijing* poems also offer an opportunity for readers to consider poetic montage of transcultural texts but cannot be considered as re-created poems for their lack of poetic metre. They do provide an example of what Yu suggests when she states that translations of the genre are made for different purposes. Multiple renderings of one poem by several re-creators are uncommon in this genre although the internet, a pioneer in the genre of re-created classical Chinese poetry, to some extent addresses this problem. Anthologies provide a rich source of communication for those translators and editors like Saussy who enjoy collaborative projects. As anthologising gathers momentum as an approach to the genre, the role of publishers becomes critical. Failure of this approach to become common practice might indicate that publishers are unaware of its importance or they might be victims of the practice of financial restraint in the publishing industry. Yu raised the danger of this restraint on Western publishers, particularly university publishers, in her experience of getting her dissertation on Wang Wei published.

In the light of Yu's scholarship on Wang Wei, it is interesting that Weinberger and Paz left her re-creation out of their Wang Wei edition although it had been in the public domain for several years. In fact, the Weinberger and Paz edition used no women translators. Chang and Saussy addressed the neglect of women poets of traditional China in the most significant way since the two Rexroth and Chung books in the 1970s. Chang and Saussy employed sixty-three translators with equity in gender balance. This

publication addressed the contribution of women poets to classical Chinese poetry and women translators of the genre, reflecting the influence of feminists on editorial and publishing policies during the previous two decades. Anthologies such as *Women Writers of Traditional China*, *Nineteen Ways of Looking at Wang Wei* and *The New Directions Anthology of Classical Chinese Poetry*, show an interesting direction that anthologies of the genre have taken at the end of the twentieth century. By encouraging translators to publish 'borderlands anthologies,' which challenge the conservative boundaries and establish new or less-often explored areas, publishers allow the genre to expand its potential in a global market place.

Saussy interprets the genre as a practitioner of the arts in general and in so doing develops reader perceptions of the genre as a holistic, artistic product. Yu takes re-created classical Chinese poetry into her context, the contemporary literati of the United States, when she addresses academics, including publishers. Both play a unique role in returning the genre to its roots, as part of the arts in general, particularly as publication faces the challenges of burgeoning technologies. Saussy and Yu are advocates of anthologising as a responsible way of re-creating classical Chinese poetry as English poetry.

CONCLUSION

Introduction

This section of the thesis draws together those dominant elements that have changed interpretive approaches of classical Chinese poetry re-created as English poetry during the twentieth century. The first segment assesses how life experience and environmental factors of translators in this study resulted in changes to interpretive approaches to the genre. The second segment discusses specific factors causing change in interpretation of the genre: isogesis, critical theories, difference and similarity, war, Japanese scholarship, philology and sinology, publication choices and anthologising. The third segment reviews approaches that return the genre to its historical roots and the fourth segment suggests how twentieth century approaches to interpretation of the genre built a foundation for approaches in the third millennium.

Reviewing Significant Contributions

The Pound-Waley Era

The unique contributions of Pound and Waley resulted in the most dramatic and lasting changes in approach to interpreting of the genre, dominating approaches of the twentieth century. Pound's strength of character, coupled with his intuitive poetic expertise, generated respect in Euro-American poetic circles and gave him unique access to Fenollosa's papers on Chinese characters and poetics. These personal attributes also gave him license to experiment with poetry, both original and re-created. Examination of his recreations show that they are easily read – which was indeed his motivation for choice of poems to interpret – but perhaps will date more easily.

They both contributed to a significant shift in interpretation of the genre while working in the climate of Euro-American Modernism with its edicts of renewal and

experimentation. Pound's agreement with Mallarmé's deliberations on the semantic element of words, adoption of Fenollosa's perceptions, experimentation with Japanese haiku and use of succinct Chinese poetic expression, all in a modernist poetic climate, promoted imagism as a Western poetic tool. His use of imagism, vortex, juxtaposition and montage affected Western perceptions of the genre of re-created classical Chinese poetry. His promotion of Fenollosa's ideogrammic theory was acknowledged by Euro-American critique and by some Chinese literary circles. Pound's use of montage in re-created Chinese poems reflected the montage already in effect in *Shijing* poems for over 2,500 years. Hence, ideogrammic theory founded on classical Chinese poetics, influenced Western poetics as well as the genre of re-created classical Chinese poetry. Pound was certainly eccentric and innovative but Waley also had unconventional methods. His personal life was both a mystery and surprise but his re-creations held conservative values.

The intuitive poeticism of Waley – used only to re-create classical Chinese poetry – coupled with his sinological expertise, counterbalanced the poetic genius and poetic experimentation of Pound. Waley also responded to the use of montage in classical Chinese poetry but placed greater emphasis on what he perceived as a more important element of the poems – rhythm. His self-imposed limitation, choosing only poems that could be re-created fluidly and rhythmically into English, created a false impression that all classical Chinese poetry is easily interpreted. Karlgren challenged Waley's early interpretations on the grounds of poor philological expertise, however, Waley's lack of adherence to Karlgren's standards may well be why Waley's re-creations appealed to a Western readership. No doubt the disparity noted by Karlgren, between his own direct transcriptions of Chinese poetry and Waley's re-creations as English poetry, are in part the result of Waley's romanticising of oriental artistic products. In spite of self-imposed strictures, Waley's interpretations proved popular because they read well as English poetry. Just as WWI stimulated change in approach to the interpretation of the genre, it

took another world war to precipitate further significant change yet even that change bore the hallmarks of Pound and Waley.

Watson and Snyder

WWII, followed by the Korean and Vietnamese Wars, stimulated an American literary movement, Beat, which echoed the modernist edict of simplicity, artistry and rejection of conservative principles. A desire for alternative strategies of peace, health and wholeness in contemporary Western readership stimulated a thirst for Far Eastern texts in the global marketplace. Snyder chose to re-create the poems of Daoist/Buddhist hermit Han Shan because these poems accommodated the sentiments that he wanted to transmit – Zen/Chan Buddhism and bioregional ecology.

Watson, like Waley, approached the interpretation of classical Chinese poetry as a scholar of Far Eastern texts. Watson confirmed the longevity of the friendships formed in Kyoto, including his lifelong friendship with Snyder. His view that re-creators of classical Chinese poetry are ‘a close-knit group’ suggests discussion on interpretive approaches for the genre between latter twentieth century translators. Their prose styles in personal communications reflect their interpretive approaches. Watson’s patient and explanatory letter makes it unsurprising that he leans toward translating Buddhist poetry while Snyder’s succinct and dogmatic style shows the same clipped, concrete images as his re-creations. It is clear that Snyder employs language that projects his own life experience and beliefs. His uncluttered images and colourful colloquial phrases project a philosophy of anti-materialism, a reflection of his bioregional philosophy. This does not, however, affect the impact of his vocabulary choices. In comparison to Watson, Snyder uses more assertive language. The influence of personal ideologies in the interpretive processes is clearly observable in re-created poems and is confirmed directly by Watson. Snyder’s renditions

of Han Shan are clearly affected by his personal passions – regional bio-environmentalism, mountaineering and composing poetry.

When Snyder the poet and Watson a master of Far Eastern texts chose to interpret Tang poetry, they attracted a wide readership. By addressing common human conditions and natural imagery, Tang poetry is some of the most widely read of a canon that spans three millennia. The re-creations of poems attributed to Han Shan by Snyder and Watson witness the appeal of Tang poetry. Watson provided readers with re-created Han Shan that responded to a post-WWII human desire for peace and Snyder re-created Han Shan poems that challenge human greed and self-interest. Their combined contributions moved the genre from a position of mysterious and ‘other’ to a role of alternative and informative for a contemporary Western society, before the burden of orientalism.

Liu and Owen

Liu and Owen entered the Western theoretical arena at slightly different chronological periods, Liu in 1962 and Owen in 1975, but both made a significant impact on approaches to interpretation of the genre during a time of heightened awareness of the dangers of imposing Western values on Eastern texts, the 1970s and 1980s. Said’s *Orientalism* (1978) attracted the attention of translators and theorists by increasing their awareness of the possibility of warped representations of Asia through acculturated translation - isogesis. Owen spoke from a Western academy position while Liu used this same platform to promote interpretive synthesis by adding a Chinese perspective. Liu, as a scholar of the East revealing Chinese poetic theories to a Western scholarship, provided insights into the challenges of the genre.

Liu wanted Euro-American critique to accommodate Chinese poetic theories. In his structured representation of a creativity cycle – world, artist, work and reader – Liu sought to reconcile the Chinese poetic horizon with the English horizon of the re-created

poem while sustaining the integrity of the text, yet he recognized that this approach had limitations. Readers are part of his creative cycle but with translators determining the shape of the interpretive zone, readers have limited opportunity to enter into the interpretive process. The simplicity of Liu's model is misleading. A representation of translated texts needs greater depth, for example – the poem, the contemporary world, the translator and the re-created text – but even this model is incomplete and misleading. The worlds of the poet and the translator are multilayered: familial, geographical, national and educational, including contemporary theories of poetry, translation, and literature. A flowchart representation of re-created poetry that addresses the complexity of translated texts needs the expertise of digital designers.

Owen claims that translators of Chinese poetry make informed, creative approximations of the poem while readers participate in a continuing process. This highlights the issue of cultural space for translated texts. Pratt's 'contact zones,' Dirlik's 'borderlands' theory and Bhabha's 'in-between' texts, all suggest unique spatial regions that maintain the integrity of both the original and the target languages. Re-created Chinese poetry generates its own space by permeating spatial and temporal boundaries to produce a borderlands genre, a transcultural genre, capable of renewal by translators for each new generation of readers. It transcends both cultural spaces and historical values while attempting to stimulate the same or similar cognitive response from the reader that the Chinese poem aroused in the translator. These are engendered by the translator laying trails, suggesting and approximating, without corrupting the integrity of the original text. In this way readers become active participants in the interpretive process so that meaning lost in the inadequacies of the translation process is regained in re-creation, generating an effective new poem – part of a future world poetic canon.

As early as 1977, Liu saw the value of promoting the genre as transcultural, although not to the extent of Owen's vision for a world poetry paralleling the rise of

globalisation. Both wanted to circumvent cultural misunderstanding. Owen advocated publishing re-created Chinese poems in dynastic groups, or sub-groups – relating to the human condition, nature, war or boudoir poems – to strengthen the probability of sound interpretation. His approach is cultural holism based on the premise that a large enough group of a similar texture or time enhances the awareness of readers to the cultural nuances of any specific poem. Owen promotes poetry that transmits smoothly from one culture to another, as a transcultural message, not as a fractured transfer of a cross-cultural communication. A world poetic canon, as advocated by Owen, is transcultural poetry capable of interpretation by global audiences and necessitating some common space. Liu argued against this on the basis that even knowledge of the culture producing the poem does not ensure equitable cultural reception. Both Liu and Owen viewed the genre as a transcultural literary agent. In the borderlands of Chinese and English literature, such as classical Chinese poetry rendered as English poetry, translators are facilitators of a creative product. As contributors to this process, Yu and Saussy support these tenets but also add other critical perspectives to interpreting the genre.

Yu and Saussy

Postmodernism placed Yu and Saussy in a climate of radical rejection of previous twentieth century critiques yet both valued the approaches of their predecessors – for Yu it is Liu and for Saussy it is Pound and Snyder. Yu has worked tirelessly in the genre, as translator and theorist, over the past thirty years. She does not consider herself a translator, since she is now in academic administration, yet her scholarly roots and passion for this genre are still evident in papers that she delivers today. Her contribution to changing approaches to interpretation of the genre lies not only in her translating skills, honed by her mentor Liu, but also in her editing skills. Yu joins scholars like Owen, Bol and Peterson to provide multiple perspectives on re-created classical Chinese poetry, particularly in the

critique of classical Chinese texts. Saussy also chose a different path, a wider perspective, than most translators of classical Chinese poetry. Saussy is an exemplar of a new wave of comparativists in Western scholarship – reflecting the traditional Chinese view of poetry – as an integral part of the arts in general. Yu and Saussy provide each other with a comparative mirror of approaches to interpretation of the genre.

Saussy, a multilingual translator working in the area of comparative literature, opens the door to collaborative artistic creation, including poetic re-creation, using third millennium technologies. Saussy interprets the genre holistically, publishing classical Chinese texts both in hard-copy books and in multilingual digital format. Saussy publishes collaboratively with Kang-i Chang in print and with a composite group of academics and artists on a technological creation for public space – the *Yi Jing* in the ‘Rosetta Stone’. Yu approaches the challenges of technology from a different stance. From her administrative viewpoint, she argues for continuance of university hard-copy publishing of academic studies in the face of a rising tide of e-publishing. Yu joins Saussy in advocating anthologies of re-created classical Chinese poetry to widening choice for readers entering into the interpretive process.

Addressing contemporary literati of America, Yu argued for anthologies as a rich source of historical Chinese texts and a canonical tool for anthropological research. Using the analogy of a museum, Yu posed transcultural genres as repositories of historical and cultural knowledge, consequently making translators responsible for providing as accurate as possible a representation of the poem’s time and place. Her analogy paralleled the rise of memoir as a postmodern genre. Apart from translations of the *Shijing*, by almost every committed translator, including Pound, Waley, Karlgren and Watson, anthologies provided a wide and varied spectrum of the genre during the latter half of the twentieth century. Following two small anthologies by Rexroth and Chung, Chang and Saussy produced the first comprehensive anthology of re-created classical Chinese poetry composed by women.

This book responds to feminist theory's call for gender equity. These anthologies of Chinese women's poetry were co-edited: male and female editors representing both Eastern and Western scholarship and overtly addressing a cultural and gender balance. Chang and Saussy also achieved a gender balance of contributing translators proclaiming a new sensitivity for interpreters of the genre. Saussy's translation contributions to the anthology he co-edited with Chang show a propensity for extensive biographical, historical and cultural annotation. He values anthologies, such as those by Weinberger, which allow comparison multiple re-creations of Chinese poems. The Weinberger and Paz anthology provides the Chinese poem in characters as well as multiple re-creations in English providing bilingual readers an extra element to assist interpretation of the poem and enhance aesthetic balance.

Artistic collaboration, as practiced by Saussy, and critical collaboration, as practiced by Yu, suggests a shift in approaches to the genre bridging the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Yu's vision of the genre as an archive of historical Chinese culture, while tainted by the inherent dangers of translation imperfections, confirms it as a primary source of cultural information from Zhou China. Saussy, by embracing artistic holism, builds on the aesthetic approaches of Pound and Waley while adopting innovative technology as an art medium for the genre.

Summary

Pound, influenced by modernism's sense of renewal and Fenollosa's notes on East Asian literature, arguably contributed the greatest change to interpretive theory of classical Chinese poetry re-created as English poetry. Waley, on the other hand, was also influenced by modernism. He contributed expertise in sinology while pioneering popularising of the genre. Saussy's view that contemporary approaches to interpreting the genre in English follow in the vein of Pound and Snyder appears to be the case. The Fenollosa/Pound

ideogrammic method, tailored poetically by Snyder to the needs of the later half of the twentieth century, provides a striking departure from nineteenth century poetic re-creation of the genre. Like Pound, Snyder has spent most of his working life writing poetry, with translation as a side-line. Waley and Watson preface their editions with expositions on interpretation, while Pound and Snyder let their re-creations speak for them. Poets – Pound and Snyder – used no exegetical notes while Waley, the unsung poet, used few except where his focus was on a specific poet such as Bo Juyi. This sparsity of annotation appears to underlie Karlgren's difficulty with Waley's re-creations of the *Shijing* odes. Liu utilised Chinese analysis, Owen and Yu employed critical analysis and comparativists like Saussy embedded re-creations in biography and cultural information. Supplying as much explanatory information as possible, while leaving the meaning of ambiguous texts open to interpretation, involves readers more fully in the interpretive process. Unfortunately, this also increases the risk of isogesis, this time by readers.

Common Factors Affecting Interpretation

Isogesis

When Waley tried to avoid an element of isogesis – by re-creating the rhythm of Chinese poems in his English renditions – he limited his choices and altered the tone of his poems, sometimes to the detriment of their philological accuracy. One of his critics, Karlgren, made a significant contribution to philological aspects of the genre by adapting the theories of his mentor, Lundell, to fit classical Chinese texts. Unfortunately, recent discoveries of ancient texts in China invalidate much of Lundell's approach, providing a clear example of the dangers of isogesis. For Pound, it was predominantly his early dependence on Fenollosa's notes that caused isogetical errors. Fenollosa saw, and Pound accepted, that Chinese written characters were mere ideograms, independent of articulation, and therefore the answer to a Euro-American literary 'Holy Grail' – a perfect poetic medium.

Misinterpretation of the Chinese written character resulted from reading the characters from a Western perspective, although some Chinese scholars did accept the Fenollosa/Pound theory.

Pound and Snyder, Waley and Watson, were all influenced by both Japanese and Euro-American scholarship. These four men, two poets and two sinologists, contributed the most lasting influences on changes to interpretive approaches to the genre yet none may be read in isolation to form a singular textual truth. Read in juxtaposition, the re-creations of all four will provide a balance of truths for final interpretation by readers. Reliance on the linguistically known to provide foundation and confirmation for interpreting the unknown, in this case poems in written Chinese characters re-created as poems in alphabetic English, necessarily causes concern. Just as lenses of a particular colour filter specific visual wave lengths, familiar interpretive theories unconsciously filter interpretations of the unknown. This study has confirmed the importance of readers accessing this genre in anthologies – several versions of the same Chinese poem re-created in English by different translators – to give readers greater opportunity to form their own interpretations from a wide variety of critical interpretive approaches.

Although Saussy expresses a personal desire to re-create multiple interpretations of a Chinese poem, montage re-creations by one translator are still open to isogesis because all of the interpretations are subject to the same cultural perspective, that of the translator. For example, Karlgren's rendition of the *Shijing* offers multiple options of interpretations, in the form of transliterations, but only his own. A montage of re-creations of a specific Chinese poem by a wide range of translators, from different cultural backgrounds, is one way of reducing the effects of isogesis. Such anthologies are a valiant attempt to overcome the impost of specific critical trends on interpretive approaches to the genre. It remains for translators of the third millennium to continue experimenting with anthologies to provide

re-creations by a variety of translators from a range of critical periods to reduce the effect of isogesis as much as possible.

Critical Theories

Seven major Western critical theories challenged this genre – modernism, Orientalism, feminism, environmentalism, borderlands theory, postmodernism and reader reception theory. Modernism provided the opportunity for Pound's theories – imagism, vorticism and montage and ideogrammic theory – to germinate and flourish as literary trends affecting Euro-American poetry as well as the re-creation of classical Chinese poetry, throughout the twentieth century. After 1978, Said's theory on Asia as interpreted by Euro-American scholars, that is, the unconscious filtering by hegemonic Western values, became one of the most important challenges for twentieth century translators. Said's seminal text created unease in some translators. Although there is little *prima facie* evidence of Orientalism affecting approaches to the interpretation of classical Chinese poetry, it did affect reader reception of the re-created genre.

Early awareness of the challenge of producing transcultural texts came in the way Waley's re-creations were read. In winning the award for the best anthology of English poetry in 1953, his re-creations unwittingly raised a vital interpretive conundrum: should this poetry be read as Chinese poetry, or English poetry or neither? Equally as confusing are Waley's titles of these transcultural poems such as *Chinese Poems* and *Poems from the Chinese*. Pratt's contact zones and Dirlik's borderlands offered hope of escape from this anxiety by suggesting new spatial zones for transcultural texts, such as English re-creations of classical Chinese poetry – inexorably linked to both English poetry and Chinese poetry.

Liu's structuralist approach had a limited affect on the genre. His aesthetic graph clarified the initial process of creation but needs greater flexibility to capture the complexities of translated texts. Liu's Chinese perspective written in a Western context

proved invaluable to Western translators seeking to avoid Said's Orientalism. The concerns of feminism affected few translators of the genre during the twentieth century – Chang and Saussy being two of these exceptions. Their 1999 edition addressed the neglect of women poets of traditional China in the most significant way since the two Rexroth and Chung books in the 1970s, and also employed equity in translator gender balance. These publications reflect the influence of feminism on editing and publishing of the genre during the last three decades of the twentieth century.

Similarity and Difference

The twentieth century started with the appeal of re-created Chinese poetry resting on its difference from Euro-American poetry. Difference created a market for the genre at the beginning of the twentieth-century as Europe and the United States continued their late nineteenth-century fascination with Oriental art and culture. The twentieth century ended with another marketing hope, that the genre holds memories of China worthy of being part of world poetry genre, touching on the similarities between early Chinese poetry and contemporary Euro-American experiential memoirs. Waley, Watson and Snyder favoured Chinese poems based on shared human experiences, explaining why all three chose to re-create Han Shan's poems. Owen agrees that common human values and traits are a sound place to start communication about transcultural poetry and its value to a third millennium readership.

Similarity, an appeal to common emotional experience makes a literary product more economically viable for global trade, potentially creating, in this Chinese/English genre, a highly marketable product. For re-created classical Chinese poetry, difference is not necessarily a conflict in reading but creates a healthy respect for re-creation as a poetic mode. The tyranny of distance, both temporal and spatial, does not prevail for this genre while there remains a continuum of re-creation for each generation and while translators

continue to choose classical Chinese poems, which appeal to common emotional experience. Tragically, war provides one of these common human experiences.

War and Peace

The turmoil of war was an active agent for change, including interpretive change. WWI enhanced the climate of modernism that nurtured imagism and *vers libre*. Gaudier-Brzeska wrote his pivotal essay ‘Vortex Gaudier-Brzeska’ for *BLAST* magazine, from the front-line trenches in WWI France. Imagism, *vers libre* and vorticism affected Pound’s approach to poetics and consequently his approach to the interpretation of classical Chinese poetry. WWII precipitated, and the Korean and Vietnamese Wars strengthened, a peace movement that included the Beat poets and translators Snyder and Rexroth. In the wake of WWII, Watson, Rexroth, Snyder and other American translators were drawn to Japan and the scholarship of Far Eastern texts.

Japanese Scholarship

Japan was an archive for many classical Chinese texts, including poetry, lost in the political turbulence of China. The theories of Japanese academics influenced translators and consequently interpretive change for re-creating classical Chinese poetry. Fenollosa, Watson and Snyder were all steeped in Japanese scholarship and Liu worked with Japanese scholars such as Miner. The works of Tang poets such as Li Bo and Bo Juyi are equally revered in both China and Japan and Han Shan (Kanzan to Japanese readers) is more highly valued by Japanese scholars. Watson explained the importance of Japanese scholarship to his Han Shan renditions: he did not use the Japanese versions to write his English renditions but used them to check that his interpretation of the poems were harmonious with those of Yoshikawa Kōjirō. Although Japanese scholarship was a

significant influence on the interpretation of classical Chinese poetry, it was not the only Japanese influence.

Philosophy and Religion

Japanese Zen fascinated Snyder as much as Italian Fascism seduced Pound: Zen guided Snyder to deeper philosophical insight for the Chan poems of Han Shan, while Pound mistook Confucian values for Fascist values. Judaism and Christianity, the focus of Pound's anti-religious angst, were easy to avoid in classical Chinese poetry as there were few of these written in comparison to a plethora of Confucian, Daoist and Buddhist poems. Watson has translated predominantly Buddhist texts but his overall choices of Chinese poetry for re-creation are balanced. Waley, Snyder and Watson chose to re-create many Han Shan poems that address the challenges that confront a third millennium Western audience – materialism, drugs and spirituality. Han Shan poems from eighth century China re-created in English bridge spatial and temporal barriers to pose a lifestyle philosophy for both post-WWII Beats and contemporary environmentalists. The genre needs sensitive publishers because preserving a canon of transcultural poetry, which relates mutually to Chinese and English literary traditions, needs a publishing format that maintains contact with both traditions.

The Power of Publishers

Pound and Waley offer the first important comparison of publication of the genre in the twentieth century. While Pound developed a strong network of publishing options, including involvement with poetry journals, Waley found it difficult to have his re-creations accepted for publication. Waley's 1961 edition of re-created classical Chinese poems is aesthetically unsurpassed, perhaps contributing to the mystique that makes him the recipient of book dedications by other translators. No publisher since has dared to

accept the economic imposts of creating original paintings, specially milled paper and a unique font in which to embed Waley's re-created classical Chinese poems. Contemporary presentations of this calibre are more economically published via the internet but digital representations can never replace the convenience, or the sensory experience, of books. As a borderland genre re-created classical Chinese poetry challenges publishers because it depends on both languages for existence and therefore belongs to both literary genres, yet arguably it belongs to neither. This genre embraces both English and Chinese literature cultures yet transcends the temporal and spatial bonds of both by its openness to continual re-creation for each new generation, as suggested by Pound.

In the latter part of the twentieth century translators returned to Pound's concept of active involvement in editing and publishing as crucial elements of the interpretive process. This raised the chance of having their interpretations published with the emphasis that translators deem important. Publication is market-driven making aesthetic editions like Waley's or limited editions like *Cathay*, unlikely. It is up to the translators in administrative positions, like Yu, to promote the sensitive publishing of the genre because transcultural texts ultimately build bridges between cultures and facilitate global literary exchange. Translator/editors, such as Watson, Liu, Owen, Yu, Saussy and Chang, offer the greatest possibility of achieving this, notwithstanding publication dictates.

The hybrid nature of this genre increases positive and negative consequences for its publication. On the negative side, publishers dictate what readers receive. Yu's *The Poetry of Wang Wei* was the first volume devoted exclusively to that poet with examples of his poetry embedded in exegeses. Letters to her mentor, Liu, provide insight into the process of publication and demonstrate clearly that the work of translators is subject to publication dictates. Yu's wish to see it published in monograph form was not realized. She had to accept publication dictates, driven by academic market values, or continue to publish it piecemeal as journal papers. Although this is true of all academic publishing, re-created

classical Chinese poetry suffers particularly because it interprets the environment and experiences of the poet so limiting access to information due to publication dictates may alter meaning.

On the positive side, bilingual publication, providing inclusive access to Chinese and Japanese readers as well as English language readers, extends the possible audience to more than 2 billion. With such an incentive it is not surprising that Chinese publishers are currently producing inexpensive editions including the re-creations of several of the translators discussed in this thesis and local Chinese translators. The critical role of economic rationalization employed by editors and publishers must not be underrated. By encouraging translators to publish borderlands anthologies that challenge the conservative boundaries and establish new or less-often explored areas, publishers allow the genre to expand its potential in a global market place. Rising printing costs in Western countries are forcing publishers to follow other manufacturing businesses by using low cost Chinese printing facilities. Ironically, this returns the genre to its cultural roots even if only for the production process.

Returning to Cultural Roots

In Pound's montage and the anthology approach promoted by Yu, the genre returns re-created classical Chinese poetry to its literary cultural roots, the Chinese classical anthology of poetry, the *Shijing*. Two decades before the end of the century, anthologies proclaimed an era of concept fluidity – the possibility for diverse composition – a final shift in interpretive approaches to the genre for re-created classical Chinese poetry in the twentieth century. Collaborative anthologies require sensitive communication between translators and editors and embracing accommodation of difference in interpretive approaches as in the editorial methods for anthologies embraced by Yu, Saussy, Chang and

Weinberger. Another return of the genre to its cultural roots was in publication forms that utilise artistic holism.

Waley, Saussy and Gladys Yang are among the few translators of the twentieth century who published the genre aesthetically – Waley and Yang in books and Saussy in digital format – a holistic, artistic product. At the start of the twentieth century, East Asian art was pivotal to the initial interest of Waley and Pound in the literature of China and Japan. Waley spent his formative years of interest working with Chinese and Japanese art and the interdependence of Chinese painting and poetry, from the Tang dynasty onwards, ensured his interest in classical Chinese poetry. For Pound vorticism, which he viewed as part of all modernist art genres, was integral to his ideogrammic theory. By the end of the twentieth century, Saussy's eclectic approach, in moving across the artistic fields, regains the holistic notion of classical Chinese artistic enterprise.

Music is an art form bound inexorably to the cultural roots of classical Chinese poetry. The *Shijing* is based on odes using of the re-created genre as contemporary lyrics returns Chinese poetry to its cultural roots. Mahler based lyrics on German re-creations and Haas on Czech re-creations. The Haas choices, written in a concentration camp during WWII, echo the sense of loneliness and loss depicted in those *Shijing* odes sung around military campfires in Zhou China. When Waters wrote the lyrics for 'Set the Controls for the Heart of the Sun' based on Graham's enigmatic re-creations of Tang poetry he joined Mahler and Haas in returning Chinese poetry to its traditional roots. As lyrics of contemporary rock music, the genre appealed to contemporary Western youth demonstrating its enduring potential.

Summary of Interpretive Change

Summary of a Century

Shifts in approach to the interpretation of classical Chinese poetry re-created as English poetry during the twentieth century were a result of two main factors – critical theories and environmental factors. Interpretation of the genre was changed by an influx of Western critical theories that affected both translators and readers, however, environmental factors influenced three key players involved in the production of the genre – the Chinese poet, the translator and the reader. All three are products of their linguistic skills, their past and their present: the influence of education, personal passions and contemporary literary trends. It is, however, cumulative environmental factors – political disturbances, religious and social movements and critical theories – that have had the greatest impact on interpretation of the genre. A postmodern emphasis on reader interpretation, at the end of the century, supported the rise of memory studies – oral history, biography, memoirs – allowing classical Chinese poetry to be critiqued as memoirs. This added a previously unexplored dimension to the genre in its role as a transcultural bridge between Chinese and English texts. As the authors of this transcultural text, translators assume the responsibility of transmitting historical and cultural attributes as accurately as possible, within the bounds of isogesis. Where doubt exists for the translator, re-created poems need accompanying exegeses encouraging informed readers' entrée into the interpretive process. A montage of juxtaposed re-creations of one specific poem by several translators, providing greater opportunity to reduce the impact of isogesis, is an approach to interpretation of the genre that needs further critical attention. All of these observations are based on publishing and editing edicts which distort translator output of the genre.

Into the Third Millennium

Third millennium translators of classical Chinese poetry can adopt the positive aspects of interpretive change wrought by translators and editors during the twentieth century by combining the succinctness of Pound and Snyder with the scholarly insight of Waley and Watson, the theoretical balance of Liu with the vision of Owen and Yu and the agile creativity of Saussy. Readers of this transcultural text need access to a wide selection of English re-creations, with historical, philological and sinological notes, preferably in the context of the poem in Chinese characters with a literal English translation. This format provides readers with a wide range of interpretive approaches from which to make their interpretation of the poem. The World Wide Web is an economical medium for this publication format but lacks the aesthetic experience provided by books. Hopefully, the genre of classical Chinese poetry re-created as English poetry will become a cultural force through digital media in the third millennium without subsuming hard copy publications that maintain a sensory advantage over digital reproductions.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Fenollosa's Notes on 'The Beautiful Toilet'.

青 blue [green]	青 blue [green]	河 river	畔 bank side	草 grass
鬱 luxuriantly spread the willow [dense]	鬱 luxuriantly spread the willow [dense]	園 garden	中 in [middle]	柳 willow
盈 fill full	盈 fill full	樓 storied house	上 on	女 girl
[in first bloom of youth]				
皎 white brilliant luminous	皎 white brilliant luminous	當 just face [at]	窗 window [window]	牖 door
娥 beauty of face [adj.]	娥 beauty of face [adj.]	紅 red (or berri)	粉 powder	妝 toilet
纖 slender	纖 slender	出 put forth	素 white blank not dyed	手 hand
昔 in former times	為 was (did)	倡 courtesan	家 house	女 girl
今 now	為 is	蕩 dissipated [wandering] [vagrant]	子 son's	婦 wife
蕩 dissipated [wandering] [vagrant]	子 son	行 go away	不 not	歸 return
空 empty	牀 bed	難 hard	獨 only one alone	守 keep

1

Appendix B

¹ Mei Sheng c.140BCE, 'The Beautiful Toilet', in Yip, 1969, pp. 131/132.

Arthur Waley, Ode 270 (Mao 52)

Look at the rat; he has a skin.
 A man without dignity,
 A man without dignity,
 What is he doing, that he does not die?

Look at the rat; he has teeth.
 A man without poise,
 A man without poise,
 What is he waiting for, that he does not
 die?

Look at the rat; he has limbs.
 A man without manners,
 A man without manners²
 He had best quickly die.³

“*Dentes habat.*”

Catullus

A rat too has a skin (to tan)
 A rat has skin at least
 But a man who is a mere beast
 might as well die,
 his death being end of no decency.

A rat also has teeth
 but this fellow, for all his size, is beneath
 the rat's level,
 why delay his demise?

Why should a man of no moral worth
 clutter the earth?
 This fellow's beneath the fat's *modus*,
 why delay his exodus?

A man without courtesy
 might as well cease to be.⁴

Appendix B, Ezra Pound, Ode 54

VIII
SANS EQUITY AND SANS POISE

² But *li* includes a great deal that we should call religion; for example, sacrificing at the right time.

³ Waley, 1937, p. 299.

⁴ Pound, 1954, p.24.

Appendix C

Arthur Waley, *Translations from the Chinese*, 'Postscript'.

This volume, illustrated and decorated by Cyrus LeRoy Baldridge, was planned by Richard Ellis and produced under his direction. It was composed in a special Monotype cutting of Frederic W. Goudy's Deepdene type made for this edition, with swash letters and revised characters designed by Mr Ellis and with the approval of Mr Goudy. The paper, patterned after old papers of the orient, was manufactured by the P. H. Glatfelter Company, Spring Grove, Pennsylvania. The full-color illustrations were reproduced in Similetone by the Zeese-Wilkinson Company, Long Island City, New York. The cloth, in a natural finish, was made by Bancroft Mills, Wilmington, Delaware. The Composition, Electrotyping, Printing and Binding were by The Haddon Craftsmen, Camden, New Jersey.

⁵ Waley, 1961.

Appendix D

Burton Watson, letter to author, p.1

August 24, 2004

Roslyn Joy Ricci
Centre for Asian Studies
Level 5, Ligertwood Building
The University of Adelaide,
SA 5005 Australia

Dear Roslyn Joy Ricci:

I have received your letter and the enclosed material and will try to respond to your queries as best I can. I hope some of my remarks may be helpful, though at this point you are probably anxious to finish up your thesis. I have added some material on other studies of the English translations of Han-shan's poems that you may or may not wish to look up.

With regard to the influences on my translations of Han-shan, I think you have covered the main points. I would just like to emphasize that there are several important differences between Gary Snyder and myself. He was born and raised in the Pacific northwest, where there are many large mountain ranges, and he had had experience in mountain climbing when he approached the Han-shan poems. So, in a sense, he was able to make the poems sound like real mountains. Although my parents and grandparents were from Texas, I was born and raised in the New York City area, where there are no mountains at all. Thus I did not have any real experience of mountains or mountain climbing when I approached the poems.

Also, Gary was already writing poetry when he did his translations and thus was much more experienced in matters of poetry than I was when I did my translations. (See the xeroxed material enclosed where I comment on my Han-shan translations.) So I think Gary's versions are in most cases better as English poetry than are mine.

Also, although Gary's translations were published in 1958, I did not see them immediately, and when I did see them, the first draft of my translations was already completed. So I was not directly influenced by Gary's work, though I admired it. It was only later that I began to read the Beat poets such as Ginsberg and was influenced by their work.

In Kyoto I studied Chinese literature under Prof. Kōjirō Yoshikawa, the editor of the series in which Iriya's Kanzan appeared. In 1954 Yoshikawa made a visit to America and visited Pound in St. Elizabeth's Hospital. He later wrote a piece in Japanese about the visit and sent it to Pound. Pound asked if someone could translate the piece into English for him, and Yoshikawa asked me to do so. When I sent the translation to Pound, I also sent some of my early translations of Chinese poetry to him to see if he would comment on them. He thanked me but said essentially what you quote him as saying, namely, that "Each generation must translate for itself." I very much appreciated his taking the trouble to answer my letter.

I also might mention that I knew A. C. Graham in Kyoto and later in New York and always admired his Poems of the Late T'ang. I had my students read his translations when I was teaching Chinese literature at Columbia.

Burton Watson, letter to the author, p.2

Page 2

I also might add a note about my use of such Japanese translations as that of Han-shan by Prof. Iriya. Some reviewers of my work apparently have the idea that I translate not from the Chinese originals of the works I translate, but from Japanese translations of such works. This is not true. I always translate directly from the Chinese. But to make certain that I have understood the Chinese correctly, I often look at Japanese or other translations of the poems or prose that I am working on. Otherwise I am afraid that I might make important mistakes in understanding the Chinese — this is particularly a danger in the case of poetry. That was why I relied on Prof. Iriya's translations of Han-shan in making my versions. Gary, of course, had the advantage that his Han-shan translations were done under the supervision of Prof. Ch'en Shih-hsiang at the University of California at Berkeley. Incidentally, I later got to know Prof. Ch'en very well when he spent two sabbatical years in Kyoto.

So you can see that we were all a rather jolly and close-knit group. It is gratifying now to know that students such as yourself are studying the work and influence of persons such as us. I hope you have success with your thesis on the Han-shan poems.

Let me know if there are further questions that I can answer.

I am afraid that all this is rather disorganized, but I hope it answers the queries in your letter. I am enclosing xerox copies from sections of a book called Gary Snyder: Dimensions of a Life, edited by Jon Halper, (San Francisco:Sierra Club Books, 1991). I was asked by the editor to write a short essay about Kyoto in the Fifties, when Gary and I were first there.

The other xeroxes are of the title page and bibliography of a little pamphlet entitled Han Shan in English by Paul Kahn, which was published by White Pine press in 1989. Kahn discusses the English translations of Han-shan's poetry and their impact in America, and in particular compares the translations of Waley, Snyder, and myself. If you are not able to obtain a copy of this work and are interested, I could xerox it and send it to you. Kahn's bibliography contains references to a number of other books and articles pertaining to Han-shan and Han-shan translation.

With best wishes,

Burton Watson

Appendix E

Subject, your proposal

Date, Thu, 21 Oct 2004 13,19,08 -0600

From, GARY SNYDER [address withheld]

To, roslyn.ricci@adelaide.edu.au⁶

‘Burt Watson’s Han-shan work, and mine, are real translations, not “re-creations” if that is taken to mean something “creative” that does not necessarily follow the original. I hew pretty close to the Chinese, and take it line by line. I started them under the guidance of my professor at UC Berkeley, Ch’en Shih-hsiang, when I was a graduate student in East Asian languages, who suggested the Han-shan poems to me when I asked about reading some poetry with a Ch’an connection. It helped that I am also a mountaineer and had just come back from a summer of trail crew labor in the high Sierra. Later, when I was a Zen student in Japan I learned how deeply the Japanese Zen tradition values Han Shan.’

⁶ Gary Snyder, email to the author, 21 Oct. 2003.

Appendix F

James J.Y. Liu 1962

Painted Hawk

Wind and frost rise on the white silk,
The hawk is painted with uncommon
skill.

Stretching his body, he wishes for a
cunning hare;

Looking askance, he resembles a sad
barbarian.

His chain and ring are bright, as if
touchable;

From the railings one could almost call
him forth.

When would he attack the common birds,
Sprinkling their feathers and blood over
the wild plain?⁷

Stephen Owen 1981

Without belittling the moderns,
loving the ancients,
Clear phrases, lovely lines
shall surely be my neighbors.
Secretly yearn for Ch'ü Yüan, Sung Yü
as right to ride side by side,
But afraid that with/compared to Ch'i and
Liang
I'll be the dust behind.⁸

⁷ Liu, 1962, p. 126.

⁸ Owen, 1981, p. 219.

Appendix G

Date, Fri, 12 Mar 2004 00:56:43 -0500
 From, Stephen Owen [address withheld]
 To, [ROSLYN RICCI roslyn.ricci@adelaide.edu.au](mailto:roslyn.ricci@adelaide.edu.au)

Dear Roslyn,

I recall now that you wrote me before, and I'm very sorry that I didn't answer. These are issues I like to talk about, but my life has been so busy of late that I have not had time.

The “world poetry” articles is not about contemporary classical Poetry – though to mention it at all, I suppose, makes it seem so. If I was going to make an argument about modern poetry (and I know your talk is not in that direction), I would like to say that modern China has always had two poetries, classical and xinshi, like the two sides of a body that refuse to talk to one another.

Your larger question will make this e-mail much more than a haiku, since it has many parts. One of these is the claim of poetry to be language specific – the old notion that poetry cannot be translated. The notion that poetry is bound to a particular language, which virtually everyone takes to be an absolute truth, is an idea that grew up with the formation of national languages and literatures in the late 18th century in Europe. That is, it is a historical formation. It has a truth and an untruth.

The untruth is more interesting – first, poetry has always been translated. The earliest Latin poetry is translation from the Greek, and chunks of the Latin poetic corpus seem to be translation; second, even in a given language poems were never stable in the age of manuscripts – they shifted textually and by dialect.

Crossing cultures is a more difficult matter. There is nothing mysterious, alien, or even “other” about it – it is merely unfamiliar. The problem is that it is unfamiliar on a vast scale. There is so much history, so much lore, so many assumptions that need to be internalized. We cannot “be” Tang readers of Tang poetry – but neither could Chinese in the Qing. They had some advantages; we have some advantage – primarily an awareness of our distance.

I thought a great deal about the problems, and finally realized that it was impossible to translate “a Chinese poem” – the only solution (as I explained in the translator's note in the Norton anthology) was to translate if not everything, at least a large enough set that a text could find a place in a whole. I spent a great deal of time on individual translations, but always with the awareness that I was doing those translations in a translation of a cultural whole.

“Common human experience” as you say in your abstract is a good place to begin – this is what I meant above, that Chinese poetry is not “other,” but “unfamiliar.” There are things that cannot translate, but there are things that many Chinese readers, modern and premodern, who might love a particular poem, would not know about that poem. We are always in the realm of approximation in reading poetry; the poem is never finished. So what the translator can do is create interesting approximations, to point directions, to give echoes, to construct families of differences (Li Bai does not “sound like” Du Fu; a shi does not sound like a ci, etc).

I don't know if any of this is clear, but I have gone beyond haiku.

Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,
 Steve Owen

Appendix H

Subject, your proposal**Date**, Tue, 02 Nov 2004 16,17,08 –0500**From**, PAULINE YU [address withheld]**To**, roslyn.ricci@adelaide.edu.au

Dear Joy,

Please accept my apologies for taking so long to respond to your request. I've read your proposal with interest, although I assume – since you mention that it was written two years ago – that you've managed to clarify it somewhat. In general I would agree with your general points that translation of any poetry reflects critical tastes of the time (what you refer to as “isogenesis”) and that anthologists' selections further shape popular perceptions of the genre in crucial ways. I think it's important to keep in mind that there have been many reasons for translations in the twentieth century, that many versions produced for purposes of scholarly argument have quite legitimately not attempted to keep the “poetry,” and that within the world of scholarly translation there's quite a spectrum of opinion on what “fidelity” would be. I didn't see any discussion of philology/sinology in your proposal, the influence of which would seem to be an important element of your study.

How does my own work fit into all of this? I wouldn't claim to call myself a translator for the sake of translation, although I have translated a lot of poetry. I would have preferred to publish my Wang Wei book as a monograph, actually, but the publisher thought that it would sell better as a volume of translations (with commentary), and it probably did. As a scholar, I've seen my goal as producing versions that will allow me to talk about the poems in English; that said, I've tried to translate in as straightforward a way as possible. Though I've therefore produced my share of mistakes and clunkers, this approach works well for students who know some Chinese, who don't seem to appreciate the stylistic liberties other translators with other aims may take (even when I do!).

I'm glad you're talking about the importance of anthologies and critical choice in this whole process. Whether I'd call myself postmodern or poststructuralist, I don't know. I do know that I was one of the first scholars to work extensively in Western critical theory (my dissertation was a phenomenological reading of Wang Wei), and I was often criticized by those philologist-types mentioned above for having done so. Since then I've moved into a more historicist framework, arguing the importance of understanding dimensions of the Chinese critical and historical context. But I suppose my approach to anthologies as instances of the contingencies of choice could be regarded as in the postmodern tradition, and I certainly would not support the notion that the ideal reader is a naïve one.

Good luck with your thesis.

Best,
Pauline

Appendix

Date, Fri, 01 Oct 2004 10,08,21 -0700
From, Haun Saussy [address withheld]
Subject, Re, Message from 'Down Under'
To, Roslyn Joy Ricci roslyn.ricci@adelaide.edu.au

Hi there Roslyn-- I'm glad you got some useful references. I just got back from Africa, so am a little enfeebled in the brain department. Here are the papers you mention.

For general views about the fate of Chinese poetry in English, I think there are some pages in **GREAT WALLS OF DISCOURSE** about Eliot Weinberger and Gary Snyder as continuators of Pound's style. By now this is more or less "how we do it" in English, and if you tried to do it some other way it would probably sound false, Victorian and strange. However, most translators have given up on the resources of English grammar. It's all short sentences, end-stopped lines, often very loose appositive constructions. You don't see subordination of clauses, anaphora, or any of those fun Indo-European tricks being used. That seems to me a pity, and it makes Chinese poetry in translation a monotonous thing to read. In Chinese it's not monotonous at all, but that's because the writers used their own grammatical, tonal, allusive, etc., resources. I plead as guilty as anyone else in my academic translations, but if I were to be more adventurous I would try to do "variations on a theme by..." instead of flat translations – maybe I will get around to that late one night, if the spirit moves me. This makes me think of something else I said in a piece about Bei Dao that is probably still on the Web somewhere, that Eliot Weinberger is the first translator to make him sound like a subtle, articulate person. There's a clear example of someone ill-served by the caveman-speak that's what people expect in translations from the Chinese. I think the third enclosure contains this remark.

Best wishes to you – glad you liked the San Jose pieces, they were great fun to think up and work on with several old friends.

Haun

Appendix J

Date, Wed, 16 Mar 2005 22:42:11 -0500
From, Kang-i Sun Chang <kang-i.chang@yale.edu>
To, **Roslyn Ricci** <roslyn.ricci@adelaide.edu.au>
Subject, Re, Just wondering ...

I have just come back from Beijing, and am really swamped with hundreds of e-mails! Unfortunately I'm leaving for Taiwan soon, and won't have time to answer your question in detail. **I can only say that anthologizing is a productive form of publishing, as it is the most important way of canonizing worthwhile authors in a field.**

In haste,

Kang-i Sun Chang

[Bold highlighting by author]

Appendix K

*Nineteen Ways of Looking at Wang Wei, How a Chinese Poem Is Translated (701-761)*⁹

The Form of the Deer

So Lone seem the hills; there is no one in sight there.
 But whence is the echo of voices I hear?
 The rays of the sunset pierce slanting the forest,
 And in their reflection green mosses appear.
tr. W.J.B. Fletcher, 1919

Deer-Park Hermitage

There seems to be no one on the empty mountain...
 And yet I think I hear a voice,
 Where sunlight, entering a grove,
 Shines back to me from the green moss.
tr. Witter Bynner & Kiang Kang-hu, 1929

The Deer Park

An empty hill, and no one in sight
 But I hear the echo of voices.
 The slanting sun at evening penetrates the deep woods
 And shines reflected on the blue lichens.
tr. Soame Jenyns, 1944

La Forêt

Dans la montagne tout est solitaire,
 On entend de bien loin l'écho des voix humaines,
 Le soleil qui pénètre au fond de la forêt
 Reflete son éclat sur la mousee vert.
tr. G. Margoulies, 1948

Deer Forest Hermitage

Through the deep woods, the slanting sunlight
 Casts motley patterns on the jade-green mosses.
 No glimpse of man in this lonely mountain,
 Yet faint voices drift on the air.
tr. Chang Yin-nan & Lewis C. Walmsley, 1958

⁹ Weinberger and Paz, *passim*.

The Deer Enclosure

On the lone mountain

I meet no one,

I hear only the echo

At an angle the sun's rays
enter the depths of the wood,

And shine

upon the green moss.

tr. C.J. Chen & Michael Bullock, 1960

On the empty mountains no one can be seen,

But human voices are heard to resound.

The reflected sunlight pierces the deep forest

And falls again upon the mossy ground.

tr. James J.Y. Liu, 1962

Clos aux cerfs

Montgne déserte. Personne n'est en vue.

Seuls, les échos des voix résonnent, au loin.

Ombres retournent dans las forêt profonde,

Dernier éclat de la mousse, vert.

tr. François Cheng

Deep in the Mountain Wilderness

Deep in the mountain wilderness

Where nobody ever comes

Only once in a great while

Something like the sound of a far-off voice.

The low ray of the sun

Slip through the dark forest,

And gleam again on the shadowy moss.

tr. Kenneth Rexroth, 1990

Deer Fence

Empty hills, no on in sight,

only the sound of someone talking;

late sunlight enters the deep wood,

shining over the green moss again.

tr. Burton Watson, 1971

Deer Enclosure

Empty mountain, no man is seen,

But voices of men are heard.

Sun's reflection reaches into the woods

And shines upon the green moss.

Tr. Wai-lim Yip, 1972¹⁰

¹⁰ Ibid.

Deer Park

Hills empty, no one to be seen
 We hear only voices echoed -
 With light coming back into the deep wood
 The top of the green moss is lit again.
tr. G.W. Robinson, 1997

En la Ermita del Parque de los Venados

No se ve gente en este monte.
 Sólo se oyen, lejos, voces.
 Por los ramajes la luz rompe.
 Tendida entre las yerba brilla verde.
tr. Octavio Paz, 1974

Li Ch'ai

In empty mountains no one can be seen.
 But here might echoing voices cross.
 Reflecting rays
 entering the deep wood
 Glitter again
 on the dark green moss.
tr. William McNaughton, 1974

The Deer Park

Not the shadow on a man on the deserted hill -
 And yet one hears voices speaking;
 Deep in the seclusion of the woods,
 Stray shafts of the sun pick out the green moss.
tr. H.C. Chang, 1977

Empty mountains,
 no one to be seen.
 Yet - hear -
 human sounds and echoes.
 Returning sunlight
 enters the dark woods;
 Again shining
 on the green moss, above.
tr. Gary Snyder, 1978¹¹

¹¹ Ibid.

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<http://coombs.anu.edu.au/ASAA/conference/proceedings/asaa-2004-proceedings.html>

Abstract

In 2003 Stephen Owen raised the possibility of global recognition and valuing of poetry. Although he is speaking about modern classical Chinese poetry, his proposition is also valid for traditional classical Chinese poetry re-created as English poetry. Owen holds that novels are more easily accepted in translation than poems and this may well be the case because classical poems exist ‘elsewhere’ in time and space – far removed from contemporary Western culture. However, in the case of classical Chinese poetry re-created in English, examples relevant to a contemporary Western readership are not difficult to find. In this paper I shall explore difficulties with the valuing of writing which crosses cultural boundaries, and thus linguistic boundaries, and the problem of whom represents whom in a global judgement of written art. I shall argue that the ‘otherness’ of classical Chinese poetry seduces a Western readership into desiring knowledge about the context of the source poem. Further, I shall argue that ‘otherness’ as a binary is a negative attribute but as ‘desire’ it is a necessary part of wholeness, a wholeness that facilitates understanding of Chinese historicity and thus the advance of this genre onto the global stage as transcultural poetry.

Papers Publication Pending 2006

Refereed, ‘Crossing the Great Divide, Rooting Out East and West,’ Rhizomes, Connecting Languages, Literatures & Cultures Conference, University of Queensland, Brisbane, 12 February 2005. Publication pending, Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Abstract

The solution to the great cultural divide – a binary created by Orientalism and fostered by the nationalist brigade – lies in rhizome literature, specifically poetry. This paper will explore the historical ... and the philosophical ... and the poetical ... to root out the value of transcultural poetry, poetry that fractures barriers and blurs boundaries. This paper explores the conjunction of classical Chinese poetry re-created in European languages, in this case English, by teasing out fine roots, observing growth and suggesting the direction these roots might take into the third millennium.

Classical Chinese poetry is rhizome – its beginnings cannot be traced and its end is not in sight. It arises from the ancient Zhou period in China and continues into modernity as ‘subterranean’ poetry – resisting the tide of modern Chinese poetry – providing a continuing source for re-creation in other languages. Ezra Pound, catalyst for the ‘creation’ of classical Chinese poetry in English, cried ‘Make it new!’ of all poetry including re-created classical Chinese poetry, re-interpret and re-create poetry for each new generation.

Surely 'generation' is rhizome, neither temporal beginning nor end. As such, it relates to the rhizome classical Chinese poetry re-created as English poetry as both continue renewal in echo of Pound's edict. It must, by its very nature, be a dialectical product – a continuum of Chinese poetics 'born again' as the child of Western poetics – interpreted and re-created by translators for each generation and interpreted uniquely again and again by each of its readers. This paper will share some of the fine hair roots of the rhizome – classical Chinese poetry re-created as English poetry – in its process of continual renewal of the genre as transcultural poetry.

'The Power of Poetry, Transversing Time and Space,' The inaugural conference of the Association for the Study of Literature and the Environment (Australia-New Zealand), 'Be True to the Earth,' 31st March – 1st April 2005, Monash University. Publication pending, *Colloquy*, 2006, <http://www.arts.monash.edu.au/others/colloquy/>

Abstract

The poetry of Han Shan, Tang dynasty (618-909) alternative lifestyle advocate, speaks to contemporary Western societies. Whether re-created in English by Gary Snyder, bioregional ecologist and poet, or Burton Watson, renowned translator of East Asian Buddhist texts, Han Shan's poems challenge present-day readers to follow the edict of Nietzsche's Zarathustra to 'remain true to the earth ... with the power of your virtue.' Snyder and Watson permeate temporal and spatial boundaries to allow contemporary entrée to Han Shan's insights through the transcultural genre of re-created classical Chinese poetry. Interpreting the Chan (Zen) thought underlying Han Shan's poetry with sinological eyes, Watson tests Western eco-philosophy. Snyder, an outspoken advocate of bioregional environmentalism derived from indigenous ecological practice and mountaineering, interprets Han Shan's texts with the eyes of a poet. Ultimately, interpretation lies in reader reception of the poems; how the reader interprets them in the light of their individual spiritual and environmental sensitivities.

Papers Presented

'Classical Chinese Poetry, Modernism – Montage – Pink Floyd,' Chinese Studies Association of Australia 8th Biennial Conference, 10-12th July 2003, University of New South Wales, Sydney, <http://www.csaa.org.au/abstracts2003.html>

Abstract,

How did the genre of classical Chinese poetry re-created as English poetry affect twentieth century Western culture? Why was it more influential in this century than say the 17th, 18th, or 19th centuries? The many and varied ways that classical Chinese poetry subtly entered into Euro-American culture, during the last century, will be explored. Some of the unlikely stimulus that this genre generated will be discussed e.g. Ezra Pound's verbal montage; Angus Graham's inspiration of Pink Floyd; and Arthur Waley's bookmaking as an art form. Modernism created rapid change during the twentieth century. The stress of constant change stimulated an increased awareness of East Asian culture by Euro-American culture in its search for wholeness e.g. meditation; Tai Chi; Chinese Traditional Medicine; and the arts. The aim of Western interest in East Asian art, including literature, was to find stimulation, difference, and 'the new' that would revitalize jaded critical palates. Re-creations of classical Chinese poetry as English poetry reached beyond Modernity to produce seminal work in a postmodern rebellion - transcending cultural boundaries. Historical foundations for twentieth century translation set the scene for

diverse opinions regarding interpretation of classical Chinese poetry. Early 19th century visions of a universal poetic language, coupled with a misunderstanding of the composition of the Chinese written character, influenced subsequent discourse on Chinese written language, and provided a backdrop for poetic protagonists of the twentieth century. Ezra Pound and Ernest Fenollosa described the Chinese character as 'ideogrammic' - avoiding logocentrism by communicating directly from the signifier to the signified - and therefore perfect poetic language. Pound's intuitive re-creations of classical Chinese poetry affected Euro-American poetics by pioneering verbal montage in poetry of alphabetic languages, particularly English. Respect for the traditional Three Perfections of classical China – painting calligraphy and poetry – is demonstrated by Waley's 1961 publication, *Chinese Poems*. This book provides a focus for a discussion of how classical Chinese poetry re-created as English poetry has affected Western poetic presentation. The words of several Pink Floyd rock music lyrics come from Graham's re-creations of classical Chinese poetry. Some Pink Floyd lyrics are direct appropriation of classical Chinese poetry while others are merely influenced by the poems. This connection to music returns the genre to the roots of Chinese poetry – the *Shijing* or *Odes* – demonstrating the genre's trans-temporal, cross-cultural resilience.

'nØthing Day Interdisciplinary Conference,' 24th October 2003, School of Communication, Arts & Critical Enquiry, La Trobe University, Melbourne.

Paper 1, '**Transcultural Poetry, Recreated Classical Chinese Poetry**'

Abstract,

How can nothing be something? Further, how can nothing be everything, completeness, the ultimate goal? In this paper classical Chinese poetry re-created as English poetry is used to address these issues. This is a genre wrought as traditional Chinese text and fashioned in modernist English literary form.

Beat generation poets such as Jack Kerouac, Allen Ginsberg, Kenneth Rexroth and Gary Snyder, accepting the premise that 'there are no objects, no substance, only mutual interacting energy fields of, in human terms, experience, or process ... immerse themselves in experience.' (Snyder, 1976, p. 1). Snyder, poet, translator, and student of Zen, re-created the poems of 8th C Taoist/Buddhist recluse – Han Shan. This paper moots 'emptiness' as the desired state of being in Snyder's re-creations part of the wider body of a selection of Han Shan poems. It will employ Han Shan's poetry to represent a significant part of the wider body of re-created classical Chinese poetry. Further, I will assert that this genre is transcultural poetry.

Paper 2, '**Entering into Nothingness, A State of Mind**'

Abstract,

After years of practising meditation in heated swimming pools, I developed a method of relaxation which reduces pain and facilitates sleep. To name this technique, I coined the term *aquatation*, water meditation. Since its inception, as a form of relaxation, I have developed it as a dry land technique for pain relief. The theoretical base for this technique resulted from my thesis research into classical Chinese poetry e-created as English poetry, specifically that of the eccentric Daoist/Buddhist Tang poet, Han Shan. His poetry *is* his autobiography. It reveals Han Shan's 'sea-change' from a conventional to a Chan (Zen) Buddhist life-style. Chan, the foundation stone of Zen, originated in China ca.520CE

integrating, arguably, the best of Chinese Daoist and Indian Buddhist beliefs and practices, elimination of objectivity and attachment through breath control and meditation. Han Shan subsumed the rigours of wilderness life by melding with his natural surroundings, holism as opposed to dualism. Using his poems as motivation, this segment will encourage audience participation in experiencing 'nothingness' of mind through *aquatation* – a Chan style of meditation adapted to contemporary Australian life-style.

'Considerable shift occurred in how re-creation of classical Chinese poetry is read, what caused this shift and how did it affect reader-response?' Master Class, Chinese Studies Graduate Summer School, Asia-Pacific Week, Jan 31st-Feb 4th 2005, Australian National University, Canberra.

http://rspas.anu.edu.au/asiapacificweek/2005/china_program.php

Abstract,

I have found a variety of influences affect interpretation of this genre, the consequences of these influences on the re-created form and the consequences of these changes for a third millennium global readership. Above all, this research is about pursuing a passion for classical Chinese poetry. By classical I mean poetry written in classical forms - fu, yue fu, shi and ci - in the period predating the collapse of the Qing dynasty. This re-created classical genre has the potential to permeate contemporary Western culture in unexpected ways, which are only revealed by incorporating innovative techniques in tandem with traditional sourcing methods. These include, accepting and tracing the most unlikely leads, negotiating language barriers by lateral thinking and employing persistence in the face of defeat. Shifts in interpretive theories during the twentieth century are examined through the re-creations from the *Shijing* and Tang poets such as Po Chu-I, Li Po, Han Shan by translators Ezra Pound (1885-1972), Arthur Waley (1889-1966), Burton Watson (1925 -), Gary Snyder (1930 -), Angus C. Graham (1919-1991), James J. Y. Liu (1926 -), Stephen Owen (1946 -), Pauline Yu (1949 -) and Haun Saussy (1960 -).

The productive diversions made along the journey the most enriching of experiences. The first unexpected discovery I made was a link between the genre of classical Chinese poetry and the film industry, which led me to heightened awareness of cinematographic techniques. *Shijing*. Next was a link between my genre of study and rock music leading to a wider exploration of how this genre is utilised in Western culture. Then, using 'fire to fight fire,' I extracted a response from an ultra busy American translator with Japanese Zen connections by composing and e-mailing a set of pithy haiku about his non-reply to my first two e-mails. Yet another translator, reputed to be deceased, was tracked down living in semi-retirement in Tokyo and encouraged to support my efforts to analyse his contribution to the genre. Perhaps the strangest journey of all was a search among the shadows of Auschwitz death camp for evidence of classical Chinese poetry returning to its roots in music. Although using a Cyrillic language, as opposed to alphabetic, this example constructs evidence parallel the first unexpected discovery, rock music, in high culture form. Discoveries not directly resulting in thesis material but demonstrating the link between contemporary use of the genre and Australian culture include a Li Bai poem in *Gardening Australia* magazine, a Tu Fu poem in the Deborah Ratliff novel, *The Tree* and Judge Lilik Mulyadi's use of a modern classical Chinese poem when delivering judgement on Bali bomber, Amrozi bin Nurhasyim. The most challenging moment of my candidature was driving over my laptop computer containing all of my research results in 2004.