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MING DONG GU

Classical Chinese Poetry: A Catalytic "Other" for Anglo-American Modernist Poetry

The history of cultural exchanges between the East and West is replete with failed encounters and successful dialogues, frictive confrontations, and fruitful mutual learning.¹ In modern times, however, these exchanges seem to be dominated by a one-way flow, i.e., the movement from the West to the East. There are some exceptions to the rule. One of them is the impact of classical Chinese poetry upon Anglo-American poetry in the beginning of the twentieth century. In the early years of this century, Anglo-American poets, excited by the stirrings of modernity, felt that something had gone wrong with English poetry. Dissatisfied with the stultified form and diction of Georgian poetry and the sentimentalism of the Romantic tradition, and considering current literary conventions inadequate to express the spirit of a new age, they thought it necessary to create new poetic forms and new poetic language which would break up current modes of perception and attitudes (*Modernism* 1-19, 313-23).

In the Far East, the anxiety of Modernism hit Chinese intellectuals in a similar fashion. Some enlightened Chinese scholars and writers felt that classical Chinese poetry, which had developed uninterruptedly for three thousand years, had gone into a blind alley and could no longer express the reality of modern times. Some Western-educated intellectuals, headed by Hu Shih and Cheng Du-xiu, began to attack literary conventions and initiated a "Literary Revolution" whose chief aim was to replace the stultified classical language with the vernacular as the medium for literature (Hsia ch.1). While they shared their

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English counterparts' interest in language experiment as the initial step for a literary revolution, they showed great contempt for classical Chinese poetic forms. In no way were they aware that the Chinese poetry which they had discarded as if it were garbage turned out to be a literary treasure for Anglo-American poets. As an intriguing case in the history of cultural exchanges, the garbage-turned-treasure was first recycled through an intermediary — the Japanese scholarship of Chinese poetry. Ernest Fenollosa went to Japan to learn Chinese language and poetry and Pound insisted on calling Chinese poets by their Japanese pronunciation. To most of the Anglo-American poets, Chinese poetry, be it relayed from Japan or directly transmitted from China, represented an exotic fad.

FROM AN EXOTIC FAD TO A CATALYTIC "OTHER"

Modern psychology, especially self-psychology and cognitive science, offers a new way of knowing oneself. R.D. Laing, a psychologist, has pointed out the interaction between self and other. He shows that "every relationship implies definition of self by other and other by self" and that if the self does not receive confirmation by its contacts with others, or if the attributions that others ascribe to it are contradictory, the position of the self becomes untenable and may even break down (81-174). Michael Lewis, a cognitive scientist, also confirms the necessity of the interaction between self and other for human knowledge (396). In many ways, the literary exchange between Chinese poetry and English poetry in the first half of this century is a fruitful interaction between the "self" and "other."

Jacques Lacan's theory of the "mirror stage" offers a more useful perspective to examine the interaction between Chinese poetry and Anglo-American Modernist poetry. The mirror stage was viewed by Lacan as an essential formative event in the development of the self, which occurs when the infant begins to recognize his image in the mirror. This event is characterized by a jubilant discovery of the infant, who shows "signs of triumphant jubilation and playful discovery that characterize, from the sixth month, the child's encounter with his image in the mirror" (*Ecrits* 18). When Anglo-American poets were mainly working on the literary theory of T.E. Hulme, Chinese poetry was an external other, in correlation with the poetic tenets and techniques already formulated by the Imagists. Hulme did not achieve much success in gaining recognition for Imagism. It was through Pound that Imagism became a wide literary movement. And through Pound, a generation of poets discovered Chinese poetry as a mirror of the self. The discovery is equivalent to the encounter of Lacan's infant with his own image in the mirror. It was a moment of triumphant jubilation and recognition which strengthened their conviction in their poetic revolution. Anglo-American poets saw in Chinese poetry a reflected poetics of their own. If Lacan's mirror image anticipated the infant's mastery of his body

and the formation of his ego-identity (Benvenuto and Kennedy 47-62), the discovery of Chinese poetry by Pound and his contemporaries marked the burgeoning of Modernist poetics.

I suggest that within the framework of self-other interaction, the Chinese poetic other seemed to have deviated from Edward Said's near-paradigmatic model of Orientalism which shows Western images of its colonial others, vastly distorted and inaccurate, not only govern the West's hegemonic policies, but also serve as instruments of domination. It is true that the Anglo-American modernist poets' image of the Chinese poetic other is distorted and distinctly different from the essence of Chinese poetry. Nevertheless, the Chinese poetic other is not something for the Anglo-American poets to wrestle with and dominate, but serves as alien nutrition to be ingested and digested and as a foreign model to be emulated. To state it simply, classical Chinese poetry played the role of a catalytic "other" for the poetic revolution of Anglo-American Modernism. Chinese poetry was at first an exotic fad for a few Anglo-American poets. Then it became an external "other" when more Anglo-Americans were exposed to Chinese poetry through translations by Gaudier, Giles, Legge and other scholars. The "other" became internalized after Pound discovered Ernest Fenollosa's manuscripts on Chinese language and poetry, took the study of Chinese poetry seriously, and promulgated the insights he gained from Chinese poetry (Kenner, *The Pound Era*). Through the translations and interpretative studies by Gaudier, Giles, Legge, Fenollosa, Binyon, Pound, Waley, Amy Lowell, Ford Madox Ford, T.S. Eliot, W.C. Williams, W.B. Yeats, Wallace Stevens, J.G. Fletcher, Witter Bynner, and many other poets and scholars, a generation of English and American poets discovered "a new Greece in China" (Pound's words), came under the direct and indirect influence of Chinese poetry and assimilated subject matters and poetic techniques from Chinese poets. Their combined efforts, for the first time in the history of East-West cultural exchanges, bridged the gap between Chinese and English poetry.

My thesis is untenable unless I can prove that there existed in the period of Anglo-American modernism these conditions: a) there was a general social atmosphere in which Chinese (and Oriental) poetry was appreciated and demanded by poets and common readers alike; b) there were providers of Chinese poetry in English or the introduction of Chinese poetry for consumption; c) there were a sufficiently large number of poets who had either direct contact with Chinese poetry or came to know Chinese poetry second-hand; d) there were a considerable number of poets (some of them are leading ones in modern English and American literature) who produced poetic theories and works which showed visible or hidden signs of Chinese poetic influence; e) and last but not least, there is solid evidence which establishes the direct impact of Chinese poetry on the Anglo-American modernist movement.

First and foremost, the general literary atmosphere, permeated as it was with an urge for modernity, was very favorable for cultural exchanges. The literary criticism of noted literary figures like Yeats, Ford, Stein, Pound, and Eliot argued insistently that the serious modern artist must be as international, polylingual, and sensitive to foreign literatures as Renaissance scholars were. As a result, English and American cultures were receptive to Chinese literature and arts; so were creative writers and scholars. It is no exaggeration to say that there was a China-boom at the time. The public was interested in Chinese things including tea, porcelain, handicrafts and art objects, while writers and scholars were intrigued by Chinese literature and arts.

It is difficult to decide who started the interest in Chinese poetry. It may be traced as far back as the eighteenth century, when there was a cult of Chinoiserie in France, Germany and England. But as far as Anglo-American modern literature is concerned, the immediate influence may have been exerted by these translations of Chinese poetry: Gaudier's *Le Livre de Jade* (1867), Legge's *The She King or The Book of Ancient Poetry* (1876), Giles's *Gems of Chinese Literature* (1876) and *History of Chinese Literature* (1901), Cranmer-Byng's *A Lute of Jade* (1909), and Binyon's *The Flight of the Dragon* (1911). These translations and paraphrases of Chinese poetry created an immediate stir among Anglo-American intellectuals and paved the way for the modernist poets' later interest in Chinese poetry and arts.

Allen Upward, one of the early members of the Imagist movement, whose poems were included in the first Imagist anthology, wrote a reminiscence of the history of Imagism, in the London *Egoist* (June No. 1915). In it, he recalled how Chinese poetry touched his heart and spurred him into poetic creation as early as 1900 (*Poetry* 6: 317). A lawyer by profession, Upward began to write poems in the Chinese fashion, which, however were not appreciated by his friends or literary magazines like the *Spectator*. He had to hide them for ten to twelve years, before they were discovered by his friend Pound, who recommended them for publication in Harriet Monroe's *Poetry*. Pound immediately recognized their poetic merit, identified Upward as an Imagist, and included them in the Imagist Anthology. Upward regarded Pound's inclusion of his poems as an honor, but he scarcely knew what Imagism was about. He admitted that he was only "an imitator of Li Po," the famous Chinese poet of the Tang dynasty.

Pound was a poetic genius who looked at the literary interest in Chinese literature and arts from a broad and profound perspective: "At a time when China has replaced Greece in the intellectual life of so many occidentals, it is interesting to see in what way the occidental ideas are percolating into the orient" (*Pound and Dorothy* 294). In his essay "The Renaissance," published in *Poetry* of 1914, he again compared the impact of Chinese art and poetry on English poetry to the impact of Greece upon the Renaissance: "Undoubtedly pure color is to be found in Chinese poetry.... Liu Che, Chu Yuan, Chia I, and the great *vers libre* written

before the Peterarchan age of Li Po, are a treasure to which the next century may look for as great a stimulus as the renaissance had from the Greeks" (*Essays of Pound* 218). Pound was not exaggerating. During the period 1900-1930, the period of the Modernist revolution, there was a overflowing interest in Chinese literature and arts. Publishers were interested in publishing Chinese poetry and arts; translators competed with each other in turning out English versions of Chinese poetry; poets were eager to write poems in imitation of Chinese style; and scholars were eager to write introductions to Chinese poetry. In addition to the translators or paraphraser of the old generation, like Gaudier, Legge, Giles, Fenollosa, and Cranmer-Byng, a new generation of intellectuals produced an awesome quantity of Chinese poetry in translation which reflects more accurately the original spirit, and is in many cases superior in literary quality to previous translations. An incomplete list of those engaged in translation and rendering of Chinese poetry from 1900 to 1930 includes: John Francis Davis, Stuart Merrill, C.R.F. Allen, William Jennings, W.A.P. Martin, Allen Upward, J. Dyer Ball, Clifford Bax, Charles Budd, James Whitall, Pound, Waley, Fletcher, Bynner, Eunice Tietjens, Helen Waddell, Amy Lowell, Florence Ayscough, Shigeyoshi Obata, T. Aunt, Ian Calvin, Arthur Christy, Lim Boon Keng, V.W.W.S. Purcell, Edna Worthley Underwood, and many others.

An interesting phenomenon was that some translators vied with each other in rendering Chinese poems, and engaged in heated debate over whose renderings were more accurate linguistically and more faithful to the original spirit. The rivalry among Amy Lowell, Arthur Waley, and Witter Bynner is typical of the phenomenon; so was Miss Lowell's argument in *Poetry* with Waley and Mrs. Tietjens. In that period, it was a literary fashion for poets to compose poems in imitation of Chinese poetry, whether for publication, or for private amusement among friends. Edmund Dulac, a friend of Pound's and Yeats's, wrote some poems in the Chinese poetic style and presented them to Pound for comment. Dulac playfully imitated Chinese style and signed himself "Ts'ung-Hu," a literal translation of his name. Although it was a private joke, Pound took them very seriously (*Letters to Yeats* 2: 351).

In the years of 1910-30, literary magazines, literary sections of newspapers were interspersed with translations and introductions and reviews of Chinese poetry. The leading literary journals of the day on both sides of the Atlantic ocean such as *Poetry*, the *English Review*, the *Little Review*, the *Egoist*, *Seven Arts*, *Criterion*, the *Blast*, the *Glebe*, *Literary Digest*, and the *Times Literary Supplement* were all eager to publish Chinese poems, imitations of Chinese poems, reviews of Chinese poems, and introductions to Chinese poems. Here, I only want to cite Harriet Monroe's *Poetry*, the most influential magazine of its kind in America, as an example. Under Monroe's editorship, *Poetry* provided the most important forum for the modernist revolution in Anglo-American poetry. It championed the Imagist revolution at the cost of ridicule when the Imagist

poets were still unknown and viewed with suspicion and disfavor. Monroe was a Sinophile who had visited China to see her sister married to the U.S. minister to China stationed in Peking. This connection perhaps partly accounted for her to China stationing in promoting Chinese poetry. H.M., initials for one of Monroe's staff, succinctly sums up the role of *Poetry* in promoting Chinese poetry: "*Poetry* from its beginning has emphasized the oriental influence.... Also *Poetry* from the first has been urging upon occidental poets the qualities for which the *Digest* now praises the Chinese — simplicity, immediacy, unpretentiousness, etc." (11: 271).

Almost all the volumes of *Poetry* from 1912 to 1950 contain verse and prose related to China or about Chinese poetry. By examining the contents of each volume, one is able to get a glimpse of the significant role Chinese poetry played for Anglo-American modern poetry. Many of the reviews, commentaries, and introductions to Chinese poetry are exceedingly useful. Through them, leading poets of the day, Pound, Amy Lowell, William Carlos Williams, Wallace Stevens, Carl Sandburg, J.G. Fletcher, Witter Bynner, and translators and scholars, Waley, L.S. Hammand, H.M., M.D.Z., Eunice Tietjens, Florence Ayscough, and others, introduce, promote and discuss Chinese poetry. One can see *Poetry* as a condensed history of Chinese poetic influence on English poetry of the day.

Generally speaking, the public's interest in things Chinese may have been spurred by the urge to know the exotic culture of a far-away land. Writers of the time took a different stance. The older generation of poets had been attracted by a new flair or decor, in the romantic tradition, which stressed the interest in medieval and oriental mysticism and vanished or alien cultures. For these older poets, Chinese poetry was an exotic "other" that could be used to invigorate their poetry. For example, Hardy, one of the Victorian novelists who had abandoned fiction-writing for poetry, was fond of reading Cranmer-Byng's *A Lute of Jade* for inspiration and amusement. The younger generation of poets differed radically from the older generation in this respect. They recognized in Chinese (and Japanese) poetry and art not something alien and strange, but something similar and kindred in spirit and technique. As many poets and critics pointed out, before World War I there sprang up in England and America a type of poetry which resembled so closely the Chinese masters in methods of expression and poetic intentions as to make the reader wonder whether these poets had read a lot of Chinese poetry.

Literary scholars were aware of the underlying reason for the recognition of the kindred spirit in Chinese and English poetry. H.M. remarked on the issue: "The simplicity, the forthright directness and candor of these Chinese poems, has been so much emphasized by various reviewers that we need not dwell upon it. It is indeed a basic influence in modern poetry; for although the Waley translations have just appeared, earlier versions have conveyed the hint which at

once put Victorian expansiveness out of date" (*Poetry* 15: 338-39). English and American poets and readers had discovered in Chinese poetry spirit and method compatible with modern times and wished to employ its assistance in revolutionizing English poetry. The desire for revolution led to the recognition of a kindred spirit in Chinese poetry, which, in turn, fueled the interest in Chinese poetry.

Younger poets were employing Chinese poetry in their struggle to reform English poetry and in gaining recognition for their poetic innovation. When the younger poets grouped round Hulme and Pound proclaimed themselves dedicated to the poetic revolution, they met with hostile responses from both established writers and the reading public, especially for their attack on established writers. Chinese poetry helped the younger poets in this way: whatever their differences in their opinions about poetry, both the older and younger poets shared the common ground of fascination with Chinese poetry and arts, albeit for different reasons. Since Chinese poetry was highly regarded, the younger poets could always point to Chinese poets as evidence of support for their poetic innovation. By using Chinese poetry, they seem to be saying: look, Chinese poets have used this method of expression for thousands of years, why couldn't we learn from them and do something similar. In the literary magazines of the day, there are many essays saying something to this effect. H.L. Mencken was quoted as saying in the *Smart Set*:

Pound and Eunice Tietjens, the former in *Lustra* and the latter in *Profiles from China*, offer poetical evidence of that belated discovery of the Chinese spirit which has already had its influence in decoration.... Pound himself gets something of the true Chinese simplicity, the Chinese skill at image-making, the Chinese dignity and delicacy, into his transcriptions. And Mrs. Tientjens, though she never drops the Caucasian robe, nor even that of the frank tourist, yet gives us a glimpse of the unfathomable romance and mystery of old China in her disorderly pieces. Both poets war upon the commonplace, the obvious, the stale. (*Poetry* 11: 273)

Thus, Chinese poetry served as new ammunition to blast the conservative resistance to change in poetry.

Chinese poetry had a direct impact on the literary movements of Anglo-American modernism. Anglo-American modernism in literature consists of several distinctly different and yet interrelated literary movements on the two sides of the Atlantic ocean. Among them, the significant ones are the Imagist movement, Vorticism, the Chicago Renaissance and the New York avant-garde movement. Vorticism is a movement created by Wyndham Lewis and Pound, after Pound withdrew from the Imagist movement. Pound brought a lot of his insight gained from his study of Fenollosa's manuscripts to bear on Vorticism. The Chicago Literary Renaissance is a term used variously to include writers like H.B. Fuller, Theodore Dreiser, Sinclair Lewis, Sherwood Anderson, Ben Hecht,

Vachel Lindsay, Edgar Lee Masters and Carl Sandburg. Although most of them are primarily writers of fiction, many of them wrote poetry. Among them, Sandburg was definitely influenced by Chinese poetry; Lindsay and Masters were influenced to a lesser extent; and others came to know Chinese poetry in varying degrees. All of them were exposed to Chinese poetry and art because of two important literary magazines of the day located in Chicago: Harriet Monroe's *Poetry* and Margaret Anderson's *Little Review*. Monroe's verse magazine evinced an enthusiasm for Oriental poetry from its inception, as I have demonstrated earlier. Anderson's magazine also had a great deal of interest in Chinese poetry and art. In fact, it was her magazine that published Fenollosa's essay "Chinese Written Characters as a Medium for Poetry" in four installments in 1919, after other magazines balked at its exotic content. Except for a few members, the Chicago Group was not as modern as the New York avant-garde movement. The latter includes more modern poets and exhibited a greater urge for modernity. It had Williams, Wallace Stevens, Hart Crane, e.e. cummings, and Marianne Moore. All of them were influenced by Chinese poetry and art in varying degrees.

The more important literary movement in Anglo-American modernist poetry is the Imagist revolution, although its evaluation is still in a state of controversy. I tend to believe that since the Imagist movement was the first organized movement which professed to break away from the past tradition and usher in a new era in poetry; and since many leading poets of the day were professed members; more were unofficially associated; and still more were indirectly influenced, we ought to examine the movement as a whole and admit that it marked a real turning point and breakthrough in the history of modern English poetry.

At the beginning, the Imagist movement was looked on by the reading public and established writers with suspicion and even ridicule. It was at the crucial juncture when the movement was struggling to gain recognition that it borrowed strength from Chinese and Japanese poetry.

A reader familiar with the history of Imagism might object to my suggestion that Chinese poetry was a catalytic "other" for Anglo-American modernist poetry. He might argue that Imagism was a movement started by Pound based on a few ideas of T.E. Hulme, who formed his London group of poets in 1908, about the same time Fenollosa finished his essay about Chinese poetry. The basic principles of Imagism were formulated by Pound in March, 1913. He did not receive Fenollosa's manuscripts until October of the same year. If Fenollosa's notebook and manuscripts did not come into Pound's possession until 1913, when he had already published his famous manifesto of Imagism, is it tenable to say that Chinese poetry served as a catalyst for Anglo-American modernism? My answer to this question is affirmative for three reasons:

First, before Pound publicized Fenollosa's study of Chinese poetry, the influence of Chinese poetry and art was already in the air. It only needed a literary figure of high calibre to recognize it and publicize it. Pound was obviously the right person. He came to London in 1908. Within five years, he made the acquaintance of most of the important writers and artists of the day, established himself as a successful writer with five books of verse and numerous prose works to his name, and became an acknowledged leader of the *avant-garde* movement. As a promoter of arts and literature, he was what Horace Gregory later called "the minister without portfolio of the arts." To promote Chinese poetry, one could hardly find a more appropriate person.

Second, before Pound came into direct contact with Chinese poetry through Fenollosa, he had already come under the influence of Chinese literature and art through other scholars. Pound's earliest exposure to Chinese influence can be traced to early 1909, when he was first introduced to Chinese literature and art by Laurence Binyon and Allen Upward, both Oriental scholars. Shortly after Pound came to London in 1909, he met Binyon, an expert on Oriental art who worked in the Oriental department of the British Museum, and a poet whose poems were appreciated by many poets of the day. Pound wrote to May Moore that in a week in the early spring of 1909, he had had lunch with Binyon, who, according to Pound, talked Chinese art to him and "inflicted his latest effusion on me" (Tylell 46). Pound read Binyon's book *The Flight of the Dragon*, a book about Chinese poetry and art published in 1911. As a contributor to the *New Age* edited by A.R. Orage, Pound's initial interest in Chinese poetry and art was reinforced by another Oriental scholar. One of the Orage circle is the already mentioned Allen Upward, an enthusiastic admirer of the Orient whose comparative study of religion Pound reviewed. He collected and printed a small book of Confucian sayings. Pound read Upward's book *The Divine Mystery*, a comparative study of Oriental and Occidental religions and published a review of it. His discussion of Confucian ideas may be the earliest introduction of Confucianism to Pound, who since then maintained a life-long fascination with Confucianism. Upward was Pound's close friend. Pound browsed through all his books as he recalled: "I am the sole reader of all Upward's books" (Letters 296). Upward and Binyon may be rightly called co-initiators of Pound's fascination with Chinese poetry and art. Pound's recent biographer was right in saying: "These two sources, Upward and Binyon, coalesced to engender Pound's fascination with Chinese and Japanese poetry" (Tylell 70).

Even T.E. Hulme, called "father of Imagism" by some critics, was exposed to Chinese poetry and art. He was also a friend of Laurence Binyon's and read some of Binyon's writings about Chinese poetry and art. He was perhaps the earliest to insist on the importance of direct treatment. In arguing that the poet should develop the "particular faculty of mind to see things as they really are," he came close to the Chinese mode of poetic expression: poetry is "not a counter

language, but a visual concrete one. It is a compromise for a language of intuition which would hand over sensations bodily. It always endeavors to arrest you, and to make you continually see a physical thing, to prevent you from gliding through an abstract process" (*Speculations* 134). Hulme died on the battleground of World War I. He did not have time to be amply exposed to Chinese poetry as Pound did. Hulme's essay "Bergson's Theory of Art," shows that he was indirectly influenced by Chinese art: "'Art should endeavour to show the universal in the particular.' This is a phrase that constantly recurs. I remember a great play was made with it in Mr Binyon's little book on Chinese art. You are supposed to show, shining through the accidental qualities of the individual, the characteristics of a universal type" (*Speculations* 153). Thirdly, Pound used Chinese ideograms to promote his theory of Imagism. According to Fletcher, Pound explained Imagism to Amy Lowell by referring to Chinese ideographs (Autobiography 88). I shall discuss this in detail when I come to the Imagist group.

Pound's discovery of Fenollosa's manuscripts was not a mere accident, but a logical outcome of the intellectual temperament of his time as well as his own person. Surrounded by Oriental scholars like Binyon and Upward, he developed his interest in Chinese poetry and art. When Fenollosa's widow came on the scene, the moment for discovery was ripe: "After Fenollosa's death, his widow cast about for someone who could render into poetical English his unedited fragments of Chinese and Japanese poems and plays, and she became convinced that Ezra Pound was the 'poet-interpreter' for whom she was searching" (Brooks 67). Scholars at that time viewed Fenollosa's study as pertaining to philology. It was Pound who had the vision to see its value as *ars poetica*.

Fenollosa's manuscripts came to Pound's attention at the right time. Pound needed some inspiration for his evangelical struggle to reform English poetry. He was looking for a new mode of expression to modernize his own verse. The discovery of Fenollosa's treasure came at the most opportune moment. His early contact with Chinese poetry through Binyon and Upward had been digested, in the course of time. Fenollosa's manuscripts turned the digested food for thought into inspirations. Pound not only understood and appreciated the value of the manuscripts, but also was eager to publicize Fenollosa's aesthetic views. In this sense, Pound's contact with Fenollosa's manuscripts was a turning point not only for Pound's own poetic career, but also for Anglo-American Modernism. Through Pound's advocacy, Chinese poetry was internalized in the poetic imagination of the time. It was transformed from an exotic "other" into a catalytic "other" in the minds of Anglo-American poets.

The best evidence in support of my idea of the catalytic "other" is supplied by Pound who said in 1914:

The first step of a renaissance, or awakening, is the importation of models for painting, sculpture and writing. We have had many "movements," movements stimulated by

"comparison." Flaminio and Amatheus and the latinists of the quattrocento and cinquecento began a movement for enrichment which culminated in the Elizabethan stage, and which produced the French Pleiade. The last century discovered the Middle Ages. It is possible that this century may find a new Greece in China. (*Essays of Pound* 215)

Pound was making this statement at the initial stage of the modern poetic revolution. Now, looking back, I can say that Chinese poetry served as a catalytic "other" for the rise and maturity of Modernism. It is no exaggeration to say that Chinese poetry is to Anglo-American modern poetry as African sculpture is to the Cubism founded by Picasso and Brague. It is no mere accident that the publication of Fenollosa's essay on Chinese written characters was completed in 1908 when Hulme formed the London "Poets' Club," discovered by Pound in 1913, and published in 1919, the year that saw the high tide of Modernism in England and America. The discovery illuminated the direction in which the poetic revolution ought to proceed. After 1918, Anglo-American poetry witnessed a return to the roots of literature, an increasing emphasis on intuition, immediacy, simultaneity, visual effect, self-diminishing, objectivity, non-representation, experiment with language, and thinking more in terms of images rather than through abstraction, etc. — these are all Modernist features discussed in Fenollosa's essay.

FENOLLOSA: A SINOLOGUE WHO USHERS IN MODERNISM

If Pound is the key figure who bridges the gap between Chinese and English poetry, Fenollosa's manuscripts ought to be regarded as the materials that have gone into the making of the bridge. In many ways, Ernest Fenollosa can be regarded as the harbinger of Modernism; and his essay "Chinese Written Characters as a Medium for Poetry" an undeclared manifesto of Modernism and "an ars poetica." In my opinion, the value of Fenollosa's study of Chinese ideograms lies not in its etymological accuracy or linguistic correctness, but in its power to incite and stimulate the imagination of Pound, who is, as Eliot claims, "probably the most important poet in our language" (*Selected Essays* 214-15), and the imagination of his contemporary poets. In other words, Fenollosa's study exerted what James J.Y. Liu called a "catalytic effect of scholarship" (*Art of Chinese Poetry* 3) on Anglo-American Modernism. Through the encounter with Chinese poetry, Pound and his contemporaries discovered an alien poetic tradition which was at once concrete and abstract, specific and general, material and ethereal, stable and fluid — a tradition grounded not in the Aristotelian theory of mimesis, not in imitation of nature, but in the direct expression of human existence in relation to nature.

It is in this sense that Pound, on receiving Fenollosa's manuscripts, announced with jubilation that he had discovered "a new Greece in China." And it is in this

vein that he treated Fenollosa's essay "Chinese Written Characters as a Medium for Poetry" as an *ars poetica* (Fenollosa, cover page). Now looking at the encounter from a larger perspective, I suggest that Fenollosa's work ushered in a new era of poetry. His study of Chinese poetry brought forth many insights concerning modern poetry which were later confirmed by the modernist movement, and he did this before any Anglo-American scholar, even T.E. Hulme. Fenollosa died in 1908; in comparison, Hulme, "the father of Imagism," did not form his "Poet Club," born out of dissatisfaction with current literary convention, until 1909. Pound also regarded Fenollosa as a forerunner of the Modernist movement: "In his search through unknown art Fenollosa, coming upon unknown motives and principles unrecognized in the West, was already led into many modes of thought since fruitful in 'new' Western painting and poetry. He was a forerunner without knowing it and without being known as such" (Fenollosa 7). Pound opens his introduction to Fenollosa's essay by saying that Fenollosa's study is not a "bare philosophical discussion, but a study of the fundamentals of all aesthetics," and ends it by pointing out that the literary movement in the West confirmed the direction of the trail blazed by Fenollosa: "The later movements in art have corroborated his theories" (Fenollosa 7). In a letter to John Quinn, he reiterated: "Fenollosa saw and anticipated a good deal of what has happened in art (painting and poetry) during the last ten years, and his essay is basic for all aesthetics" (*Letters* 101).

Fenollosa's essay anticipated the coming of Modernist poetry in a number of ways. The most significant aspect is that it foresees the technical innovations in the domain of language. The essay as a whole reads like a treatise on Chinese language, or to be more exact, a comparative study of the Chinese and English languages. It is in the comparative study that Fenollosa reveals the direction in which Modernist poetry ought to proceed. The pioneering spirit of his essay stands out in its condemnation of the evolution in Western poetry from concrete to abstract, from simplicity to superfluity, from close contact with nature to the divorce from nature, from doing to being, owing to the tyranny of Western logical thinking. In his opinion, Chinese language and poetry provided an antidote to this tendency:

To the ordinary Western mind, which believes that thought is concerned with logical categories and which rather condemns that faculty of direct imagination, this feat seems quite impossible. Yet the Chinese language with its peculiar material has passed from the seen to the unseen by exactly the same process which all ancient races employed. This process is metaphor, the use of material images to suggest immaterial relations. (Fenollosa 26)

Fenollosa's essay not only ushered in Modernism but also anticipated the subversion of Western tradition by Jacques Derrida and present-day theorists. Derrida who views the Western tradition as dominated by what he calls

"logocentrism," (3) highly praises the poetic revolution initiated by Fenollosa and promoted by Pound, "This is the meaning of the work of Fenollosa whose influence upon Ezra Pound and his poetics is well-known: this irreducibly graphic poetics was, with that of Mallarmé, the first break in the most entrenched Western tradition. The fascination that the Chinese ideogram exercised on Pound's writing may thus be given all its historical significance" (92). By stressing the visual qualities of Chinese ideograms for poetic representation, Derrida believes, Fenollosa and Pound reversed the ethnocentric prejudice which views alphabetic writing as superior to graphic writing.

Fenollosa's conception of Chinese characters as a medium for poetry has been criticized by some Sinologists as a misconception. They base their criticism on the ground that the process of understanding Chinese is not like that. They contend that each Chinese character has some relation to pictorial representation of the actual things, but over time, Chinese ideograms become symbols in the same way as words in alphabetic languages. When people read a sentence, they no longer pay attention to the origins of those ideograms, or concern themselves with characters as pictorial representations of actual things. This contention is correct with respect to ordinary writing, but questionable with creative writing, especially poetry. For creative writers, the choice of words plays a significant role in giving meaning to their ideas. Very often, a specific word will convey a lot of unsaid meanings, unknown to the reader, or to the writer himself. Often, the writer chooses a word unconsciously which, on close examination, reveals more implications than the writer would consciously admit. Freud demonstrates convincingly how the unconscious chooses words which are nodal points and connect to the various strands of the writer's psyche (316-39). Fenollosa was talking about poetry and *ars poetica*. Even with the ordinary reader, the pictorial representation still has an effect on the unconscious. This may explain why the reader considers some verse so poetical but cannot tell exactly why. For this reason, Fenollosa talks like a Freudian: "Poetry differs from prose in the concrete colors of its diction. It is not enough for it to furnish a meaning to philosophers. It must appeal to emotions with the charm of direct impression, flashing through regions where the intellect can only grope" (25).

THE "OTHER" INTERNALIZED

Through the joint efforts by many poets, scholars, and translators, Chinese poetry as the "other" became internalized. In the limited space below, I shall give a brief account of a group of poets who contributed most to the internalization of the "other." I have chosen a few poets associated with Pound in the Imagist movement while leaving out such poets as Vachel Lindsay, Wallace Stevens, William Carlos Williams, Carl Sandburg, Hart Crane, T.S. Eliot, D.H. Lawrence, and others who showed interest in Chinese poetry but were not affiliated with

Imagism. Pound was, of course the center of the group and the most enthusiastic learner and promoter of Chinese poetry.

What did Pound learn from Chinese poetry? This question may take several books to answer. Initially, however, Pound learned from the Chinese poets the techniques that were essential ingredients for his theories of Imagism. In order to understand Fenollosa's manuscripts better, he asked his wife Dorothy to learn Chinese. After some length of study, he wrote to Dorothy about his impression of Chinese poetry in a letter dated October 7, 1913, in which he said: "I find the Chinese stuff far more consoling. There is *no* long poem in Chinese. They hold if a man can't say what he wants to in 12 lines, he'd better leave it unsaid. THE period was 4th cent. B.C. — Chu Yuan, Imagiste — did I tell you all that before?" (*Pound and Dorothy* 267). The significance of this letter is: Pound learned from the Chinese poetry the importance of compression as an antidote to the superfluous ornamental poetry popular at that time. In an interview by a reporter from the *Daily News and Reader*, on March 18, 1914, he criticized poets who had put too much water in their ink. In this period, he named a number of classical Chinese poets as modern. He referred to Chu Yuan (339-277 B.C.) as an "Imagiste," Li Po (701-762 A.D.) as very modern, Wang Wei (699-761 A.D.) as "real modern," "eighth century Jules Laforgue Chinois" (*Letters* 93, 101). If we take into consideration the short time-span between his Imagiste manifesto and his contact with Chinese poetry, the internal link between Chinese poetry and Modernism becomes clearer. If Pound regarded these ancient Chinese poets as "modern," he seemed to say that he had found in them the evidence of corroboration for what he had labored to find.

Since English does not have the natural qualities of Chinese, it seems that the English poet, faced with the obstacle of language, has nothing to borrow directly from Chinese. The actual matter, however, is just the opposite. Not only did Pound borrow so much directly from Chinese, but also other English poets saw the possibility of experimenting with English, following what is called the "ideogrammic method," advocated by Pound. Although the ideogrammic method has proved so important to Pound's poetry, and although Laszlo Gefin has convincingly argued that it is "the central method and the main form of modernism" (xii), professional sinologists have always treated its theory as something dubious. Even after disregarding the linguistic inaccuracies and errors in Fenollosa's and Pound's studies, they still cannot comprehend how the method of juxtaposing strokes and radicals in the making of Chinese characters can be borrowed to help English poetry.

In my opinion, they have paid too much attention to the linguistic inaccuracies and errors of Pound's study of Chinese and lost sight of the fact that Pound applied the Chinese principle of character-formation to larger units than character-formation, i.e. formation of compound words, verse-lines, stanzas and poems. While the Chinese put together strokes and radicals to form a character,

pound juxtaposed words, phrases, and sentences, which are images, events, documents and historical particulars to achieve the dual purpose of presenting concrete details and abstract ideas. Chinese language also uses a lot of juxtaposition of this kind. Very often, Chinese puts two characters or words with opposite meaning to form a compound word which has an abstract idea while maintaining the original concrete detail. For example, the Chinese use "far-near" for distance, "big-small" for size, "long-short" for length, "foot-inch" for size and length, "tall-short" for height, "cold-hot" for temperature, "heaven-earth" for the universe, "river-mountain" for the whole country, "drum-dance" for "to encourage," "hand-foot" for fraternal feelings, "spear-shield" for contradiction, etc.

The ideogrammic method is not only the major method in creating individual characters, it is also widely used in larger units than characters. Classical Chinese employs the method in making words, compound-words, phrases, and sentences. The juxtaposition of concrete words and abstract words is used more extensively in poetry in larger blocks of discourse. For example, Li Po simply juxtaposed disparate images in two well-known verse lines: "floating clouds / wandering son's thoughts; setting sun / old friend's emotion." Juxtaposition of unrelated sets of images can produce a special effect like collage of the modernist practice or montage of cinematography. There are two verse lines in one of the "Nineteen Ancient Poems": "Northern horses love facing the north winds; Southern birds build nests on the southern branches." It is worth pointing out that the method of presentation here is exactly the technique of collage or montage employed by modern film. It also fits some basic tenets of Imagism. From the cinematographical point of view, the poet was doing something a modern cameraman does: putting two unrelated snapshots — northern horse braving the north wind and southern birds building nests on the southern branch — in a successive sequence. The result is a newly created meaning, entirely different from what the original images may have evoked in the mind's eye of the reader: the powerful, haunting nostalgia.

This technique of ideogrammic juxtaposition is employed by Chinese poets at various levels ranging from single characters, phrases, to verse lines. When it is aided by syntactic economy, the collage-like quality became a major feature of classical Chinese poetry. "Lodging at the house of the Hibiscus Mountain Landlord" by the Tang poet Liu Chang-ying is a typical example:

day late / grey mountain / far
weather cold / white house / old
firewood door / hear dog bark
wind / snow / night / return/ man

If we want to make sense of this juxtapositions, we have to add many missing links. Briefly, the poem may be retold thus: It is dusk, but the mountains in front

of me indicate that my home is still far away. It is very cold now and I need to find a lodging for tonight. Suddenly, I see an old thatched house covered with snow and also hear the barking of a dog at the door made of firewood. Rejoiced, I walk towards the house amidst the wind, snow and darkness.

The fusion of disparate images, fragmented impressions and drastic shifts and turns in classical Chinese poetry have attained, on a small scale, the modernist poetic sensibility which is what Eliot called the ability to fuse seemingly disparate experiences into an organic whole. Modernist poets differ from classical Chinese poets in that they have applied the technique to longer poems and supplied the psychological explanation. Eliot wrote in "The Metaphysical Poets":

When a poet's mind is perfectly equipped for its work, it is constantly amalgamating disparate experience; the ordinary man's experience is chaotic, irregular, fragmentary. The latter falls in love, or reads Spinoza, and these two experiences have nothing to do with each other, or with the noise of the typewriter or the smell of cooking; in the mind of the poet these experiences are always forming new wholes. (*Selected Essays* 247)

His idea is exactly the same as Fenollosa's perception of the Chinese way of juxtaposition: "Poetry surpasses prose especially in that the poet selects for juxtaposition those words whose overtones blend into a delicate and lucid harmony" (Fenollosa 36).

Pound made a more extensive study of ideographs and worked out a new mode of poetic expression based on it — a technique essential to modern poetry and employed by many of the modernist poets ranging from Pound and Eliot, to Williams and Cummings. As early as June 1915, Pound had already formulated the ideogrammic method with the help of Chinese characters. The publication of *Cathay* shows that the impact of Chinese ideographs had already altered Pound's perception of reality and his poetic mode of expression. In a letter to Felix E. Schelling in June 1915, Pound wrote:

As for the Chinese translations, they have been approved by one or two people who know some of the originals. They are, I should say, closer than the *Rubaiyat*, but then the ideographs leave one wholly free as to phrasing. I mean, instead of "hortus inclusus," you have a little picture of an enclosure with two or three stalks of [illegible ideograph] grass and a flower (very much abbreviated) inside. Or for "to visit, or ramble" you have a king and a dog sitting on the stern of a boat. (No, I don't make them nicely. I haven't brushed. The two top dabs are ripples or drops for the water.) This charming sign does not occur in *Cathay*. It is merely an exquisite example of the way the Chinese mind works. (*Letters* 61)

Although Pound's interpretation is problematic, his method of juxtaposition of component parts, however, conforms to one of the six principles of making Chinese characters, i.e., Hui-yi, the combination of a few related pictorial signs to produce a new sign. In fact, the Chinese character is formed with the principle

Xing-sheng — shape-sound combination. With the eye of a poet, he made the composition of the character more visual and vivid: one can imagine in his mind a king leading a dog and watching the river view in a boat. While Chinese call this method Hui-yi, Pound calls it ideogrammic method. This method enables the reader to see in his mind's eye the concrete details of visual images while at the same time obtaining an abstract meaning. Pound applied this method to larger units than words, thus turning it into a poetic method of wide applicability. Despite the inaccuracies of his explication, Pound formulated one basic poetic method for modern poetry: the juxtaposition of concrete images to generate an abstract idea which has roots in the concrete particulars. Previously, Sinologists were critical of Pound's idea, saying that in the process of reading Chinese, the reader is not conscious of the meanings of component radicals. This is true in most cases, but Pound made a revolutionary leap. He applied the ideogrammic principle to larger units than component parts of words, thus forcing the reader to be aware of the implications of individual images expressed by words, phrases, sentences and even stanzas. His application of the Chinese ideogrammic method to larger units is an ingenious contribution to the modern mode of poetic perception and expression. In his *Cantos*, Pound used this mode of expression extensively to ground his ideas and theories in concrete historical particulars and universal objects. Here I want to give one illustration:

Palaces in smoky light

Troy but a heap of smouldering boundary stone,

ANAXIFORMINGES! Aurunculeia!

Hear me. Cadmus of Golden Prows!

using the ideogrammic method, Pound links up four separate elements: the legendary event of the burning of Troy, the poetic works of Pindar's second Olympian ode and Catullus's Epithalamia and the founding of Thebes. These elements may be disparate, but they are connected by the common element of passion. Centering round the nodal point of passion, the distinct fragments combine to posit an abstracted idea that the human instinct for sex is the cause of the most creative as well as the most destructive acts of human kind.

On many occasions, Pound called on writers and scholars to conduct a "Dispassionate examination of the ideogrammic method (the examination and juxtaposition of particular specimens — e.g., particular works, passages of literature) as an implement for acquisition and transmission of knowledge" ("The Teacher's Mission" 61). Now Pound began to use Chinese poetry, especially the ideogrammic method to explain his Imagiste creed. Fletcher recalled in his memoir that after Amy Lowell first got herself interested in Imagism, she wanted to know what it was about. Pound did the explication using the Chinese ideogrammic method. It was in 1913. Pound met Amy Lowell for the second time during her first visit to London. They had a conversation regarding the

theory of Imagism. Lowell asked a direct question: "What is your personal theory of free verse, and of imagist poetry? I take it that you came to accept this theory after a period in which you tried composing according to the stricter old Italian and Provençal forms. What convinced you that this new theory was right?" (Fletcher, *Autobiography* 88). Fletcher, also present at the meeting, recalled how Pound expounded the Imagist theory:

Esra here launched out into an involved explanation, accompanied by many gestures and jerks of the head. The explanation took in Chinese ideograms, the late Professor Ernest Fenollosa's essay on the Chinese written character, which Ezra had recently found among the unpublished papers which Fenollosa had left after his death, and other recondite and abstruse matters. He finally cited, as an example of imagism, his own recently written "In a Station of the Metro." (*Autobiography* 88)

This piece of reminiscence tells us three things about Chinese poetry. First, it strengthened and confirmed Pound's conviction in Imagist theory. Second, it helped convert a leading poet of the time into a believer in Imagism. Third, it shows that although Fenollosa's essay on Chinese poetry did not appear until 1919, its content had been publicized by Pound through unofficial channels, mostly in his conversations and his correspondence with other poets.

Of all the influences of foreign poetry, Chinese poetry produced the most profound and lasting effect on Pound's poetic career. Compared with Chinese poetry, English Romanticism, Provençal poetry, Italian poetry, French Symbolism and Impressionism look pale. Even Japanese literature and art, for which Pound had a great fondness, is secondary in importance for Pound's poetry. In a letter to John Quinn, on January 10, 1917, Pound gave the reason why Chinese poetry is more important for him than other poetic traditions in which he had taken an interest:

China is fundamental, Japan is not. Japan is a special interest, like Provence, or twelfth-thirteenth century Italy (apart from Dante). I don't mean to say there aren't interesting things in Fenollosa's Japanese stuff (or fine things, like the end of *Kageriyo*, which is, I think, "Homeric"). But China is solid. One can't go back of the "Exile's Letter," or the "Song of the Bowmen," or the "North Gate." (*Letters* 101)

Pound's energetic promotion made Chinese poetry and art more widely known. He not only publicized Chinese poetry in his essays, but also encouraged other poets to study Chinese poetry in his correspondence. In a letter to Hubert Creekmore, he recommended: "For Ars Poetica, gordamit, get my last ed[it]io[n] of Fenollosa's 'Chinese Written Characters.' Vide my introduction" (*Letters* 321). He wrote to George Santayana: "At any rate, Fenollosa has delivered us from the godawful translations of Chinese poetry that preceded him" (*Letters* 333). He wrote to Iris Barry: "you should have a chance to see Fenollosa's big essay on

verbs, mostly on verbs ... the theory is a very good one for poets to go by" (*Letters* 82). He tried to persuade Eliot to undertake Chinese study as he did:

I know you jib at China and Frobenius cause they ain't pie church; and neither of us likes sables, black habits, etc. However, for y[ou]r enlightenment, Frazer worked largely from documents. Frob. went to *things*, memories still in the spoken tradition, etc. His students had to *see* and be able to draw objects. All of which follows up Fabre and the Fenollosa "Essay on Written Character." (*Letters* 336)

In his letters to James Joyce, he also tried to inculcate his understanding of Chinese poetry. He kept Joyce informed of his study of Chinese poetry and Fenollosa's essay on Chinese written characters. In a letter to Joyce in September 1916, Pound wrote: "I am going on with the Fenollosa stuff, the Chinese part. Have found an eighth century Jules Laforgue: Wang Wei, or Omakitsu" (Pound/Joyce 81). Pound discussed Confucian philosophy with Joyce in his letters. This gave Joyce's work some Confucian element. In Joyce's *Finnegans Wake*, Pound appeared in various guises, one of which is Chinese. In that novel, Humphrey Chimpden Earwicker is a mock depiction of a Confucianist Pound. He is a dead ringer for the Chinese sage who reverences Mt. Taishan, one of the sacred mountains in China. His chin "has the most conical hodieps of confucianist heronim and that chuchufuous chinchin of his is like a footsey kungaloo around Taishantyland" (*Finnegans Wake* 131).

Pound was so energetic in promoting Chinese poetry and Fenollosa's ideas that he sometimes overstepped interpersonal etiquets among friends. H.D. recalled in her *End to Torment* how Pound would, without notice, burst into her and Aldington's apartment to read drafts from his renderings of Chinese poems based on Fenollosa's notebook, to the displeasure of the newly-weds (26). Pound's promotion of Chinese poetry and theory had a clear purpose. He thought the Westerners might use the Chinese ideogrammic method as an antidote to Western abstraction: "the damn Greek lectures had just slid over Aristotle's teXue in the list of components of kinds of intelligence. That was the beginning of the end. I doubt if anything but injection of Chinese studies can *cure* the result of that desiccated high-browness" (*Letters* 297). W.B. Yeats was not a member of Pound's Imagist circle, but he was closely associated with Pound for a number of widely known reasons. Yeats not only helped Pound with his budding poetic career, but also supported him in his poetic experiment. Although he was Pound's mentor, Yeats was not conservative and close-minded. He did not hesitate to accept new aesthetic ideas and poetic techniques. This made it possible for the mentor to be influenced by his protégé. When Pound made the discovery of Fenollosa's study of Chinese, Yeats also benefitted from it through Pound and his own study.

Chinese influence on Yeats through Pound was considerable, but with characteristic modesty, Pound said: "his influence upon Yeats was less than is

usually supposed" (Moore 248). Yeats definitely was influenced by Fenollosa's study of Chinese, for Pound said that Yeats once remarked to him that Fenollosa "was what he had been looking for all his life" (249). In the 1914 *Responsibilities*, Yeats quoted a Confucian lament obviously procured from Pound: "How am I fallen from myself, for a long time now, / I have not seen the Prince of Chang in my dreams" (246). The "Prince of Chang" is a misquotation of the "Prince of Chou" whom Confucius worshipped. The impact of Chinese poetry and philosophy on Yeats was mostly on his thematic structure. Moore was right in pointing out that Fenollosa's study of Chinese language and poetry had imparted a Confucian motif into Yeats's spiritualism (249).

Obviously, Yeats received Chinese influences from other sources. During his years in London, he was closely associated with Arthur Waley, a recognized authority in translating Chinese poetry. Edmund Dulac, Yeats's friend, wrote in a letter to Yeats: "We shall be delighted to dine with you on Saturday 28th; Waley whom I rang up will be pleased to come too and asks me to convey to you his very best thanks" (*Letters to Yeats* 2: 465). Yeats certainly read Waley's translation of Chinese poems, for in his "Vision Papers," he wrote: "It would be possible to create a group of initiates in an order which would be an expression of unity. Was this the meaning of the whiff of fragrance when I spoke of 'the simple men' in the Chinese poems in Waley's book" (*Yeats's Vision Papers* 3: 90). The Chinese poems he referred to were Waley's *A Hundred and Seventy Chinese Poems* (1918). Yeats and Waley shared some common interests, one of them was Chinese philosophy and religion. Yeats's interest in Chinese philosophy lasted as late as 1931, when he read Wilhelm's translation of *The Secret of the Golden Flower*, which he called "the invaluable Chinese book," with a comment by Jung (letters to Olivia Shakespeare, Nov. 23 and Dec. 15, 1931).

Yeats differed from Pound in their interest in Oriental literature and art. While Pound was fascinated with Chinese poetry and art more for their method of expression as well as their ontology and epistemology, Yeats was intrigued more by the Oriental aesthetic philosophy, religion and mysticism, because he had been interested in magic and occult philosophy since his Dublin days. As an extension of his early participation in theosophical activities, he took a great interest in Zen (or Chan) Buddhism, the Chinese form of Buddhism, and its ontological explanation about the nature of the universe and of human existence, and absorbed much of it to intermingle with other metaphysical ideas of his own synthesis. He took up the study of Zen Buddhism quite seriously. In this respect, his friend, Arthur Waley, gave him a lot of assistance. Yeats read carefully Waley's *Introduction to the Study of Chinese Paintings*, and digested the Buddhist influence on Chinese art, as one of his letters shows:

This is Zen Buddhism. Shen-hsin said (see Waley's Introduction to the Study of Chinese Paintings, p. 221) "Scrub your mirror lest dust dim it" — I shorten the sentence — but Hui-neng replied "Seeing that nothing existed how can the dust dim it." Zen art was the

result of a contemplation that saw all becoming through rhythm a single act of the mind. (*Letters* 68)

Yeats was not a devout believer in any orthodox religion, but since he felt that he needed some system of mystic belief to give depth to his life and poetry, he half-heartedly accepted the doctrine of theosophy, hermeticism, and spiritualism. He found the synthetic combination of these three in the three dominant and often combined religions of Chinese culture: Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism. Some of Yeats's basic ideas resembled Chinese philosophy, religion and mysticism to a striking extent. His structural antinomies resemble the Chinese philosophical concept of Yin and Yang; his theory of cycles and gyres has affinity to the Chinese Confucian theory of historical development: the well-known cyclical pattern of history; and his ideas about human freedom and predestination have so much in common with Zen Buddhism. This is a very large area for comparative study quite beyond the scope of the present paper. Here, I shall just give one example to show how some of the Chinese ideas entered Yeats's poetry.

In the late phase of his poetic career, Yeats wrote quite a few poems related to the Chinese. One of the longer and better-known is "Lapis Lazuli," which Yeats considered "almost the best I have made of recent years" (*Letters on Poetry* 83). The poem was inspired by a Chinese gift and reflects the impact of Chinese art on Yeats's poetry. In a letter to Lady Gerald, he gave a fairly detailed account of how the poem came to be written:

someone has sent me a present of a great piece carved by some Chinese sculptor into the semblance of a mountain with temple, tree, paths and an ascetic and pupil about to climb the mountain. Ascetic, pupil, hard stone, eternal theme of the sensual east, the heroic cry in the midst of despair. But no, I am wrong, the east has its solutions always and therefore knows nothing of tragedy. It is we, not the east, that must raise the heroic cry. (8)

His poem is directly related to the Chinese concept of tragic tranquility in the face of suffering. The poem contrasted Chinese and Western attitudes toward human suffering; it opens with a hysterical outburst about Western women, but ends with Chinese men carved on stone, who gaze down from their mountain top at "all the tragic scene" below. Our attention is directed to "Their eyes mid many wrinkles, their eyes, / Their ancient, glittering eyes, are gay" (*Collected Poems* 339). While Yeats was not a member of the Imagist movement, Amy Lowell and J.G. Fletcher were proclaimed members of the movement. They assimilated Chinese poetic influence partly through Pound and partly through their own study. To a considerable extent, Chinese influence helped both poets to find themselves in their poetic search.

Reluctant as he was to join Pound's Imagist group at first, Fletcher was persuaded by Lowell to become one of the official Imagists in each of the three

Imagist anthologies under Lowell's editorship. Fletcher, from the outset, felt that English and American poetry was out of touch with modern reality and needed new methods and subjects. He took it as his duty to seek an appropriate subject and method of expression. In his search for modern subjects and methods, he was one of the modern poets who are heavily indebted to Chinese poetry and art.

Fletcher's search for his poetic subject and method took a round-about route. He went through English Romanticism, French Symbolism and ended up joining Anglo-American Modernism with the help of Chinese poetry. Chinese poetry helped him find the subject and method he had desired. From the early phase of his poetic career, he cherished an ideal form of poetry represented in his mind as Cathay, the ancient name of China: "I was striving to push my literary explorations yet further, and to reach not America, but my own imaginative Cathay" (*Autobiography* 132). At his initial stage, however, he did not take Chinese poetry and art very seriously, although he came into contact with them early, first encountering Chinese poetry and art in his Harvard school days. Like many young men, he was an avid learner of the literatures of other ancient cultures — Greek, Roman, Egyptian as well as Chinese. But initially, Chinese poetry and art did not arouse in him as enthusiastic a response as he later displayed. He accounted for this in his autobiography: "And if I failed to respond to the classical Chinese and Japanese art in which the museum collection were so rich, it was because my mind had not yet been trained sufficiently to respect an art which made such a great virtue out of economy of effort and out of its own limitations" (16). His interest in Chinese poetry gradually increased. He continued his search by reading ancient Chinese poets and artists of the Tang and Sung dynasties. From my incomplete research, he read Gaudier's translation of Chinese lyrics, Gile's *History of Chinese Literature*, James Legge's translation of *Shi King*, L. Cranmer-Byng's *Lute of Jade*, and other selections from classical poets of China and he had read, with great care, Ernest Fenollosa's monumental work *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art* (Fletcher, "Orient and Contemporary Poetry" 149-59).

Before Chinese poetry and art helped him find himself, the aesthetic ideal represented by Cathay always eluded him, as he tells us: "I only knew that I must go still further in the direction to which my discoveries tended. Like Columbus before me, by dreaming of a voyage west to reach Cathay, I had stumbled somehow upon America. Now I must prove that the country I found was really Cathay after all" (*Autobiography* 104-05). The great moment of discovery did not come until he began to associate himself with the Imagist movement. Pound invited him to join the movement on several occasions and even offered to help him publish his poems. But each time he declined Pound's offer and help, on the ground that he did not know the Imagist theory and therefore considered himself unfit for Imagism. His association with Pound and other Imagists did, however, have a salutary effect. The discussion of Imagism

by Imagist poets, especially Pound's explication of Imagist tenets in terms of Chinese ideograms and Fenollosa's aesthetic theory in his essay "Chinese Written Characters as a Medium for Poetry" not only put his knowledge of Chinese poetry and art into the framework of Imagism, but also gave his search a new horizon (88). With such a favorable atmosphere, his years of learning Oriental and Occidental poetry and art became intermingled and synthesized into the form of an art he had all along sought. Fletcher described vividly in his reminiscence how Chinese poetry and art brought about the turning point in his poetic career, marked by the composition of his series of poetic symphonies in 1914.

In January 1914, Fletcher was sunk in deep melancholy and loneliness. He went to Kew Gardens in London, famous for its Chinese style, where he and his Daisy spent a lot of time. He stayed in the garden all day and sat on the same bench which he had shared with Daisy. The next day, he attended a symphony at Queen's Hall. The loss of love, Kew Gardens, and the Symphony based on Chinese lyrics worked together to bring out a moment of revelation, and a surge of creative energy:

The concert proved to be Mahler's *Lied von der Erde*, settings of Chinese lyrics for chorus, soloists, and orchestra. Pound had spoken to me enthusiastically about the beauty of these old poems of the Tang dynasty, and I had already read some of them in French translation. Now they were here in the unfamiliar guise of German, attached to Mahler's elaborate and ambitiously exotic setting. As I listened to them, it seemed to me that the poem I was now writing was the same poem so many of these old Chinese poets had already written. My modern loneliness, exile, despair fled across centuries of time and thousands of miles of space and was joined to theirs. I returned in the violet-blue dusk of the somber January day. At the top of my poem I now wrote its title, "Blue Symphony." Then I sat down once again to write. Two more hours came and went, and I had finished. (*Autobiography* 126)

The finished product is the first of his series of symphonies, each of which reflects a significant Chinese influence. Pound sent the poem to Pound and asked him for comment. Pound commented enthusiastically, saying that he had written a beautiful imagist poem, and, without any delay, sent it off to *Poetry*. The poem was a great success. Fletcher got a cheque of a hundred dollars — the highest price, as he recalled, that he had ever been paid for his poems (127).

The writing of "Blue Symphony" narrowed Fletcher's distance from Imagism. He readily agreed to join the ranks of the Imagists when Lowell again requested him to: "I no longer felt any hesitation in enlisting in their ranks, inasmuch as I now fully considered myself to be an imagist. Since my writing of the 'Blue Symphony' and Ezra's note of appreciation of it I felt myself as much entitled to formulate my own application of the imagist creed as anyone in the ranks of the original group" (138). The "Blue Symphony" was followed by "Golden Symphony," "Green Symphony," and "White Symphony." The last one, of which

Fletcher was very proud, evinces a big indebtedness to Chinese poetry and art, as he himself admitted. The immediate inspiration for the "White Symphony" was his purchasing of a large bouquet of cream-white peonies, a kind of flower imported from China where it has been considered the national flower because of its radiant richness and magnificent glory. Fletcher's observation of the flower was evidently influenced by his knowledge of Chinese:

Their forms, so simple and yet so aristocratic, the nacreous iridescence of their petals, and their delicate scent, alike intrigued me. By burying my nose in them, and by looking closely, I had the sensation of being momentarily caught in the midst of a perfumed snow storm. Why should not the "White Symphony" begin with precisely these flowers, suggestive as they were of midsummer, of the exotic Orient, of the ordered splendor of Chinese art? (141)

Shortly afterwards, Fletcher returned to America, where he made his rediscovery of Oriental art at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts: "The hours I spent in the Oriental wing, seeing the Sung or Kakakura masterpieces with new eyes, re-educated me in regard to the purpose of a pictorial art close in spirit to my own poetry, and to the function of the poetic artist in reshaping the world" (184-85). At long last, after years of search in America, England, France and on the European continent, Fletcher had found what he had been seeking for his artistic career:

They [Oriental treasures] rededicated me to the vital instinct, and to the soul of nature. Not from the materialistic Occident, but from the traditional Orient must spring the new life-giving spirit, old and yet new, conservative and yet free, to create in Western languages a new rhythm and a new vocabulary, a new form and a new feeling for the interrelation of man and nature. Now more than ever I understood the nature of the task to which I had dedicated myself: to fuse the East and the West, to combine the inner insight of the Chinese sages with the restless, dynamic energy of modern America. (185)

Fletcher's indebtedness to Chinese poetry and art is many-folded and deserves a long chapter. Philosophically, he absorbed into his own ontology and epistemology the doctrines of Chan Buddhism and Taoism: the correspondence of nature to man's moods, the spiritual harmony of man and his environment, the calm and detached self-awareness of soul, and the Taoist principle of non-action and freedom from strife. Fletcher acknowledged the Chinese nature of the philosophical ground of his art: "The particular kind of aesthetic modernity that I had affected in *Irradiations* and the 'symphonies' had been Chinese, rather than European. Behind the 'symphonies' lay the quietism, the gospel of inaction and submission of Lao-tse, and also Buddhism, with its creed hidden in nature even more effectively than the gospel Wordsworth had found there" (245). Artistically, he absorbed the Chinese emphasis on visual and musical qualities, the method of image-making, and the abhorrence of abstraction. Chinese poetry and art also

influenced his idea of "polyphonic prose" which he developed along with Amy Lowell.

Amy Lowell was well-known for her controversy with Pound, after she took over the leadership of the Imagist movement. Pound sarcastically dubbed Imagism under her leadership as "Amygism." Despite their many differences in personality and artistic talents, they shared common grounds: both were leading poets of their day; both were leaders of the Imagist and poetic revolutions; both were fascinated by Chinese culture and arts; and both were enthusiastic promoters of Chinese poetry. In many ways, she seemed set on competing with Pound in the poetic world. Pound was obsessed with Chinese language and poetry; so Amy became interested in Chinese language and poetry too. Pound came to know Chinese poetry through Fenollosa; Amy compensated for her ignorance of the Chinese language with the help of her friend Florence Ayscough (*Correspondence of a Friendship*). Pound produced the rendering of Chinese poems *Cathay*; Amy turned out the book of Chinese poetry *Fir-Flower Tablet*. Chinese poetry played a role in getting Lowell established as a leading poet of her time. She did not publish her first mature book of poems until she was thirty-eight. *A Dome of Many-Coloured Glass*, published in 1912, met with criticism either overtly patronizing or covertly disapproving. It failed to establish her reputation. When her second book, *Sword Blades and Poppy Seed* came out in 1914, the situation was very different. Louis Untermeyer says in his introduction to Lowell's complete poetical works:

it seemed that a wholly new poet and, what was more, a new epoch had appeared. *Sword Blades and Poppy Seed* sounded some of the first notes in the controversy which raged about the New Poetry. The book heralded the era's growing dissatisfaction with traditional measures and the determination to try new verse form, strange cadences, and unfamiliar responses to standard sentiments. (xxi)

Her success in her second book was attributed to two major sources: Pound's theory of Imagism and Fletcher's idea of "polyphonic prose." Sympathetic critics thought she used Pound's ideas and Fletcher's innovation creatively, but detractors charged her with slavish imitation or stealing other's thunder. In his autobiography, Fletcher himself claimed that Lowell was engaged in "imitation carried to the point of duplication" (102). In my opinion, his claim is in the same order of Hulme's accusation that Pound had taken his idea of Imagism without due acknowledgement.

Whatever the truth, Lowell's indebtedness to Pound and Fletcher is certain. Her indebtedness to them means that she was indebted also to Chinese poetry for her initial success. I have already mentioned that Pound explained his theory of Imagism using Chinese ideograms, successfully converting Lowell to a believer in and promoter of the Imagist doctrines. Fletcher believed that Lowell's poems in her second book were imitations of his "Irradiations." He compared some of

Lowell's poems with his own. One of his chosen passages of Lowell's poem reads:

Saffrons, rubies, the yellow of beryls,
And the indigo-blue of quartz;
Flights of rose, layers of vermilion,
The spotted gold of tiger-lily petals,
the loud pink of bursting hydrangeas.

He thought the passage imitates lines from his own poems: "Amid the vermilion pavilions, against the jade balustrades;" and

The gardens of my heart are green;
The rain drips off the quivering leaves;
In the green gardens of my soul
The crimson peonies explode —

the most striking affinity of the two poets' verse is the orchestration of color words, which is a characteristic feature of classical Chinese poetry. Fletcher admitted that Chinese poetry helped him find his concept of orchestral use of color words and images. Even without his acknowledgement, we can identify some of the idiosyncratic Chinese elements. In Fletcher's verse lines, "vermilion pavilions" and "jade balustrades" are stereotyped images in Chinese poems, which seldom, if ever, appeared in English poems. The "crimson peony" is another sign of Fletcher's assimilation of Chinese poetic images from the miscellaneous collections of Chinese poems he had read.

Starting from her second book, Lowell's later poems show an ever increasing Chinese influence both in subject matter and poetic techniques. In her third book, *Men, Women and Ghosts*, there is a poem mixed with prose sections, entitled "Lead soldiers." Each section of the poem is followed by a passage of prose which functions like a refrain with approximately identical words: "The fire snaps pleasantly, and the old Chinaman nods-nods" (127). In another poem "The Hammers," there is also a passage with the same characteristic (123). These poems related to Chinese objects seem to suggest that Lowell must have had a collection of Chinese art-objects, which played a role in her poetic imagination.

Her fifth book marks a sudden upsurge of Chinese themes which are mostly concerned with Chinese poets and poems. The whole section of "Chinoiserie" indicates that by this time she had read a great deal of Chinese history and poets. Among these poems, "A Poet's Wife" is a rendering of Cho Wen-chun's complaint to her husband Ssu-Ma Hsiang-ju. "Li T'ai Po" not only displays Lowell's knowledge of Li Po's life story, but also reveals her great appreciation of the kindred spirit in the Chinese poet's unceasing quest for truth, beauty and poetic creativity. Her sixth book *Legends* features a long poem "A Legend of

porcelain." Her continued interest in Chinese poetry culminated in her seventh book *Fir-Flower Tablets*, an anthology of rendered Chinese poems.

As I have no space to discuss each of these poems in detail, I have to be content with a brief analysis of the genesis of the narrative poem "A Legend of Porcelain." The poem is a synthesis of three Chinese legends into one tale dealing with porcelain-making in China and rendered in free verse form. It tells of how a girl's sacrifice in art saves her father and wins her a husband. It exemplifies Lowell's idea that great labor and self-sacrifice must go to the creation of genuine beauty. Lowell's acknowledged the source of the poem in the preface:

As for the original impulse, in some cases I have forgotten it, in others I do not know what it was. For instance, I remember that "A Legend of Porcelain" was composed of three distinct legends, but I do not know where I found them, probably in Dr. Stephen W. Bushell's "Description of Chinese Pottery and Porcelain" or in the "Histoire et fabrication de la porcelaine chinoise" by M. Stanislas Julien, the volume which gave Lafcadio Hearn the material of his "Tale of the Porcelain God." (*Legends* vii-viii)

Many of Lowell's poems were written in a form which is akin to the Chinese "fu" — rhyming prose which employs all sorts of poetic devices. This verse form came to be known as "polyphonic prose." In her response to Waley's review of her book of Chinese poems, she engaged Waley in a discussion of the similarity between Chinese fu and the polyphonic prose. The comparison shows that her idea of polyphonic prose was obviously influenced by the Chinese form of fu. Before Amy took up translation of Chinese poems, she was developing the polyphonic prose with Fletcher. After her contact with Chinese poetry, and especially after she took up translation, the polyphonic prose became maturer. The polyphonic prose is an adapted form of verse she used extensively to meet the requirement for translating Chinese rhythms. Because of language difference, it was impossible to translate Chinese rhythm and meter, but Amy was not content with rendering Chinese poems in entirely free verse: "Now most people do not know this, for they have no idea what it means to translate a Chinese poem. They do not know the combination of qualities necessary to produce anything like the originals ... but it would be no good at all if you did it in free translation; no good at all as an approach to the Oriental mind, that is" (*Correspondence* 28). Amy invented a compromise form as she explained to Monroe in a letter of June 19, 1918:

I am not concerned in translating Chinese rhythms, which would be quite impossible as so much of the rhythmic effect is got from the vowel sounds of the language itself, and in translating them, not into meter, but into cadence, I am obliged to follow the laws necessitated by the writing of cadenced verse. The lines, therefore, will have to be what cadence requires, whether long or short. (251-52)

The process of translation helped her find a workable way to deal with the problem of cadence in free verse, which she could only deal with in the past by instinct and intuition. She told Monroe in the same letter:

You see I have made awful study of cadence, and I think I can claim to know a good deal more about it than many people who write it equally well, for first comes intuition and afterwards verification, and for the last few years I have been able to find the reason for doing things which up to that point I had done instinctively. No such study has been made by any other of the *verse libristes* writing in English. Even Ezra [Pound] has felt and announced his conviction, rather than tabulated, measured, and proved. (252)

Miss Lowell was also a great promoter of Chinese poetry. In a letter to her friend, she remarked:

The great poets of the T'ang Dynasty, particularly Li T'ai Po, are without doubt among the finest poets that the world has ever had. I am perfectly willing to shriek Li T'ai Po's fame to the winds of Heaven. He seems to me to rank second to none in any country in lyric poetry, and it seems to me as though Tu Fu were equally fine, and a number of these T'ang poets, as I keep coming across them, are remarkable. (To Ayscough, 16 Aug. 1919)

The heyday of her poetic career corresponded with the upsurge of interest in Chinese poetry. Her fame as a leading poet of the time made Chinese poetry even more widely known. Around 1921, she was busy giving lectures on Chinese poetry, as she told her friend (196). In one of her lectures, her ending remarks may be taken as a summing-up of what Anglo-American modern poets were doing with Chinese poetry: "her [China's] value to us lies in her literary and artistic past, and what she is willing to discard so blithely we shall do well to gather up and treasure" (276).

GENERAL ASSESSMENT AND TENTATIVE CONCLUSION

The high tide of Anglo-American modernism in poetry probably covers the whole period of 1908-1922, starting with Hulme's London Group of Poets and ending with the publication of Eliot's *The Waste Land* (Bradbury and McFalané 571-612). It involves most of the prominent names in twentieth-century English and American poetry: Yeats, Hulme, Pound, H.D., Lowell, Aldington, Herbert Read, John Cournos, J.G. Fletcher, F.S. Flint, Ford Madox Ford, Joyce, Lawrence, W.C. Williams, Witter Bynner, Eliot, Wallace Stevens, Robert Frost, Marianne Moore, Carl Sandburg, Hart Crane, Dylan Thomas, Allen Upward, Laurence Binyon, Skipwith Cannell, and many others, among whom, Pound, Lowell, Yeats, Fletcher, Bynner, Upward, Williams, and Stevens are strongly influenced by Chinese poetry. Most of them had a serious interest in Chinese poetry, rendered Chinese poems in English, or used Chinese subject matters in their works. Most of them openly acknowledged their indebtedness to Chinese

poetry. They came into contact with Chinese poetry through various channels, but they did not just passively receive the Chinese influence. They gave full play to their initiative reception and creative transmutation, incorporating the Chinese poetic elements in their own writings, either through creative misreading or misunderstanding. That is, they absorbed Chinese influences into their creative works consciously or unconsciously. The translations or renderings of Chinese poems by those poets and poems using Chinese subject matter have already become part of the Modernist oeuvre. Some of them, such as Pound's *Cathay*, have entered the canon of Anglo-American literature. In his comparative study of Pounds *Cathay*, Wai-lim Yip points out, "*Cathay* in many ways forms a pivotal point in his development" (7). It may also be said to be a pivotal point in the development of Anglo-American modernist poetry. For most of the above poets, Chinese poetry became an internalized "other."

Most important of all, Anglo-American poets found a new poetics with the help of Chinese poetry. Chinese poetry facilitated Anglo-American writers' recognition of the privileged place of language in making poetry, in carrying out formal innovations, and in finding appropriate techniques for expressing the spirit of the modern era. So in the final analysis, the greatest contribution of modernists to the making of modern literature lies in their revolutionary use of language. Pound, Eliot, Lowell, Stein, Joyce, Williams, Stevens, Cummings, all pioneered new ways of using the language to capture modern sentiments. They were all following the trail blazed by Fenollosa in his essay. As *ars poetica* in Pound's judgment, Fenollosa's essay is first and foremost a study of the peculiar poetic qualities of Chinese language. His emphasis on the use of language foreshadowed the enormous interest of modernists in the use of language for making poetry. As a catalytic "other," Chinese poetry confirmed the correctness of the directions in which the modernist poets were developing. The Chinese concept of imagery, the Chinese theory of poetic conception, the orchestration of color, and the ideogrammic method are among those techniques absorbed by modern poets. They helped directly or indirectly to formulate some of the key concepts of modern poetic theory, like Pound's theories of the Image, Vortex and ideogrammic method, Eliot's "objective correlative," Williams's "total metaphor," Lowell's "polyphonic prose," and Fletcher's orchestral use of colors. The two leading poets, Pound and Lowell, who were acknowledged leaders of modern poetic movements, did a lot to sponsor younger poets and to spur the reading public to the subject of Chinese poetry. Through them, the influence of Chinese poetry spread far and wide.

Chinese poetry, however, is only one of the catalytic "others" internalized in English and American modernist poetry. I have scarcely touched on other Oriental influences because of the compelling need of space. The interaction between Chinese and English poetry represents a successful dialogue between two divergent poetic traditions. Without the catalytic influence of Chinese poetry,

Anglo-American modernist poetry might still have been what it is, but the history of cultural exchanges between the East and West would have been poorer. Looking at the impact of Chinese poetry on Anglo-American Modern poetry as a whole, I wish to conclude that Anglo-American scholars' and poets' efforts to learn from Chinese poetry during the first half of the twentieth century constituted a sequel to the upsurge of interest in Chinese poetry and art that swept Western Europe during the eighteenth century and were equivalent to a literary movement without manifesto. Their joint efforts offered a healthy paradigm for the West to view the "other" and yielded a version of Orientalism which, however idealized and mystifying, is remarkably free from patronizing condescension and hegemonic domination.

University of Florida

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NORIKO TAKEDA

The Modern *Tanka* and Yosano Akiko

THE BIRTH OF THE *TANKA*

For more than a thousand years in Japan, the *Waka* (song) served as an archetypal model of poetry, a compressed unity with its restricted frame of 31 syllables. Often written even now in the continuous one-line style, the *Waka* asserts itself as the fundamental poetic form to embody the minimal element of language of an artifact, i.e., a word. The unifying short poem, whose modernized version is called *Tanka* (short song), foregrounded and established Japanese symbols such as Mt. Fuji or cherry blossoms. The short form of iterative 5 and 7 syllables in rhythmic expression and musicality, the simple pattern of 5-7-5-7-7, allowed for a limitless possibility of poetic expression. Over time, poets solidified the *Waka*'s generality into a homogenized voice constituting a closely knitted network of intertextuality. The *Waka* may be viewed as an omnipresent iconic representation of the country of its origin: a slender string of islands surrounded by the ocean.

The elitist literary community that formed around the imperial court in the Heian period (794-1192) organized and supported the tradition of the short, reticent poetic form of the *Waka* for its aesthetic elegance. The standard for selection, or the purification as self-effacement legitimated by Fujiwara no Teika (1162-1241), was required for the *Waka*'s organic pattern for "everyone" (Thwaite xxxvii); i.e., that which can be easily poetized, defamiliarizing itself as the short, prototypical mode of verbal composition. The *Waka* further served as the matrix of the 17-syllable *Haiku* which appeared in the early Edo period (1603-1867). The *Waka*'s aesthetics of conservativeness, implicitly criticized by the parodic *Haiku* for elevating everyday sensations with its syllabic structure 5-7-5, was firmly codified by the successive compilation of court anthologies. The authorization began with *Kokin Waka shū* (*The Collected Waka-Poems of Past and Present*) in the early tenth century. By that time, the longer verse forms found in *Manyō-shū* (*The Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves*) — which is the oldest anthology of Japanese poetry, compiled in the eighth century — had become totally neglected. Thus authenticated internally and externally, the 31-syllable short poem was successful in inculcating poets with its conventional aristocratic requirements, which imposed limitations both on the themes and terms. As it is indicated by Anthony Thwaite, "unrequited or fading love, the