

Anglo-American Poetry and Japan, 1900-1950:
A Critical Bibliography

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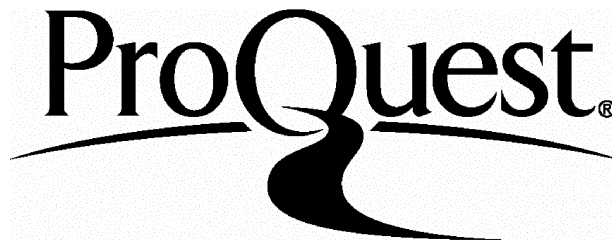
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Abstract

From the advent of literary Japonisme late in the nineteenth century through the literary and cultural upheavals of the twentieth century Japanese literature, visual arts, aesthetic principles, and landscapes imaginative and real have attracted the attention of many of the most remarkable and remarked upon poets of Britain and the United States. This work provides a critical and bibliographical overview of the works that constitute the textual fabric of this attraction, focusing particularly on the first half of the twentieth century, when Japan first emerged as a determinative presence in Anglo-American verse. The introduction, 'Anglo-American Poetry and the Special Case of Japan', places the work under study in historical context, and is followed by four bibliographical sections. Section A, 'Critical and Comparative Studies', provides a chronological listing of general secondary works that have addressed the use of Japanese subjects and forms in Anglo-American poetry. Section B, 'Poets Central to the Study', provides chronological listings of primary and secondary materials by and about twelve writers whose mediation of Japanese subjects and forms was most significant among Anglo-American poets active from 1900 to 1950: Conrad Aiken, Richard Aldington, Laurence Binyon, Edmund Blunden, Witter Bynner, William Empson, Arthur Davison Ficke, John Gould Fletcher, Amy Lowell, William Plomer, Ezra Pound, and W. B. Yeats. Section C, 'Other Materials', includes selected listings of works by and about other Anglo-American poets whose mediation of Japanese materials has been significant (CA), a selected listing of relevant archives (CB), and a selected listing of secondary works that focus on the larger influence of Japan in the West (CC). Section D, 'Sources of Influence and Transmission', provides a bibliographical overview of the writers and texts that have provided Anglo-American poets with many of their images and understandings of Japan and Japanese forms.

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Preface and Acknowledgements

This bibliography has been conceived of as a logical and necessary step on the way toward a more complete understanding of the ways conceptions of Japanese subjects and forms have affected the development of Anglo-American poetry, and also, to turn the question slightly, the ways Anglo-American poets have affected the development of European and American conceptions of Japanese subjects and forms. The first assumption has been that the writer who would seek to shed light on a literary and cultural landscape as rich as this had better know something of the whole of the terrain, not just the isolated parts of it that have been highlighted before, often repeatedly, and usually without reference to the cultural and historical contexts from within which they have taken shape. The intent is to establish a mapping of the terrain that is more complete than has existed before.

In its earliest conceptions the work was intended to be comprehensive, that is, to include reference to every text that directly speaks to the ways Japan has been conceived of and drawn upon by the poets of Britain and the United States. This aim of years ago now seems all but impossibly naïve. To be comprehensive how to account for the hundreds of English-language poems of ‘Old Japan’ that appeared in journals and newspapers in Britain and the United States between 1860 and 1910? Or the 1,400 poems indebted to understanding of Japanese poetics in the opening volumes of Cid Corman’s *Of?* Or, to push the point to its extreme, the dozens of knowledgeable obituaries of Japanese public figures that after 1991 James Kirkup has contributed to the *Independent?*

The inevitable compromise has been to offer a limited completeness. With the exception of a few deliberate omissions noted below, section A, ‘Critical and Comparative Studies’, and B, ‘Poets Central to the Study’, are as comprehensive as I have been able to make them, while section C, ‘Other Materials’, and D, ‘Sources of Influence and Transmission’, offer selected listings from among a much larger number that would have been possible. Principles of selection have been pedestrian. The writers addressed in section B are those whose incorporation of Japanese materials was in literary and cultural terms most significant among Anglo-American poets active in the first half of the twentieth century, and the choice to focus attention on that half century was taken because it was a time particularly rich in the development of the representational strategies that constitute the textual centre of the study. The materials cited in sections C and D are those that most directly augment the more

comprehensive treatment afforded the materials of A and B, and most instrumentally inform the literary and cultural relationship implicit in the title of the work, *Anglo-American Poetry and Japan*.

Lines of demarcation in such matters are not transcendental, and another writer would have drawn them at different attitudes toward the whole than I have. But in such a project it is difficult to make apologies for a scheme of selection and classification that finally has facilitated even a limited completeness. A reader who does not find reference to one thing or another where it is supposed it should be is advised to look in the Index of Names and Subjects for guidance to where it may be found in the universe of this work. Between that index and 7,000 cross references my hope is that nothing of instrumental importance will be found missing for long.

Details of the classification system and the various conventions relied upon will become apparent to any reader who spends time with the bibliography, but a few notes may be of use at the beginning. Section A, 'Critical and Comparative Studies', is organised chronologically by date of first publication of the works noted; the materials cited are critical works that address the incorporation of Japanese materials in Anglo-American verse but do not focus on one writer in particular. Section B, 'Poets Central to the Study', is divided into twelve sub-sections, BA through BL, which correspond to the twelve writers under study in the section, arranged alphabetically by surname; each of these is further divided into sections for primary materials, works by the writer, and secondary materials, works that address the writer's incorporation of Japanese materials; within these sections the works cited are arranged chronologically by date of first publication.

In selecting materials for inclusion in sections A and B the net has been cast wide. The listings of primary materials in section B include all works I have found in which the writers under study address Japan in any way, or demonstrably owe to understanding of Japanese subjects. And the listings of secondary materials include virtually everything I have found that addresses the incorporation of Japanese subjects or forms in Anglo-American poetry. The only deliberate omissions are works that appeared only in newspapers and unpublished theses presented for degrees below the Doctoral level—though in practice a few of each of these have been found to contribute sufficiently to merit inclusion—and works that focus on the phenomenon usually referred to by the oxymoron 'English-language haiku'. These are included only when they concern an incorporation of Japanese forms in the work of a major poet or a poet who would be noted here even had he or she not experimented with the possibilities of haiku in English. Ezra Pound's 'In a Station of the Metro' is noted, for example, and Cantos XVII and XXVI, as are secondary works that call attention to the relationship of

these to Pound's understanding of the hokku, but as a general principle collections of and studies about 'haiku poets' writing in English have not been included. Reviews of important primary works are included in their proper chronological place in the lists of secondary materials and cross-referenced in the entry for the work under review. Reviews of important critical studies ordinarily are cited in the entry for the work under review, though in a few cases contribute sufficiently to the study or otherwise call enough attention to themselves to merit a separate listing, cross-referenced in the entry for the work reviewed.

Section C, 'Other Materials', is divided into three sub-sections. CA, 'Other Poets and Works', includes short bibliographical essay-annotations, some addressing several writers together and others the pertinent work of a particular writer, which are arranged chronologically according to the date of publication of the earliest work cited. CB, 'Archives', includes reference to collections of unpublished materials of particular importance to the study, and is arranged alphabetically by the surname of the writer whose papers are discussed. CC, 'The Larger Context', takes note of critical works that augment this study; arrangement of entries for individual works is chronological according to date of first publication, and two collective entries follow these. And section D, 'Sources of Influence and Transmission', provides a series of brief bibliographical essay-annotations about writers and texts that have provided Anglo-American poets with many of their images and understandings of Japanese subjects and forms, with particular attention to sources that inform the work of the writers noted in section B; arrangement is chronological according to the date of first publication of the earliest work discussed. In all sections searches for materials in English and Japanese have been systematic through 1999, and materials in other languages have been noted when they have come to my attention.

Throughout the bibliography entries are numbered according to the section in which they appear, and these section markers and numbers are used in cross-references and indices. Beongcheon Yu's *The Great Circle*, for example, the fifty-sixth entry in section A, is referred to throughout the bibliography as A56. To avoid unnecessary repetition cross-references within a section often include only the number and not the section marker, and so, for example, when a reader of section BJ on William Plomer is directed to 'see also 18', the reference is to the entry for Plomer's libretto for *Curlew River*, item 18 in that section; outside the Plomer section a reference to this work would direct the reader to 'see also BJ18'. Likewise, in a sequence of cross-references and in the indices when no ambiguity is possible the section header is omitted, thus 'see also A25, 46, BK59, 88, 126, and 181' refers the

reader to entries 25 and 46 in section A and entries 59, 88, 126, and 181 in section BK.

Most of the items listed are works I have seen. Those that are not are marked with a dagger (†). The bibliographical entries themselves always include reference to the earliest date of publication I am aware of and also, where relevant, to the latest edition or reprint I have seen. Typographical and stylistic conventions have been adapted from the 14th edition of the *Chicago Manual of Style*, and vary notably from those outlined there only in two cases: in citations and annotations the titles of individual poems and plays in verse appear in upper case type; and dates for journal publications by the writers noted in section B include along with the year of publication the month and, if possible, the day. Where the author of a particular work is clear from other information, as in the listings of primary materials in section B, the author's name is not repeated in the citation itself. Multiple entries generally have been avoided, though if different parts of a work fall into separate categories the parts are listed separately. Shōtaro Oshima's *W. B. Yeats and Japan*, for example, includes relevant material both by Yeats and about Yeats, the former noted at *BL52* in the listing of primary Yeats materials, the latter at *BL124* in the listing of secondary materials. In such cases a cross-reference in each entry directs the reader to the other. Abbreviations are used sparingly and are mainly the conventional ones, *UP*, *TLS*, *OED*, *DAI*; OCLC refers to the Union Catalogue of the Online Computer Library Center.

Titles of works in Japanese are romanised according to the modified Hepburn system and translated in parentheses following the romanisation; unless otherwise indicated these and other translations are mine. In romanising names from the katakana I have adopted standard spellings, thus, for example, Pound instead of Paundo. In all cases the common but unfortunate practice of referring to the titles of Japanese periodicals by an English translation has been avoided, and throughout the bibliography these are left untranslated, thus *Eigo bungaku sekai*, which will allow the reader of Japanese to find the work in a library that contains it, and not *The World of English Literature*, which leaves the reader guessing about a re-translation of the title back to the original.

Ordinarily Japanese names are given in the Japanese order, surname followed by given name, but I have not applied the rule consistently. For some Japanese who are known to English readers the standard European practice has seemed preferable. To avoid confusion, in bibliographical citations and the Index of Names and Subjects standard English conventions are followed, and so the reader in doubt about which name is which is referred to the index, where surname appears first. As a general principle words of Japanese origin that appear in standard English dictionaries are

not italicised and diacritical marks are omitted, thus, for example, bushido instead of *bushidô*, and diacritical marks are likewise omitted in place names well known to English readers, thus Tokyo, Osaka, Kyoto, Kobe, and a few others, though in titles and direct quotations the spellings and typographical conventions of the source are retained. For the classical Japanese dramatic form I prefer 'nô', for example, but in direct quotations and titles the reader may find 'Noh', 'Noh' 'Nô', 'noh', 'Nôh', and 'No'. Chinese names and terms generally are transcribed according to the Wade-Giles system, not because I find it preferable to the Pinyin system but for the sake of consistency. Wade-Giles is used by virtually all the writers whose work is under study here, and it has seemed fussy to vary from my sources in such a matter when the project is not directly concerned either with China or the Chinese language.

All items cited in sections A and B and most in sections C and D are annotated. The principle of annotation has varied according to the item, but in general for works cited in the listings of primary materials I have tried to describe as precisely as possible the nature of the relationship to Japanese subjects or forms, to account for intertextual and inter-conceptual relationships between the work and others related to Japan, and when necessary to explain references to Japanese subjects. The principle for critical works has been to describe relevant premises, assertions, and conclusions, when possible using the writer's own words, and in many cases to evaluate the work's usefulness to the study. I have been conscious of tracing the chronology of particular conceptions and forms, and so annotations often take note of where an idea or image or understanding appeared before making its appearance in the work under discussion. In such cases the earlier work is noted in a cross-reference. When the reader is directed to 'see index' in an annotation, the reference is to the index of the work under discussion. Unless otherwise indicated page numbers refer to the latest edition or reprint cited. Important names and terms that appear in several annotations are noted in the Appendix of Names and Terms.

This has been a particularly solitary project, but it has been aided in many ways by the kindness and intelligence of friends and colleagues from several disciplines. I am grateful in this regard to Terry Caesar, Florian Coulmas, Dan Dyer, Anna Ford, Robert N. Huey, Frances Kanabe, Dorsey Kleitz, Fumiko Kuroda, A. Robert Lee, Michael Lewis, Paul Mennim, Ira B. Nadel, Akitoshi Nagahata, John Payne, Steven R. Reed, Paul Rossiter, Mojtaba Sadria, Ayako Saitô, Shôichi Terashima, Shigeo Tobita, and Masao Tsunematsu. I am grateful for kind assistance received at the British Library, the University Library at Cambridge, the National Diet Library of Japan, the Chuo University Library, the Japan Foundation Library, the Library at the

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Versions of some of the material from the thesis have appeared as articles, or have been presented as conference papers, as follows: 'British Poets in Japan: Edmund Blunden and D. J. Enright', *Kônan daigaku kiyô bungakuhon* 81 (1992): 181-232; 'Sir William Empson and Japan', *Eigo-eibeibungaku* 35 (1995): 457-75; 'Richard Aldington and Japan', *Eigo-eibeibungaku* 36 (1996): 241-54; 'Japanese Subjects in Twentieth-Century British Art History and Literature: Notes about Laurence Binyon', *Sôgô seisaku kenkyû* 1 (1996): 181-91; 'Undertones of Modernism: Conrad Aiken and Japan', *Eigo-eibeibungaku* 37 (1997): 289-300; 'American Reflections of a Rising Sun: Witter Bynner, Arthur Davison Ficke, and Japan', *Sôgô seisaku kenkyû* 2 (1997): 1-17; 'Illiteracy of a Very High Order: Pound, Exoticism, and Japan', 18th International Ezra Pound Conference, Beijing Foreign Studies University, 16-19 July 1999; 'Rethinking Pound and Japan', 22nd Conference of the Ezra Pound Society of Japan, Nagoya University, 28 October 2000.

Introduction:

Anglo-American Poetry and the Special Case of Japan

Once a landscape has been established, its origins are repressed from memory. It takes on the appearance of an 'object' which has been there, outside us, from the start. An 'object,' however, can only be constituted within a landscape. The same may be said of the 'subject' or self. The philosophical standpoint which distinguishes between subject and object came into existence within what I refer to as a 'landscape.' Rather than existing prior to landscape, subject and object emerge from within it.

—Karatani Kôjin, *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*

The first aim of this bibliographical study is to provide a critical data set that will facilitate understanding and promote further study of a remarkable cross-literary and cross-cultural relationship. Modern Anglo-American poets have turned to what they have understood of China and Japan more often and to greater effect than to other non-European cultures. Recent critical work such as Zhaoming Qian's *Orientalism and Modernism* and Robert Kern's *Orientalism, Modernism, and the American Poem* has traced the importance of imaginative interpretations of China in the development of twentieth-century English-language verse, but no recent work in such a way examines the importance of Japan. Yet from the advent of literary Japonisme late in the nineteenth century through the literary and cultural upheavals of the twentieth century Japanese literature, visual arts, aesthetic principles, and landscapes imaginative and real have attracted the attention of many of the most remarkable and remarked upon poets of Britain and the United States, often with results that have altered the course not only of particular careers but also of important literary movements, understandings, and styles. The twentieth-century poets who have turned to Japan include most famously Ezra Pound and W. B. Yeats, but also others who were associated with the early-century advent of the 'new poetry' in Britain and the United States: Conrad Aiken, Richard Aldington, Witter Bynner, John Gould Fletcher, F. S. Flint, and Amy Lowell, among others; also the writers who along with Yeats were associated with the early-century renaissance in English verse drama: Gordon Bottomley, T. S. Eliot, Sturge Moore, John Masefield, Laurence Binyon, and following these Wallace Stevens, Robinson Jeffers, Paul Goodman, Kenneth Rexroth, Ulick O'Connor, and others; also an extraordinary list of British poets who took up academic posts in Japan and in varying degrees mediated the experience in their work: Sherard Vines, R. H. Blyth, Robert Nichols, Edmund Blunden, Ralph Hodgson, and William Plomer in the twenties, Peter Quennell, William Empson, and George Barker in the thirties, G. S. Fraser, D. J. Enright, Anthony Thwaite, James Kirkup, Dennis Keene, Peter Robinson, and others in the years following the Second World War; also American

poets who along with Rexroth were associated with the post-war San Francisco Renaissance and the literary movement that came to be called Beat: Cid Corman, Gary Snyder, and Philip Whalen are the most notable, but there were many others; then other recent writers who have followed these in turning to a poetics in no small degree indebted to understandings of Japanese literary and aesthetic principles: Lucien Stryk, Robert Bly, W. S. Merwin, William Heyen, John Cage, Sam Hamill, Jim Harrison, Tess Gallagher, Stephen Berg, Jane Hirshfield, Kenneth White, and many others. Taken together and by any standard this is a remarkable list, encompassing major poetic voices, styles, and movements on both sides of the Atlantic from early in the century to its close.

This study surveys the contours of this landscape, focusing particularly on the first half of the century, when Japan first became a significant presence in Anglo-American poetry. The work aims to identify the ways understanding of Japan has affected the tenors of the voices under study, the ways it resonates in particular works, careers, and movements, and the ways these then turn back on the originating question and themselves shape and generate understanding of Japan. Behind these particularities, however, lies a story that has not been told, without understanding of which the nature of the Japanese intonations in these voices may not be well understood. No study of the imaginative interpretation of Japan in Anglo-American literature has addressed in a significant way the larger cultural landscape from within which this relationship emerged. The neglected starting point of the study, in other words, is cultural history, and relies upon the telling of a tale:

I. The Legacy of Seclusion

'Twas yours to dream, to rest,
Self-centred, mute, apart,
While out beyond the West
Strong beat the world's wild heart.

—A. C. Benson, 'Ode to Japan', 1909

In July 1853 when Matthew Perry arrived with four men-of-war at the harbour of Uraga to demand the opening of Japan to American trade, few countries were as indefinitely formed in the Western imagination. The Japanese policy of national seclusion had been in force for two centuries.¹ After 1635 government decree had forbidden the dispatching of ships abroad and stipulated that Japanese caught trying to leave the country were to be executed. Four years later the passing of information to a foreigner became an imprisonable offence, and foreign ships, with limited exceptions for the Dutch, Chinese, and Koreans, were prohibited from approaching Japanese ports

under penalty of death for passengers and crew, an edict enforced at Nagasaki in 1640 with the decapitation of sixty-one Portuguese emissaries arrived from Macao to negotiate relations. In 1641 Dutch trade was limited to Dejima, a 130-acre artificial island at the opening of Nagasaki Bay, and thereafter, apart from the odd landing party forced at once to leave, the odd raid on a coastal outpost, and a small cadre of imprisoned Russians—naval lieutenant Vasily Golovnin and comrades, from 1811 to 1813²—the only Europeans to set foot on Japanese soil in 212 years had arrived at Dejima on a Dutch commercial vessel, their actions and fraternisations closely supervised by government-appointed intermediaries forbidden by law to provide information of the country. Dutch ships averaged three a year, and Dutch residence at Dejima was limited to twenty. Through the decades and then the centuries some few gathered what information they could, but little was published, little of that translated, and what had been a limited but inquisitive knowledge of Japan in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century writing in Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, and English, and French translation of these, gradually lost pace with a widening European knowledge of other Asian civilisations. On the afternoon Perry arrived at Uraga the evidence is that no native of Britain or America spoke or read more than a few words of Japanese,³ little was known in European and American academies of Japan's literature, art, or religion, and the most complete Western histories of the country were English, French, Dutch, German, Russian, and Latin editions of the *History of Japan*, by Engelbert Kaempfer, written late in the seventeenth century and first published in 1727.⁴ European and American imaginative writing had occasionally evoked Japan, or a place called Japan, but most often as an image of the enigmatic and unknown, as distant from London and Paris as Lilliput and Cockaigne.⁵

Historians have debated the effects of the years of seclusion on the Japanese, but little attention has been given the effects of Japanese seclusion in Europe and America. This may seem an odd issue to raise, but the point is simply that an absence may have consequences as notable as a presence, and for Europe and America during the years of Japanese seclusion the absences vis-à-vis Japan were many. In 1853 there had been no Anquetil-Duperron, Jones, Champollion, or Burton to unravel the mysteries of the Japanese language, no Diderot or Goldsmith to satirise European society through the eyes of a Japanese, no Voltaire, Chateaubriand, Moore, Byron, or Nerval to represent Japanese manners to European theatre-goers or readers of verse, no Delacroix or Decamps to represent on canvas the quality of light on the Inland Sea, no Daniel Marot or John Nash to bring Japanese lines to the European palace or English pavilion, no Félicion-César David to weave French choral with Japanese melody, no Edmund Burke or James Mill to theorise the administration of Japanese government or

law, no collection of representative works at the British Museum or Louvre, in Japan itself no colonial administrator, clerk, or footman, no reporter for the *Times* or *Le Figaro*. Emerson, Thoreau, and others of the New England Idealists had incorporated European representations of Buddhist, Confucian, and Hindu texts, but nothing of or said to be of Japan, into the discourse that came to be called American Transcendentalism. For more than a decade Max Müller had been at work on the study of comparative religion that under his editorship would result in the fifty-one-volume Clarendon Press *Sacred Books of the East*, studies that range from the Apocrypha to Zoroaster and James Breasted's Egypt to James Legge's China, but nothing of or from Japan. After 238 years of British commercial relations with China, eleven of British extraterritoriality in the ports ceded by the Treaty of Nanking, scholars such as Legge and Thomas Francis Wade had carried important works from the Chinese canon into English, but for lack of materials and informants could not extend their studies to the ideographically-similar Japanese. Like points might be made about European and American knowledge of Japan regarding virtually any part of the orientalist canon as it existed at mid-century.

The few European works describing Japan that had appeared during the years of seclusion came almost exclusively from those attached to the Dutch factory at Dejima, and though several of these are remarkable given the limitations on access to information,⁶ none had contributed more than Kaempfer to the formation of a popular Western image of the country. Two widely-read compilations published in London and New York in the years prior to the Perry expedition, M. M. Busk's *Manners and Customs of the Japanese* (Murray/Harper, 1841) and Charles MacFarlane's *Japan: An Account Geographical and Historical* (Routledge/Putnam, 1852), fairly summarise what was known in Europe at mid-century, but both are of necessity superficial, and both rely heavily on Kaempfer, as do Alexander Knox's lengthy ruminations about 'what we . . . really know of Japan' in the October 1852 *Edinburgh Review*.⁷ By the time Perry arrived at Uraga readers on both sides of the Atlantic were eager for information of the country, but their choice of material was more limited than publishers and compilers readily allowed. In London bookshops in the summer of 1853 five newly-released studies of Japan sold briskly: Busk and MacFarlane (a new edition of the former had appeared in 1852), a deceptively-titled reprint of Golovnin's account of his captivity, *Japan and the Japanese* (Colburne, 1852), and new abridgements of the old standard, Kaempfer, in Universal Library of Standard Authors editions from both Blackwood (*Remarkable Voyages and Travels*, 1852) and Cooke (*An Account of Japan*, 1853). Knox, among others, had assured English readers that in a country such as Japan nothing much had changed through the centuries ('Everything . . . is so immutable in this

empire that things remain at the present moment . . . as they were in Kaempfer's time'), but his own language belied the confidence with which he made the point. Japan 'remain[ed]', for Britain and America, a 'mystery', a 'sealed book', and 'a vague and shadowy idea'.

Perry's aims were largely commercial—the Treaty of Kanagawa that his warships brought about granted the Americans free access to ports at Shimoda and Hakodate, the right to a consulate, and most-favoured-nation status—but the popular European and American interest that followed the opening of Japan derived from longing for commerce of a different sort. The first serious English-language poem with a Japanese subject, Whitman's 'Errand Bearers', published in 1860 in response to a parade in Manhattan in honour of the first Japanese embassy to the United States, speaks to the point. What Whitman saw in the procession of the 'nobles of Nippon' was the 'intense soul' of the Orient itself, 'our Antipodes', the 'Originatress' and 'bequeather of poems', whose arrival on American shores represented both a fulfilment of destiny and a point of departure:

The sign is reversing, the orb is enclosed,
The ring is circled, the journey is done,
The box-lid is but perceptibly open'd, nevertheless the perfume pours
copiously out of the whole box.⁸

Whatever might be said of the reasons for seeing things this way, or the placement in New York of a centre to which fate had pulled the Japanese (their own diaries kept on the journey present a radically different interpretation of the embassy and its implications),⁹ Whitman's lines were prophetic. The perfumes that poured from the box newly opened were copious indeed, and soon were to be diffused throughout the aesthetic landscape of Western Europe and the United States, with effects considerable and wide ranging. In the first half-century following Perry's arrival at Uraga these would be felt most keenly in the decorative and fine arts, but by the second they would be conspicuous in disparate and surprising fields, architecture, interior design, fashion, dance, popular and avant-garde theatre, stage design, music, landscape gardening, ceramics, religious studies, and literature, among others.

At first European and American interest arose from what could be seen, that is, from what could be interpreted, rightly or wrongly, without aid of an intermediary. In explaining the background to this study this is an important point. The earliest Japanese influences in the West were not textual because so few in the West could read the texts. The popular imagination was stirred, however, by the curios—fans, kites, combs, parasols, sword guards, porcelains, dolls, kimonos, and the like—that constituted the first Japanese cultural exports of the modern period, and by

ukiyo—the ‘pictures from the floating world’ still so much associated in the West with the Japanese tradition. An exhibition of Japanese applied arts took place in London as early as 1854, at the premises of the Old Water Colour Society at Pall Mall East,¹⁰ but the ‘discovery’ of Japanese art in Europe is most often attributed to the French designer Félix Bracquemond (1833-1914), who in or around 1856 came across a copy of Hokusai’s *Manga* sketchbooks at a Paris studio, and soon was incorporating motifs from Hokusai into his own work, and extolling the virtues of Japanese design to a large circle of acquaintances, including Manet, Degas, Pissarro, Cassatt, and others who came to be associated with the Impressionist school.¹¹ By 1862 ukiyo and other Japanese *objets d’art* were readily available in Parisian shops frequented by enthusiasts from both sides of the English Channel,¹² and in that year the Japanese Court at the International Exhibition at London was a great success, and further excited the growing interest.

The Exhibition opened on 30 April, by chance less than twenty-four hours after the arrival in London of the first Japanese embassy to Europe, whose appearance and demeanour on tours of London, Woolwich, Portsmouth, Aldershot, Newcastle, Liverpool, and Birmingham created what one writer has called a ‘public sensation’, and this no doubt contributed to the interest afforded the 623 Japanese artefacts on display at South Kensington. The embassy’s presence at opening ceremonies lent the Court an air of official sanction, even though it had been prepared not by Japanese hands but by Rutherford Alcock, first British Minister to Japan, and consisted largely of porcelains, bronzes, and prints he had collected for the purpose on day-trips from his residence at Edo, apparently without realising that many were quite modern and demonstrated the early signs of a European influence already infiltrating the Japanese decorative arts. The success of the exhibition, however, established Alcock as an authority on Japanese art, and the four-day public sale of the artefacts late in the year ‘attracted unusual interest’, according to the *Times*, and afforded Alcock a profit that would not have discouraged others from exploiting a favourable rate of exchange and the new but not quite discriminating public taste for things Japanese.¹³

Similar successes followed at other venues—a series of triumphant private exhibitions in Paris from the mid-seventies forward, the *Exposition Universelle* at Paris in 1867, International Exhibitions at Dublin in 1865, Vienna in 1873, Philadelphia in 1876, and Paris in 1876, 1878, and 1889—and publications proposing to educate an eager public about the merits of Japanese design followed one upon the other. By 1885 a Japanese Village complete with villagers from Japan was on display at Knightsbridge, shops devoted to Japanese art and bric-a-brac thrived in London and New York, interiors on both sides of the Atlantic were decorated ‘in the Japanese

style', kimono had become standard house-dress for the rich and well-connected, and the Impressionist painters and others had turned to ukiyoe for subject matter, theories of composition and colour, and justification for a perceived break with European tradition. In 1889 Oscar Wilde declared 'the whole of Japan . . . a pure invention . . . simply a mode of style' and 'exquisite fancy of art',¹⁴ and in many ways he was right. Thirty-six years after Perry landed at Uraga Japan had become for Europe and America a fashion more than a geography, and the manners and figures associated with it had provided first French and then English critics with a new term, Japonisme, which by the turn of the century denoted not only a widespread fascination with things Japanese, but also an important aesthetic movement that somewhere behind Wilde's exquisite fancy had roots in the artefacts and popular visual arts of the Edo period.¹⁵

Discussions of nineteenth-century Japonisme most often focus on the visual arts, but literary manifestations are apparent as well. Of many popular novels set in Japan in this period most have been forgotten by all but those with a historical bent, but taken together they are nonetheless more engaging than their counterparts in verse and drama. A few serious poems with Japanese subjects appeared and remain readable—Longfellow's 'Keramos', Ernest Fenollosa's 'East and West', and Kipling's 'Buddha at Kamakura' are the most interesting in English—and critics have called attention to a relationship between ukiyoe and the literary Impressionism of writers such as Swinburne and Wilde, but the poetry and drama of nineteenth-century Japonisme is largely an exercise in the fanciful, what Swinburne as early as 1888, in a different context but anticipating a current in twentieth-century critical response to *japonaiserie* in English poetry, described as 'the fairy-land of fans . . . the paradise of pipkins . . . and all the fortuitous frippery of Fusi-yama'.¹⁶ In many ways typical is W. E. Henley's 'Ballade of a Toyokuni Colour Print':

Was I a Samurai renowned,
Two-sworded, fierce, immense of bow?
A histrion angular and profound?
A priest? a porter?—Child, although
I have forgotten clean, I know
That in the shade of Fujisan,
What time the cherry-orchards blow,
I loved you once in old Japan.

As here you loiter, flowing-gowned
And hugely sashed, with pins a-row
Your quaint head as with flamelets crowned,
Demure, inviting—even so,
When merry maids in Miyako
To feel the sweet o' the year began,
And green gardens to overflow,
I loved you once in old Japan.¹⁷

Henley's work continues through further stanzas that ply the staple images, 'rice fields round', 'cranes circling, sleepy and slow', a bamboo bridge, a 'flirted fan' and 'plum-tree's bloomy snow', and adds in the end a nod to the Buddhist conception of reincarnation, for the events described took place, Henley allows, 'a dozen lives ago'. The Ballade and like poems are unencumbered with facts about Japan—the shade of Fujisan and the merry maids in Miyako are separated by three hundred miles, Utagawa Toyokuni and the world of his prints precede Henley by one generation, not a dozen—but nonetheless by the eighties, along with their more exuberant cousins in the musical theatre, they were ubiquitous.¹⁸

The only writer to address this body of work in more than a passing way is Earl Miner, in *The Japanese Tradition in British and American Literature*, a study that for four decades has defined the incorporation of Japanese subjects by British and American writers. Miner finds poems such as Henley's representative of a 'chronological exoticism' that seeks to idealise the past of an 'unfamiliarly refined' culture, and notes that in regard to Japan this impulse has 'born little fruit for our literature'.¹⁹ This assessment surely is accurate in literary terms—at the dawning of the twenty-first century no one would suggest that nineteenth-century literary Japonisme represents more than a curious backwater in relation to the mainstream of the English literary tradition—but it is not of much help in explaining the popularity of such poems and plays, their relationship to the Japonisme of the visual arts, or to the literary response to Japan that followed in the twentieth century. Miner himself is aware of the difficulty, but suggests that we are 'apt to be teased out of thought and even out of patience' if we try to decide what the attraction of Japan for the West has meant in 'significant historical or cultural terms'; an attraction 'has existed and continues, but . . . seems to defy explanation', and though Miner posits certain 'imponderable elements in the Western spirit' that may be explained 'only by the postulate of an Oriental cultural attraction for the West', he finds the problems involved in accounting for this 'difficult', and beyond discussion of the results of that part of the attraction that concerns literature in English, though the larger issue 'teases', he is 'happy to turn [it] over to the cultural historian or to the anthropologist'. No subsequent account of the relationship of Japan and the West, however, by cultural historian, anthropologist, or literary critic, has addressed the point in a substantive way.

Part of the difficulty Miner notes lies in the historicity of a critical language with which representations of the foreign have been addressed. In 1958, when *Japanese Tradition* appeared, no body of literary analyses had established a vocabulary sufficient for the task of resolving the problems to which Miner refers. The Anglo-

American critical ethos that determined ways of looking at a text had for years emphasised not looking outside it, but by definition what is at issue here is the relationship of text to what is external, *exotikos*, of the outside in relation to a centre mutually inhabited by writer and reader. Another way to say this is that until recently a term such as exoticism could hardly but have been imprecise as a figure of literary-critical discourse in English, more evaluative than descriptive, leading to closure rather than opening in lines of analysis. Miner's equation of exoticism with idealism no doubt is accurate in many cases, but does not address the nature of the impulse itself, and so cannot explain its appeal for the writers and readers of texts like Henley's. The *Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, echoing an understanding of exoticism traceable to Irving Babbitt, defines the term as the 'persistent incidence . . . of nostalgia directed toward the distant and the strange',²⁰ but this too avoids a central issue by placing exoticism in terms of a second concept equally elusive. Nostalgia, originally a 'form of melancholia caused by prolonged absence from one's home or country', has been generalised in the twentieth century to include connotations of 'sorrowful longing for the conditions of a past age',²¹ and in recent critical writing has been explored in terms helpful here, as in Susan Stewart's *On Longing*:

Nostalgia is a sadness . . . which creates a longing that of necessity is inauthentic because it does not take part in lived experience. . . . The past it seeks has never existed except as narrative, and hence, always absent, that past continually threatens to reproduce itself as a felt lack. Hostile to history and its invisible origins, and yet longing for an impossibly pure context of lived experience . . . nostalgia wears a distinctly utopian face . . . that turns toward a . . . past which has only ideological reality. This point of desire which the nostalgic seeks is in fact the absence that is the very generating mechanism of desire.²²

This equation of nostalgia with desire, and of both of these with absence, is drawn from a study of particular cultural manifestations of longing, but understanding of an interplay between absence and desire informs as well a series of recent analyses of exoticism as a mode of representation—by H. H. Remak, Francis Affergan, Denise Brahimi, Wolfgang Zimmer, Chris Bongie, Tzvetan Todorov, Dorothy Figueira, and Roger Célestin, among others²³—that together with related studies has established a vocabulary that facilitates analysis of a sort that could not have been held in place in 1958. Again, however, with the exception of Célestin's reading of Roland Barthes's *Empire of Signs*, a work that at its outset identifies the Japan under discussion as a 'fantasy',²⁴ this way of seeing has not been brought to bear on European and American representations of Japan. This is an absence itself related to larger issues that are of interest here, and would reward exploration, but for present purposes suffice it to say that seen in these terms desire and exoticism are two sides of one impulse, the former

originating in an absence that for some writers and artists initiates representation, the latter the act of this representation when its object is or is of a foreign culture.

With these terms in place hypotheses about the nature of nineteenth-century Japonisme begin to suggest themselves, but these are best considered in the context of another landscape that will help establish more exactly the nature of the terms and the ways they inform understanding of the Western response to Japan in the nineteenth century. Miner's concept of a chronological exoticism had suggested itself also to Théophile Gautier, in 1863, in a letter to Edmond and Jules de Goncourt in which Gautier explained his own understanding of exoticism and that of others in France with whom the term had become associated. In contrast to Miner's sense of an attraction for the unfamiliarly refined, however, as Gautier saw it a particular kind of desire, or 'taste' (*le goût*), was determinative. 'There are two meanings to exoticism', he wrote; the first is 'a taste for exoticism in space, a taste for America, a taste for yellow women [or] green women', for example, but 'the more refined taste, the more supreme corruption, is the taste for exoticism in time', Gautier's first example of which suggests an understanding that places exoticism in a more provocative landscape than usually has been considered in Anglo-American criticism. Gustave Flaubert, Gautier wrote, 'voudrait forniquer à Carthage': he would like to fornicate in Carthage.²⁵

The reference is to *Salammbô*, Flaubert's 'Carthaginian novel' of 1863, about the high priestess of the title, set against the brutality of the rebellion of mercenaries against Carthage after the First Punic War.²⁶ Gautier was the first to write of the work in terms of its exoticism, but others have followed, and in terms pertaining here, Lisa Lowe in *Critical Terrains* and a later study of nationalism and exoticism in Flaubert, Anne Mullen Hohl at length in *Exoticism in Salammbô*, Eugenio Donato in discussion of Flaubert's 'nostalgia for Antiquity',²⁷ and Roger Célestin in analysis of the relationship between the irrevocable absence of Carthage and Flaubert's 'desire for an exotic other place' well distanced from the bourgeois manners of Paris. Carthage, Célestin writes,

becomes the scene of sumptuous decadence and erotic opulence, but, above all and forevermore, it is the ever receding presence, the unattainable fullness: here, the exotic is under the sign of the impossible. . . . Carthage . . . attracts *because* of its absence (emphasis Célestin's).²⁸

A reading of exoticism in these terms can lead in several directions. If, for example, as Célestin has it, the 'dissident desire' of a 'self-affirming subject' is what generates a shift from passive awareness of an exotic other place to the mode of representation called exoticism,²⁹ then analysis of the nature of the desire mediated in a text or body of texts is not out of place, and indeed the Western response to Japan in

the nineteenth century reveals a full taxonomy of desire, both fulfilled and frustrated. In this regard a reading in Gautier's frankly sexual terms, or the political terms established in a study such as Edward Said's *Orientalism* in 1978, might identify consistencies that have not before been noted, and across a wide constellation of works. The point here, however, is more mundane, and concerns the nature of the absence rather than the desires it arguably engendered. The empirically demonstrable point is that Japan for a Henley and his audience was absent in a different way than were the objects of other nineteenth-century exoticisms, the Islamic world of *Thalaba* and *Lalla Rookh*, Gautier's Spain, classical Greece, and Pompeii, the India of the Parnassians, more profoundly absent, to take the example at hand, even than for Flaubert and his readers was the Carthaginian antiquity.

For nineteenth-century writers and readers the classical world was present as a rich tapestry of text. Polybius, Appian, Pliny, Xenophon, Hippocrates, Atheneus, Sallust, and Apuleius were accessible, and Flaubert turned to each, and to two thousand years of elaboration.³⁰ To Ernst Feydeau he wrote of his plan to 'rebuild Carthage completely', to Jules Duplan of the 400-page thesis on the Pyramidal Cypress he read because these were the trees that grew in the courtyard of the temple of Astarteus, to Sainte-Beuve of his confidence that he had 'reconstruct[ed] correctly' the temple of Tanit based on 'the treatise of the Syrian Goddess, the duc de Luyne's medals, our knowledge of the temple at Jerusalem, a passage from St. Jerome quoted by Delden . . . [and] the plan of the temple at Gozo'.³¹ The contrast to the exoticism of literary Japonisme is stark. Gautier quipped that in *Salammbô* Flaubert had 'cut down a forest to make a book of matches', and Flaubert himself wrote of 'drinking in oceans and pissing them out again',³² but for nineteenth-century writers of poems and plays about Japan there was no forest and no ocean, and in most cases they did not turn even to the works available in an emerging but immature Western scholarship of Japan. They favoured instead stock images from the visual arts, almost exclusively, as in Henley's case, from ukiyoe, and so compounded one absence with another, producing a body of work that lacks correlatives both in lived experience and in the already-represented experience of earlier texts.

That some nineteenth-century poets responding to the fashion for Japan travelled to and even lived for a time in Japan—Edwin Arnold was the most widely-celebrated of these—does not change the point. The lived experience was mediated by the standard figures to such a degree that the resulting work does not differ notably from that of counterparts who did not leave home. For both groups the textual absence was determinative. And neither is the contrast to other nineteenth-century exoticisms limited to Gautier and Miner's exoticism in time, or to mid-century, or to prose, or to

writing in French. Byron, for example, claimed that by the age of ten he had read Knolles's *Generall Historie of the Turkes* (1603), Rycaut's *History of the Turkish Empire* (1679), Galland's *Arabian Nights* (1706), Cantemir's *Histoire de l'empire Othoman* (1743), Lady Montagu's letters from Turkey (1763), de Tott's *Memoires . . . sur les Turcs et les Tartares* (1785), Hawkins's translation of Mignot's *Histoire de l'empire Ottoman* (1787), and 'all [other] travels or histories or books from the East [he] could meet with', and critics have demonstrated intertextual influences in his *Turkish Tales* from these works, d'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque orientale* (1697), Sale's translation of the Koran (1734), Samuel Henley's notes to Beckford's *Vathek* (1786), Weston's *Moral Aphorisms in Arabic, and a Persian Commentary in Verse* (1805), translations from the fourteenth-century poet Hafiz—four editions were available in English by 1805—and numerous volumes of philology and translation by William Jones, whose first *Collected Works* appeared in 1807.³³

The literary exoticism set in motion by the fashion for Japan, however, was contrived in an absence that with few exceptions determined even the rhetorical forms that could be employed. Hyperbole, heroic posturing, and sentimentality were the tactics in verse, high adventure in the novel, melodrama and burlesque on the stage, methods and manners not reliant on an objective or even a textual counterpart. Whitman, Longfellow, Fenollosa, and Kipling wrote poems that explore the meaning of Japan as a new and unknown presence for the West, but beyond this, with few exceptions, the nineteenth-century Anglo-American literary response may be accounted for in Susan Stewart's terms. It was necessarily inauthentic, unmindful of history, and turned toward an object that did not exist but as Western narrative. Finally the absences involved determined even the writers for whom the subject would appeal. Among British poets, for example, but for Kipling, who travelled in Japan, and Swinburne and Wilde, who experimented with technique related to ukiyoe but lampooned the Japanese vogue, the more eminent of the Victorians, Tennyson, Browning, Matthew Arnold, Hardy, Hopkins, grounded their work more firmly in presence, and in contrast to their Modernist heirs, for whom a different equation pertained, did not address Japan in print.

More than the clichés, strained rhymes, and extra and unwieldy syllables in iambic lines, this inauthenticity is the failing of nineteenth-century verse Japonisme. By 1870 a set of images had become fixed—the two-sworded samurai, the courtesan of the Yoshiwara, the posed actor, Fuji, cherry blossoms, plum branches in snow—but context was sadly wanting, and Japanese concepts and techniques all but unknown. By the eighties some poets would claim that particular works were written 'in the

Japanese fashion' or 'Japanese manner'—Thomas Westwood's 'Miniature Odes', R. H. Stoddard's 'Lament' and 'The Pearl', Edwin Arnold's 'Grateful Foxes', for example³⁴—but given the metres and rhymes and subjective stances what was meant by this is difficult to imagine. In such instances perhaps it is a general rule that the visual arts lead and literature follows. Western designers turned to models in the Japanese decorative arts, the Impressionist painters to ukiyoe, with results that inform later work and remain provocative, in part because they represent an authentic meeting of traditions. When van Gogh painted a river and rain that Hiroshige had carved into a block of wood, or Whistler transposed Hiroshige's bridge at Kyôbashi to the Thames,³⁵ a conventional manner of seeing was contravened, and a new model established, with antecedents in Japan; but when Poo-Bah, Nanki-Poo, Ko-Ko, and Yum-Yum take to the stage in Gilbert and Sullivan's *Mikado*,³⁶ or events unfold in dozens of English poems of old Japan, conventional assumptions are bolstered, and the only ^{principle contravened} ~~contravention~~ is that of regard for the authenticity of the representation, or the possibility that anyone in the audience might know better, or care one way or the other.

In many cases the enterprise of the Japonisme of the visual arts was to carry over what Pound later would call a live tradition,³⁷ but for nineteenth-century poets responding to the fashion for Japan success more often lay in an affected knowledge of a landscape at best but dimly perceived. This Japonisme was carried into the twentieth century by poets such as Alfred Noyes, and is in many ways the precursor to the Japan-inspired verse of poets such as Ficke, Fletcher, Lowell, and their followers, but even the more enduring examples of the genre, *The Mikado*, Pierre Loti's *Madame Chrysanthème*, even those few that endure and are sympathetic to the authenticity of a Japanese presence—passages in Lafcadio Hearn, the last and most beautiful manifestation of *Madame Butterfly*—while confirming and perpetuating stereotypes that persisted for decades, have less in common with the Japonisme of the visual arts, or with other nineteenth-century exoticisms, than usually has been supposed, and in only superficial ways account for the more provocative literary response that followed.³⁸

The more important work was being done by travellers—journalists, diplomats, scholars, and translators—those engaged in establishing modern texts where before there had been none. The point is not that these were accurate, but that given the circumstances they were necessary, and inevitably included works of wide interest and influence. The earliest came from members of the Perry Expedition, but others followed in rapid succession: after 1860 from the scholar-envoys associated with the British and American consular presence in Japan; after 1869 from writers whose travels were facilitated by completion of the Suez Canal and American transcontinental

railroad; after 1877 from foreign scholars invested at the Imperial University at Tokyo by a Meiji government eager to adapt the ways of Western power; and soon thereafter from Japanese writers themselves, capable of representing themselves in the languages of Europe.³⁹ The outpouring in this early period was remarkable. Fifty years after Perry's arrival at Uraga ended two centuries of virtual silence monographs about Japanese subjects in English alone numbered more than 3,000.⁴⁰ Most of these are long forgotten, and with good reason, but among their number are the studies of Japanese art, literature, and history, and translation of works from the Japanese canon, that along with works of later intermediaries have been the texts to which twentieth-century Anglo-American poets responding to Japan have gone to school, not to nineteenth-century literary Japonisme, and in the early years of the century not often to Japan herself.

These considerations begin to allow placement of the twentieth-century literary response to Japan in a fuller context, but further issues remain, the first of which is facilitated by a return to Miner's *Japanese Tradition*. For Miner the Western fascination with Japan continues to 'tease' even after his acknowledgement that it 'seems to defy explanation'. He returns to the point in distinguishing between the 'chronological exoticism' of poems such as Henley's and a 'cultural exoticism' that idealises the 'different and ancient but rich and continuous [Japanese] culture' as it exists concurrently with the writer representing it, but again the contrast to Gautier's like distinction of a century earlier is clear:

It would be difficult, after all [Miner writes], to exoticize or idealize the forms of Ubangi culture—or of the Indian and Chinese hinterlands—beyond a certain point, since few Westerners can really imagine themselves happy for a moment in such societies. But Japan, a civilization as highly refined as the West, is familiar and congenial in its modern conveniences, in addition to having the additional grace for a world-weary Westerner of new and idealized forms of behavior and art.⁴¹

This is a safe exoticism, the appeal of a familiar but vaguely mysterious home-away-from-home, the Japan of the tourist, and surely it accounts for a particular sort of twentieth-century Western interest. But insofar as the terms are offered in explanation of the larger allure of Japan for the West they obscure fundamental issues. Japan's familiar and congenial modern conveniences are products of the late nineteenth century and after, and cannot account for earlier Western attraction. The lot of the early residents of the treaty ports was anything but congenial. Attacks on foreigners by disaffected samurai were common, and by 1864, two years after the International Exhibition at London, had led to the stationing of a British garrison at Yokohama to protect the settlement. And Western interest in Japan cannot be explained in terms of 'idealized forms of behavior and art' without begging important

questions: who has done the idealising, and for whom? But the more serious difficulty is Miner's failure to take into account that historically and culturally the Western relationship with Japan has differed radically from that with India, China, or the Congo Basin. On the afternoon that Perry arrived at Uraga each of these in one form or another had been a continuous presence for Europeans for hundreds of years, from the arrival of Vasco da Gama at Calicut in 1498, Portuguese merchants at Macao in 1514, and British, Dutch, Portuguese, and French slave traders at Ouidah after 1518. Henley's poem, to take a convenient example, was published 288 years after Elizabeth I granted the British East India Company a monopoly on trade with India, 104 after Pitt's India Act divided control of the subcontinent between the Company and the British government, 241 years after the first British use of force at Canton, 109 after the East India Company monopolised the opium trade, 168 years after the first captives from central Africa survived the Middle Passage and were sold at auction in Virginia, 36 after Livingstone opened a route to central Africa, and a year before the French founding of the colony of Ubangi-Shari, after a decade of squabbling with the Belgians, Germans, and British. But from 1640 to 1853 in Japan there had been a silence, and in Europe and then America an increasingly felt absence, and longing built upon longing until the box-lid was open'd and the perfumes poured out.

Earl Miner was in 1958 and remains today a careful and keenly insightful scholar, one to whom anyone approaching this subject owes an incalculable debt, and one surely aware of the perils of the treaty ports, the origins of idealised Japanese behaviour and art, and in later articles the distance between what Anglo-American writers needed from Japan and what is actually present there.⁴² But the difficulties with which the definitive work on the subject approaches the cultural repercussions of the seclusion period are indicative of a larger problem. Miner's argument about the Anglo-American literary interest in Japan relies on the premise that by the nineteenth century a persistent pessimism about the Western tradition had led European and American writers to turn to foreign cultures for 'fresh and revivifying forms', but Miner remains troubled that

neither the imponderables of cultural attraction nor the notion of 'the decline of the West' explains why Japan rather than India or China should have been most influential in this period of four centuries of cultural relations with English literature.⁴³

The trouble perhaps is traceable to a critical discourse that so lacked discernment about representations of the exotic that particular sorts of cultural relationships, like particular 'elements in the Western spirit', were 'imponderable', but whatever the cause the lapse is historical. It is as if Miner has forgotten the period of seclusion. The

explanation he seeks lies beneath the surface of his own words. In regard to Japan there had been no four centuries of cultural relations with English literature. Miner more than most writers who have addressed the subject places the locus of his inquiry in the needs of Western writers rather than the attributes of the Japanese subjects they have sought, and even studies that explain Western attraction for Japan wholly in terms of a Japanese presence may not be dismissed out of hand, but no study of the literary or larger cultural relationship of Japan and the West has grasped, or even confronted, two equally fundamental points: a definitive antecedent for the European and American fascination with Japan may be found in the years of Japanese isolation and the impulses they set in motion, and no part of the subsequent aesthetic response to Japan in the West to the present day exists outside the province of this history.

II. Making History: Meiji Japan and the West

Great past all strength of watchers to appraise,
The deed by faith and patient valour done
When on Tsushima's waters sank the sun
And night's grim victory followed on the day's!
Before the Western nations' wondering gaze
The East stood forth, and fought for life, and won.

—George Barlow, 'Battle of the Sea of Japan', 1908

The legacy of seclusion is not the only historical inheritance of twentieth-century English-language poets responding to Japan. In other circumstances the fascination might have waned, but the Japanese continued to behave in unexpected ways. By 1858 a besieged shogunate had been forced to sign unequal treaties with the United States, Britain, the Netherlands, Russia, and France.⁴⁴ The rallying cry of those opposed to rapprochement with the foreigners was 'revere the Emperor and expel the barbarians' (*sonnō jōi*), but by the spring of 1868, when shogunal authorities surrendered Edo to an army acting in the name of the fifteen-year-old Meiji Emperor, a new cry was in the air, 'wealthy country and strong arms' (*fukoku kyōhei*), and soon the clique in command of the Restoration government, mainly young samurai from the domains that had been most steadfastly anti-foreign, was promulgating a new motto, 'Civilisation and Enlightenment' (*bunmei kaika*), a euphemism for the manners and customs of the West, which from intellectual currents to hairstyles were widely and officially promoted. It was another slogan, however, that most completely characterises the impulses of the time: *jōyaku kaisei*, 'revise the unequal treaties'. Attitudes toward the West among the Meiji elite ranged from antipathy to uneasy interest to genuine admiration, but agreement was undivided that if Japan could not expel the barbarians she would at least stand beside them as an equal on the world stage. As most saw it the

task was twofold: Western principles of law and behaviour would be adopted so that the foreigners would recognise Japan as a civilised nation and revise the treaties, and institutions and infrastructures would be established so that no such humiliation could befall the country again. The press exhorted readers to give up bad old habits (*kyûhei*) lest the Westerners think Japan backward, Imperial ordinance required foreign dress at official functions, and municipal authorities advocated the eating of beef,⁴⁵ but also, between 1871 and 1890: the feudal land system was abolished and the class system restructured, an Imperial Army created and universal conscription prescribed, education, law enforcement, banking, and tax systems reformed, a Supreme Court and National University established, thousands of miles of telegraph lines laid, government by cabinet and bicameral national assembly inaugurated, 1,500 miles of railroads constructed, and a constitution and civil code authored, ratified, and implemented. Perry had opened the door to a pre-industrial civilisation, but within forty years when the West looked at Japan its gaze was met by that of a modern state.⁴⁶

This did not go unnoticed in the West, but it was a particular part of the enterprise that most particularly engaged attention. A modern state, on the evidence of the Western powers themselves, exercised influence abroad, and to its own ends. The Japanese ‘know . . . well enough . . . that our Christian and humanitarian professions are really nothing but bunkum’, Basil Hall Chamberlain wrote from Tokyo early in the twentieth century, for ‘the history of India, of Egypt, of Turkey, is no secret to them’, and

more familiar still, because fought out at their very gates, is the great and instructive case of the West versus China,—six or seven young tigers against one old cow. The Japanese would be blind indeed; did they not see that their best security for continued safety and success lies in the determination to be strong. . . .⁴⁷

In 1871 the Kingdom of the Ryûkyûs, a Chinese protectorate since the fourteenth century, was brought under Japanese jurisdiction, and eight years later annexed, to the futile protestations of the Ryûkyûan king and the Ch’ing court. In 1874 an expeditionary force of 3,000 occupied aboriginal territories in Taiwan, ostensibly in retaliation for the murder of shipwrecked Ryûkyûan fishermen, and withdrew only after negotiations in Peking, brokered by Wade, the British Minister, led to Chinese compensation and formal acknowledgement that the action had been just. In 1875 Japanese gunboats traded fire with batteries on shore at a remote Korean outpost, establishing pretext for a larger expedition the following year, three warships commanded by a future Prime Minister ‘fully conscious of the parallel between his own and the Perry expedition’,⁴⁸ whose show of force secured a treaty of commerce and friendship as inequitable as any the Western powers had imposed on Japan. Meiji

leaders emerged from civil war in 1877 with consolidated power,⁴⁹ and through the eighties extended Japanese authority in Korea, twice as a result narrowly averting war with China. By the eighties the question of the unequal treaties remained, but had been taken up in wider circles. A former British resident of Yokohama spoke for many when he wrote that 'in a matter of this kind, it seems impossible for a Christian nation to treat as its equal a nation which has not yet been leavened with the high moral ideas that Christianity alone can impart',⁵⁰ but by 1889 no less a centre of enlightened opinion than the *Times* was calling for treaty revision: 'What conceivable reason is there . . . for excluding such a nation from the comity of civilized States, and condemning it to the stigma of semi-barbarous isolation?'⁵¹ On 16 July 1894, in no small part the result of Japan's emergence as a regional power, British representatives in Tokyo signed a revised treaty that called for the end to extraterritoriality in five years, the first of the unequal treaties to be so amended, and nine days later, with Japan 'now in a better position than before to assert itself in the world arena',⁵² Japanese warships in the Yellow Sea sank a steamer carrying Chinese conscripts to Korea, 1,300 drowned, and the first Sino-Japanese War was under way, declared officially in Tokyo on 1 August. The West looked on with a measured disapproval,⁵³ but also a growing sense of wonder. Japanese forces were outnumbered on land and sea but within seven months had expelled the Chinese from Korea, destroyed the Ch'ing fleet, and were in control of Shantung, crucial Manchurian ports, and the sea lanes leading to Peking. China capitulated in March 1895 and in the Treaty of Shimonoseki ceded to Japan the Liaotung Peninsula, Taiwan, and the Pescadores, along with most-favoured-nation status, four treaty ports, and an indemnity twelvefold the Japanese military budget of 1894. By the end of the century the last of the unequal treaties was revised, and the *Times* and other determiners of the Western discourse were taking notice of a national progress 'unexampled in the history of the world'.⁵⁴

Japan entered the twentieth century the most powerful of Asian states, and in centres of Western opinion was much discussed, but not often in terms that accorded full equality with the Western powers themselves. Meiji leaders had been humiliated after the signing of the Treaty of Shimonoseki when the tripartite intervention of Russia, France, and Germany forced retrocession of Liaotung to China, and again months later when the Russians themselves occupied the peninsula in Japan's place. Concerns about Russian expansionism, however, established a link between the policies of Japan and those of another island empire. When the Chinese secret society known in English as the Boxers rampaged against all things foreign in Peking in 1900 British interests were those most under threat,⁵⁵ and in her appeals for help she turned not to the ready Russian army in the north but to the east, and the Meiji

government responded with a force of 10,000, the largest contingent of the allied army that occupied Peking and restored order.⁵⁶ Japan's participation was not without self-interest—the Boxer Protocol of 1901 ended Chinese independence in all but name and accorded the protocol powers the right to maintain forces in Peking—but the intervention of an Asian state acting in behalf of European interests in China was acclaimed in Britain and the United States, and contributed to the emergence of Japan as Britain's principal ally in Asia, a relationship confirmed by the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902.⁵⁷ Key clauses specified that if either state should become involved in war with another 'Power' the other would remain neutral, but that if a third power joined the hostilities the allies would 'conduct the war in common'. In practical terms this sanctioned an aggressive Japanese stance toward Russia, which was allied with France, entrenched in Manchuria, and a challenge to Japanese hegemony in Korea, and after a series of unsuccessful negotiations war came suddenly on 8 February 1904 with the surprise Japanese attack on the Russian fleet at Port Arthur, Liaotung. Costly Japanese victories followed on land and sea, the most decisive of which, the Battle of the Sea of Japan celebrated in George Barlow's poem, culminated in the destruction of the Russian Baltic fleet in the Straits of Tsushima, 27-29 May 1905, by a modern Japanese fleet built in Britain and financed in London and Washington. By the end of the war, marked by the Treaty of Portsmouth the following September, losses on both sides had been horrific, but the Russians were out of southern Manchuria and the Japanese had won Liaotung, the South Manchurian Railroad, half of Sakhalin, and in the West a mixture of admiration, loathing, and fear.

By the autumn of 1905 Japan stood among the colonial powers of the West as an equal, and through the remainder of the Meiji period confirmed the status in a series of diplomatic accords that in effect traded recognition of colonial interests. Renewals of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in 1905 and 1911 acknowledged British authority in India and pledged its joint defence, and Tokyo recognised French claims to Indochina, Russian to northern Manchuria and Mongolia, and American hegemony in the Philippines, in return for acknowledgement of Japanese interests in her own colonial territories, Korea, southern Manchuria, the Pescadores, and Taiwan. A Japanese protectorate was declared in Korea late in 1905 without Western disapproval, and when Tokyo announced annexation of Korea in 1910 the Yi Emperor's international appeals for help went unanswered. The *Times* reported flatly on 25 August that 'his Majesty's Government have been apprised of the intended annexation of Korea, to which there is no objection', and four days later that 'to-morrow the ancient Empire of Korea will cease to exist'.⁵⁸ The more widely noted event of the London summer of 1910 was the Japan-British Exhibition at Shepherd's Bush, 'demonstrating the Arts, Products,

and Resources of the Allied Empires', which between 14 May and 29 October was attended by six million.⁵⁹ Japan fought in support of but not alongside the Western allies in the First World War, and extended her range of influence with the seizure of German-leased territories in China and the Pacific, but in large part her colonial empire was in place when the Meiji Emperor died on 30 July 1912. That day the *Times* devoted most of two pages to the 'Eastern Power', noting that within living memory she had risen 'from the rank of a petty and despised Oriental State' to that of 'the peer of the Great Powers of the Occident'.⁶⁰

III. The Landscape and the Position of the Observer

My people have been sending artistic treasures to Europe for some time, and were regarded as barbarians, but as soon as they showed themselves able to shoot down Russians with quick-firing guns they were acclaimed as a highly civilised race.

—Japanese diplomat, commenting on reaction to the Japan-British Exhibition of 1910, adapted from *The British Press and the Japan-British Exhibition*

In 'The Discovery of Landscape', the opening chapter of Karatani Kōjin's *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*, Karatani argues that 'landscape' (*fūkei* in the Japanese) was a 'structure of perception' (*ninshiki no fuchi*) before it became a representational convention. What Karatani has in mind in using these terms in this way is a fundamental rethinking of the epistemological landscape of the third decade of the Meiji period, when Japanese art and literature, following Japanese institutions and infrastructures, became 'modern'. Landscape, Karatani argues, did not exist in Japan before the Meiji period, but once it 'emerged', or had been 'discovered', it 'fundamentally altered' the ways Japanese artists and writers could perceive the world, so that even the 'nativist scholars' (*kokugakusha*) who 'searched for a landscape that predated "landscape"' were caught in the 'contradiction of being able to envision it only in relation to "landscape"'.⁶¹ Ultimately Karatani's argument is a provocative critique of modernity itself, its 'extreme interiorization' and the emergence of its 'landscapes from which we [have] become alienated', but his understanding of landscape as a 'semiotic configuration' (*kigorontekina fuchi*) ^{helps to explain} ~~informs~~ not only the cultural disjunction that led to the emergence of a modern Japanese literature, but also the development of the historical landscape from within which twentieth-century Anglo-American poetry influenced by Japan emerged.

Literary critics who have addressed the subject have tended to focus on other matters, and to treat literary works responding to Japan as dissociated from time, place, culture, history, and even other texts. One recurring line of argument has it that

the work fails on the grounds that Anglo-American writers turning to Japan have not understood the nature of their Japanese antecedents: Fletcher's poems derived from ukiyoe fail because they are 'not . . . truly Japanese'; Lowell's 'hokku' disappoint because they lack 'the essential quality' of the form; Pound's mediations of Japan are unsuccessful because he was 'unacquainted with Japanese affairs'; Yeats's dance plays are wanting because he did not understand the *nô*. Others have seen the same work through different eyes: Fletcher's poems reflect the 'spirit' of haiku and Zen; Lowell's writing derives from an 'Oriental aesthetic consciousness'; Pound attained to the 'essence of the haiku' and the 'Zen mood' of *yûgen*; Yeats 'reached the essence . . . of Oriental life' and his dance plays the 'essential structure' of the *nô*.⁶²

The problem with these and related interventions into the critical discourse is that they neglect history, or, rather, in Karatani's terms, regard work that emerged from and became a generative part of a historical landscape as somehow preceding or superseding the landscape itself, as if literature were a universal aesthetic realm, or the significance of a literary work depended on the degree to which it corresponds to an *a priori* essence. Pound, Yeats, Fletcher, Lowell, Aiken, Aldington, Bynner, Flint, Ficke, and many of the other writers associated with the emergence of the new poetry in Britain and America in the second decade of the century, turned to Japan, or what they understood to be of Japan, at critical junctures in their writing and thought, and the period marks the first great emanation of a Japanese Muse in English literature, but her lineage was more mixed than generally has been acknowledged, and the work over which she presided was no less coloured by two and a half centuries of Japanese seclusion than 'Ballade of a Toyokuni Colour Print', nor any less bound to the exigencies of politics and power than the British press responding to the Japanese seizure of the ancient empire of Korea.

The cultural disjunction that Karatani describes has its closest counterpart in the West in the outbreak of war in Europe in August 1914. In Eric Hobsbawm's history of the modern world that month marks the end of the 'Age of Empire' and the beginning of the 'Age of Extremes', a transformation from the orthodoxies and commonplaces of the 'long nineteenth century' to a new order fashioned by those who came of age in the twilight of empire. Mao Tse-tung, Ho Chi-minh, Tito, Franco, de Gaulle, Hitler, and Nehru were in their twenties, Roosevelt, Mussolini, Stalin, Adenauer, and Keynes their thirties, Churchill, Lenin, and Gandhi forty, forty-four, and forty-five.⁶³ In Japan in that third year of Taishô, the age of Great Righteousness, Tôjô Hideki was twenty-nine, Hirohito, the crown prince, thirteen. Of figures in the 'field of culture' Hobsbawm notes only that nearly half of those given notice in the *Dictionary of Modern Thought* were 'active in 1880-1914 or adult in 1914', but particular names come easily to mind.

Among the contemporaries of de Gaulle, Adenauer, and Churchill were Cocteau, Stravinsky and Mondrian, Heidegger, Picasso, and Diaghilev, Gramsci, Bartók, and Proust. And in the field of English literature D. H. Lawrence and James Joyce, twenty-eight and thirty-two, were struggling against poverty in London and Trieste, T. S. Eliot, twenty-five, was at work on a Harvard doctor's thesis that would never be presented, and two poets who had spent the previous winter at a cottage in Sussex working through rough translations from the fourteenth-century drama of Japan, Ezra Pound and W. B. Yeats, twenty-eight and forty-nine, despite earlier notorieties and the latter's reputation as a figure from the Celtic Twilight, were forming the sensibilities and refining the techniques that would shape their most remarkable work.

The discovery of Japan by the Anglo-American writers of this period, as in the nineteenth century, was part of a larger turning toward the non-Western world, but even more than in the nineteenth century the Japan to which Europeans and Americans were able to turn occupied a unique place in the map of Western consciousness. As early as the sixteenth century European artists and literati had found in the exotic much they believed wanting in Europe itself, 'a sort of moral barometer', Hobsbawm calls it, of European civilisation, but in the popular imagination of the age of empire the moral and practical superiority of Western knowledge was largely unquestioned. Hobsbawm notes the 'intellectually-minded' administrators and soldiers of empire who produced a body of scholarship that at its best respected and derived instruction from non-Western cultures, and a European secular left that was 'passionately devoted to the equality of all men', but also that the 'the idea of superiority to, and domination over, a world of dark skins in remote places' was undeniably popular,⁶⁴ and the nineteenth-century Western encounter with Japan did not fundamentally alter the structure of this perception, Japonisme and Japanese modernisation notwithstanding. When John Ruskin saw Japanese jugglers performing in London in 1867 he could not escape the impression that he was in the presence of 'human creatures of a partially inferior race', representative of 'a nation afflicted with an evil spirit, and driven by it to recreate . . . a certain correspondence with the nature of lower animals',⁶⁵ and even as Japan emerged both as Western fashion and modern state reminders were common in the British press that the Japanese were 'steeped in feudalism' or 'tainted with cruelty', or that 'the administration of justice, as understood by us, is wholly foreign to them', or even, toward the end of the century, that Japan owed her admittance to the 'comity of civilized States' to the 'harsh discipline' of the West, for 'had not the spur of her impaired sovereignty been constantly forced into her side', the *Times* found late in 1899, 'her rate of advance would have been much slower'.⁶⁶

In Britain this discourse began to change early in the twentieth century, with the expansion of European political rivalries outside Europe itself and the emergence of Japan as an ally. A shift in the position of the observer is evident in the popular journalism of the day, which after the Boxer Protocol tended to patronise the Japanese less often and less overtly, and in popular monographs such as Henry Dyer's *Dai Nippon*, which posited Japan as 'the Britain of the East', and in poems such as George Barlow's 'Anglo-Japanese Treaty Sonnet':

When Hate's black standard is at length unfurled
 And stored-up rancours smite thee,—when from France
 Springs Waterloo's for ever poisoned lance
 And Germany, like a huge snake uncurled,
 Gleams fierce and fork-tongued,—when from Russia hurled
 Dark armies down the Asian vales advance
 Pitiless, immense, barbaric,—when no glance
 Meets thine of friendship, not through all the world,

 Who shall stand by thee? This thy loving dwarf,
 Thy staunch ally, thy saviour, swart Japan.⁶⁷

But Dyer's Britain of Asia and Barlow's loving dwarf are no less purely constructs of the Western imagination than Henley's maids at Miyako or W. S. Gilbert's Poo-Bah. It was only when the Japanese proved themselves able to shoot down Russians with quick-firing guns that the structure of Western perception was fundamentally altered, and by a text not written in Europe or North America. Hobsbawm notes that Europeans had long admired the fighters of the non-Western world who could be put to use in colonial armies—Gurkhas, Sikhs, Afghans, Beduin, and Berbers, among others—and that the Ottoman Empire had 'earned a grudging respect' in Europe because even in decline its infantry could withstand European armies,⁶⁸ but the defeat in war of a modern European power by a non-white and non-Christian state unsettled orthodoxy, polarised opinion, and as never before in modern history brought the political reality of a non-Western state fully into the public consciousness of Europe and North America. 'The story of the last ten days [has] fallen upon the Western world with the rapidity of a tropical thunderstorm', the *Times* reported after the Japanese attack on Port Arthur, for Japan had maintained 'in Eastern waters a naval strength superior to [Britain], and . . . at a pinch [could] put half-a-million of men into the field', but nonetheless the West had been 'pleased to look upon the Japanese through the eyes of the aesthetic penman, and thought of the nation as a people of pretty dolls dressed in flowered silks . . . until the 10th of the present month [February 1904], when the truth became known'. Some months later, as the Portsmouth accords were being drafted, Henry Hyndmann wrote in the journal of the British Social Democratic Federation that the

Japanese had ‘astonished mankind’ and ‘placed Asia in a new light before the World’,⁶⁹ and he was right.

Richard Aldington’s earliest memories of Japan were from 1904 or 1905, when he and other British schoolboys wore small Japanese flags in their school-uniform buttonholes and prayed for Japanese victory in the Russo-Japanese War.⁷⁰ Later, when Aldington himself was sent to war, to the trenches of France in the winter of 1916, ‘one frosty night when the guns were still’ and he was ‘filled . . . with shrinking dread’ by the ‘ghostly scurrying of . . . rats / Swollen with feeding upon men’s flesh’, he pulled from his pack a notebook that contained transcriptions in his own hand of translations of poems from classical Japan, read them, then ‘leaned against the trench / Making for [himself] hokku / Of the moon and flowers and of the snow’.⁷¹ Between those small flags on a school ground in the south of England and those small poems in a notebook at the Western Front lies a tale told by history, but it would be a mistake to believe that the narrative was linear, or the movement encompassed in its unfolding anything but contentious. To be sure the Japanese victory over Russia was acclaimed in Britain, and placed Japan in a new light in the public eye. Not only were the Tsar’s armies no longer a threat in China, but concerns that they might advance through the central Asian territories that separated Russia from India—the ‘standing nightmare of British foreign secretaries’, Hobsbawm calls it⁷²—were moderated at Port Arthur and eliminated at Portsmouth, and public appreciation was genuine. Works by Japanese writers who sought to explain the spiritual basis for Japan’s success, most notably Yoshisaburô Okakura’s *Japanese Spirit*, introduced by George Meredith, and a newly-revised edition of Inazô Nitobe’s *Bushido*,⁷³ were widely read and much discussed, and even across the Atlantic some observers saw in the Japanese victory a cause for celebration. ‘Japan has advanced to the forefront of progressive open-mindedness’, the Universalist minister Sidney Gulick wrote in his *Interpretation of . . . the Russo-Japanese War*, and ‘now takes her part in doing the world’s work . . . to restrain the greedy aggressor and to build up the weak and backward’.⁷⁴

But if American Universalists and British foreign secretaries saw in the Japanese victory a new hope for egalitarianism or an emancipation from fears that dark armies might advance down the Asian vales toward India, others established other positions in the newly-defined landscape. From a particular vantage point in the left foreground the Japanese appeared very like the saviours of a long-suffering anti-imperialist cause. Henry Hyndmann’s journal *Justice* ‘rejoice[d]’ at the ‘Great Historic Event’ of the Japanese victory at Port Arthur, ‘because from one end of India to the other [the] . . . triumph will give the natives the fullest assurance that if they have even a tenth the pluck of the islanders of the Land of the Rising Sun, the days of

English bloodsucking and famine-manufacture are coming to an end'.⁷⁵ And from an angle at the far right the contours of the landscape appeared in altogether different configurations. Among the most boisterous of those who adopted this position was T. W. H. Crossland, in a remarkable work of 1904 called *The Truth about Japan*, published in London by Grant Richards:

A stunted, lymphatic, yellow-faced heathen, with a mouthful of teeth three sizes too big . . . bulging slits where his eyes ought to be . . . a foolish giggle, a cruel heart, and the conceit of the devil—this, O bemused reader, is the authentic dearly-beloved 'Little Jap' . . . the fire-eater out of the Far East, and the ally, if you please, of John Bull, Esquire.⁷⁶

Crossland granted that the Japanese had 'dealt with Russia in a most convincing . . . manner', and that 'Europe at large was astounded, staggered and utterly taken aback', but he would have none of the 'unrestrained admiration' for Japan to be found 'in every newspaper in the kingdom'. After a series of maledictions about the proliferation of English writing of Japan ('one long strain of undiluted patronage'), Japanese art ('popular among the brainless'), Japanese poets ('pygmies to a man'), and related matters, he arrived at the seriously-stated substance of his argument. The 'spectacle' of Japan's victory over Russia 'ought to be intolerable to European eyes', Crossland wrote, for 'Russia, after all, and in spite of her alleged barbarisms and faithlessness, is a white nation', and 'it is not seemly that a yellow race . . . should be permitted to bait her'; the 'new world power notion' therefore should 'be knocked out of [the Japanese] forthwith', for there 'cannot be a world power which is other than white', Crossland counselled, unless Europe would choose for itself 'the sure way to Armageddon'.⁷⁷

It would be irresponsible to suggest, as some writers have done, that a point of view such as Crossland's represented mainstream opinion, or that a racist sub-text underlay the majority of Anglo-American writing of Japan in this period,⁷⁸ but neither can it be denied that when Britain and America turned to Japan after 1905 the ideology of race was a more prominent feature of the landscape than before, or that in the United States a popular discourse that had hardened into policy in the Chinese Exclusion Acts of 1882-1902 became re-directed, with a new urgency and rancour, toward the Japanese. Japan's victory over Russia 'may have given a rude blow to the complacent assumption of the peoples of Europe and America that they were called upon to rule the world', a widely-admired work of 1909 found, but 'this has not altered a whit the determination of the Californian or Australian to keep his land . . . white', at 'any risk and . . . all cost', whether 'peacefully or by force'.⁷⁹ The acrimony of the American discourse as it addressed Japan after the Russo-Japanese War—the

invocations of the Yellow Peril, the demagogic stances, the rhetorical de-humanisation of the nation—has been well documented, by Akira Iriye, Jean-Pierre Lehmann, Ian Littlewood, and John Dower, among others,⁸⁰ and need not be re-established here. The larger point in the context of this study is that by late 1905, after an absence that itself had engendered a singular response in the aesthetic landscape of France, Britain, and the United States, Japan had become for Europe and America an unprecedented non-Western presence, considered from positions across a range of points of view, on both sides of the Atlantic celebrated and despised but in conceptions of the relationship of West and non-West impossible to ignore, or in any circumstance to imagine outside the context of the historical landscape from within which it had emerged, or the discursive landscape that had emerged from within that history.

Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War transformed the ways the West was able to see and to represent what was not of the West, and by extension the ways the West was able to see and to represent itself. In 1889 Japan may have been for Europe and the United States a Western invention and mode of style, as Wilde had it, but by the autumn of 1905 the Japanese had re-invented themselves in other terms, and Japan had emerged in the West, in something very like Karatani's terms, as a landscape, a semiotic configuration that shaped the ways it was possible to perceive and to represent the world. If in August 1914 Europe entered a period of political, cultural, and aesthetic disjunction, a transition from one world to another, those who emerged on the other side and would turn to what was not of the West could do so, to adapt Karatani, only in terms that had been shaped by the epistemological constellation called Japan. No one would claim that the emergence of this Japan caused the disjunction of August 1914—though in strictly political terms Japan's defeat of Russia facilitated an alliance that earlier had been unthinkable, the Triple Entente of Britain, Russia, and France that altered the political equilibrium of Europe and in Hobsbawm's terms 'turned the alliance system into a time bomb'⁸¹—but Japan had entered the consciousness of the West in a way that undermined the orthodoxies of the world that was passing, and it should come as no surprise in this regard, to take but one of many possible examples, that when Ezra Pound undertook to challenge the orthodoxies of English verse in his Imagist and Vorticist manifestos of 1913-15 he would justify the positions he adopted explicitly in terms of the poetry, verse drama, and visual arts of Japan.⁸² By August 1914 literary Japonisme had become a historical impossibility, but of necessity was giving way to something new. By that date when those with keen eyes and a reason for looking turned to what was not of the West they could not but see Japan, and many among them would carry over what they were able from that landscape into the landscape of the English literary tradition.

Notes

¹ Terminology about this period in both Japanese and English has been the subject of controversy, and the 'seclusion edicts' themselves were not always clear about what they did or did not specifically prohibit. Their result, however, was the effective closing of Japan to Europe. For a general overview of the policies and their interpretations see the *Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1983),² q.v. 'anti-Christian edicts' and 'National Seclusion'.

² None of this led to a noteworthy increase in European or American knowledge of Japan beyond that she remained intent on keeping her inviolability, though Golovnin's account of his captivity, in Russian (1816), German (1817), and English, *Narrative of My Captivity in Japan* (London: Colburne, 1818), excited popular interest in the country throughout Europe.

³ No full study has been made of this matter, but it is touched upon by W. G. Beasley in 'The Language Problem in the Anglo-Japanese Negotiations of 1854' (*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 13 [1950]: 746-58) and 'Japanese Castaways and British Interpreters' (*Monumenta Nipponica* 46 [1991]: 91-103); to Beasley's discussions may be added that in 1853 the only English-language monograph about the Japanese language, W. H. Medhurst's *English and Japanese, and Japanese and English Vocabulary* (Batavia: n.p., 1830) had been prepared by a Sinologist who did not speak Japanese and as late as 1861 could read only those characters his training in Chinese had made possible (see Beasley, 'Japanese Castaways', p. 100).

⁴ Engelbert Kaempfer, *History of Japan*, trans. J. G. Scheuchzer (1727; reprint, 3 vols., New York: AMS, 1971); see Derek Massarella and Beatrice M. Bodart-Bailey, eds., *The Furthest Goal: Engelbert Kaempfer's Encounter with Tokugawa Japan* (Sandgate: Japan Library, 1995), and Detlef Haberland, *Engelbert Kaempfer, 1651-1716: A Biography*, trans. Peter Hogg (London: British Library, 1996); for notes about the limited direct relationship of Kaempfer's work to this study see *D1a*.

⁵ For background to the period of seclusion see George Sansom, *The Western World and Japan* (1949, see *D22*), C. R. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan: 1549-1650* (Manchester: Carcanet, 1951), and Derek Massarella, *A World Elsewhere: Europe's Encounter with Japan in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1990); Arthur Walworth's *Black Ships Off Japan* (New York: Knopf, 1946) and Peter Booth Wiley's *Yankees in the Land of the Gods* (New York: Viking, 1990) provide the fullest accounts of the 'opening' of Japan, W. G. Beasley's *Great Britain and the Opening of Japan, 1834-1858* (London: Luzac, 1951) the fullest treatment of Britain's role in that enterprise; for selections from and commentary on early European writing about Japan see two works edited by Michael Cooper, *They Came to Japan: An Anthology of European Reports on Japan, 1543-1640* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1965) and *The Southern Barbarians: The First Europeans in Japan* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1971); for examples of the incorporation of 'Japan' into Anglo-American imaginative writing during the years of seclusion see the works noted at *CA1*.

⁶ Most notable are the works of Carl Peter Thunberg (1743-1828), Izaak Titsingh (1744?-1828, see *D1c*), Hendrik Doeff (1777-1812), and Phillipp Franz von Siebold (1796-1866); Thomas Baty's 'Literary Introduction of Japan to Europe' (*Monumenta Nipponica* 7 [1951]: 24-39) is dated, and limited in its reliance on works available to the author in Tokyo, but remains the sole English-language overview of seclusion-period European writing about Japan.

⁷ Alexander Knox, 'Japan', *Edinburgh Review* 96 (1852): 181-200.

⁸ Walt Whitman, 'The Errand Bearers' (1860); reprinted as 'A Broadway Pageant', in *Leaves of Grass: A Textual Variorum* (New York: New York UP, 1980), pp. 513-17.

⁹ See Masao Miyoshi, *As We Saw Them: The First Japanese Embassy to the United States* (1979; reprint, London: Kodansha, 1994), which includes English translation of passages from the diaries and bibliographical information about their publication in Japanese.

¹⁰ 'Japanese Exhibition', *Illustrated London News*, 4 Feb. 1854, p. 98; for discussion of Japanese art and artefacts in Europe before this date see John Ayers, Oliver Impey, and J. V. C. Mallet, *Porcelain for Palaces: The Fashion for Japan in Europe, 1650-1750* (London: Oriental Ceramic Society, 1990), and Toshio Watanabe, 'Japanese Art in the West Before 1853', in *High Victorian Japonisme* (see *CC11*), pp. 53-71.

¹¹ Gabriel Weisberg, 'Félix Bracquemond and Japonisme', *Art Quarterly* 32 (1969): 57-68; Martin Eidelberg, 'Bracquemond, Delâtre and the Discovery of Japanese Prints', *Burlington*

Magazine 123 (1981): 221-27; Klaus Berger, *Japonisme in Western Painting* (1992, CC9), p. 13; Toshio Watanabe, *High Victorian Japonisme* (see CC11), p. 85.

¹² Gabriel Weisberg, 'Japonisme: Early Sources and the French Printmaker, 1854-1882', in *Japonisme, Japanese Influence on French Art 1854-1910* (1975, see Weisberg et al., CC11), pp. 3-4; Toshio Watanabe, *High Victorian Japonisme* (see CC11), pp. 83, 94-98.

¹³ Notes about the public reaction to the 1862 embassy may be found in Toshio Yokoyama, *Japan in the Victorian Mind* (1987, CC7), pp. 76, 191 (n. 54), and the anonymous 'From Yeddo to London with the Japanese Ambassadors' (*Cornhill Magazine* 7 [1863]: 603-20), which according to Yokoyama was written by John MacDonald, Supernumerary Assistant at the British Legation at Edo; for a catalogue of the works on display at the Japanese Court see Rutherford Alcock, *International Exhibition, 1862: Catalogue of Works of Industry and Art, Sent from Japan* (London: International Exhibition, 1862), and for details of their sale see 'Chinese and Japanese Works of Art', *Times*, 5 Dec. 1862, p. 5; for recent assessment of the Exhibition see Ellen P. Conant, 'Refractions of the Rising Sun: Japan's Participation in International Exhibitions 1862-1910', in Tomoko Sato and Toshio Watanabe, eds., *Japan and Britain: An Aesthetic Dialogue 1850-1930* (1991, see CC11), p. 81, and Toshio Watanabe, 'The 1862 International Exhibition in London', in *High Victorian Japonisme* (CC11), pp. 89-94.

¹⁴ Oscar Wilde, 'The Decay of Lying' (1889), in *De Profundis and Other Writings* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1986), p. 82; for discussion of Japanese participation in nineteenth-century international exhibitions see Ellen P. Conant, 'Refractions of the Rising Sun'; Yamamoto Mitsuo, *Nihon hakurankaiishi* (Tokyo: Risôsha, 1970); Neil Harris, 'All the World a Melting Pot? Japan at American Fairs, 1876-1904', in *Mutual Images: Essays in American-Japanese Relations*, ed. Akira Iriye (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1975); and Toshio Watanabe, 'The 1865 International Exhibition in Dublin' and 'The 1867 Exposition Universelle in Paris and After', in *High Victorian Japonisme*, (see CC11) pp. 99-107; for the most influential of nineteenth-century English-language works about Japanese art see Rutherford Alcock, *Art and Art Industries of Japan* (London: Virtue, 1878); Christopher Dresser, *Japan, Its Architecture, Art and Art Manufactures* (London: Longmans, Green, 1882); and *Artistic Japan*, a monthly published from June 1888 to May 1891 by Parisian art dealer Siegfried Bing, which appeared simultaneously in English, French (*Le Japon artistique*), and German (*Japanischer formenschatz*).

¹⁵ According to Gabriel Weisberg the first to use the term 'Japonisme' in print in both French and English was the Parisian art collector Phillippe Burty, in articles in the May 1872 *La Renaissance littéraire et artistique* and August 1875 *Academy* ('Philippe Burty and a Critical Assessment of Early "Japonisme"', in Chisaburô Yamada, ed., *Japonisme in Art* [1980, see CC11], p. 116), but the earliest to identify Japonisme as a cultural 'movement', and to champion its central importance in nineteenth-century European style, were the brothers Goncourt, calling attention to a phenomenon their own enthusiasms had helped to create: 'la recherche du vrai en littérature, la résurrection de l'art du xviii^e siècle, la victoire du japonisme: ce sont . . . les trois grands mouvements littéraires et artistiques de la seconde moitié du xix^e siècle' (Jules de Goncourt, quoted by Edmond de Goncourt, preface to *Chérie* [1884; reprint, Paris: Charpentier, 1901], pp. xv-xvi).

¹⁶ Algernon Swinburne, 'Mr. Whistler's Lecture on Art', *Fortnightly Review* NS 43 (1888): 749; Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, 'Keramos' (1878), in *The Poetical Works of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*, vol. 3 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1904), pp. 221-34; Ernest Fenollosa, 'East and West', in *East and West: The Discovery of America and Other Poems* (1893; reprint, Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Literature House, 1970), pp. 3-55; Rudyard Kipling, 'Buddha at Kamakura' (1892), in *Kipling's Japan*, ed. Hugh Cortazzi and George Webb (London: Athlone, 1988), pp. 202-04; among the more readable of nineteenth-century English-language novels set in Japan are William Dalton's *The English Boy in Japan* (London: Nelson, 1859), Thomas Wallace Knox's *Adventures of Two Youths in a Journey to Japan and China* (New York: Harper, 1879), Arthur Collins Maclay's *Mito Yashiki* (New York: Putnam, 1889), and John Luther Long's *Madame Butterfly* (New York: Century, 1898); the first critic to note a relationship between Japonisme and literary Impressionism was Earl Miner, and his discussion in *The Japanese Tradition in British and American Literature* (1958, A25, pp. 80-87) remains the most engaging.

¹⁷ W. E. Henley, 'Ballade of a Toyokuni Colour Print' (1888), in *Poems by William Ernest Henley* (London: Macmillan, 1921), pp. 55-56.

¹⁸ Most of these appeared in newspapers and journals and were not reprinted, or lie buried in volumes just as well forgotten, but a fair sampling by poets well regarded in their day may be found in, for example, John Hay's *Poems* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1890) and the 'poems of Japan' in Edwin Arnold's *Potiphar's Wife* (London: Longmans, Green, 1892) and *The*

Tenth Muse (Longmans, Green, 1895); regarding the 'craze' for the 'pseudo-Japanese' in the English musical theatre, see Earl Miner, *The Japanese Tradition in British and American Literature*, pp. 52-61, and Tomoko Sato and Toshio Watanabe, *Japan and Britain*, pp. 133-34.

¹⁹ Earl Miner, *The Japanese Tradition in British and American Literature*, pp. 269-70.

²⁰ *Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, rev. ed., ed. Alex Preminger (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1974), q.v. 'exoticism'; Irving Babbitt, *Rousseau and Romanticism* (1919; reprint, New York: AMS, 1979), p. 251: 'exoticism is the infinite of nostalgia'.

²¹ *OED*, q.v. 'nostalgia'.

²² Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham: Duke UP, 1993), p. 23.

²³ Henry H. H. Remak, 'Exoticism in Romanticism', *Comparative Literature Studies* 15 (1978): 53-65; Francis Affergan, *Exotisme et altérité* (Paris: PUF, 1987); Denise Brahimi, 'Enjeux et risques du roman exotique français', and Wolfgang Zimmer, 'Voyages africains de recherche et de découverte à l'intérieur de l'Allemagne', both in *L'Exotisme*, ed. Alain Buisine and Norbert Dodille (Paris: Didier Erudition, 1988); Chris Bongie, *Exotic Memories: Literature, Colonialism, and the Fin de Siècle* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1991); Tzvetan Todorov, *On Human Diversity: Nationalism, Racism, and Exoticism in French Thought*, trans. Catherine Porter (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1993); Dorothy M. Figueira, *The Exotic: A Decadent Quest* (Albany: State U of New York P, 1994); Roger Célestin, *From Cannibals to Radicals: Figures and Limits of Exoticism* (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1996); other recent works in which absence and desire are centrally positioned in relation to Western representation of non-Western subjects include Marianna Torgovnick, *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellectuals, Modern Lives* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1990); Lisa Lowe, *Critical Terrains: French and British Orientalisms* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell UP, 1991); and Meyda Yegenoglu, *Colonial Fantasies: Towards a Feminist Reading of Orientalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998).

²⁴ Roland Barthes, *Empire of Signs*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), p. 3; Roger Célestin, 'Barthes: The Splendor of the Signifier', in *From Cannibals to Radicals*, pp. 134-74.

²⁵ Théophile Gautier to Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, 23 Nov. 1863, quoted by Roger Célestin, *From Cannibals to Radicals*, p. 94.

²⁶ Perhaps it is not out of place in this context to note that the character Salammbô is fictional, but that the Carthage of the novel is so carefully constructed from the materials Flaubert had at hand that the work is often discussed in studies of literary realism.

²⁷ Lisa Lowe, *Critical Terrains*, pp. 80 ff., and 'Nationalism and Exoticism: Nineteenth-Century Others in Flaubert's *Salammbô* and *L'éducation sentimentale*', in *Macropolitics of Nineteenth-Century Literature: Nationalism, Exoticism, Imperialism*, edited by Jonathan Arac and Harriet Ritvo (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1991); Anne Mullen Hohl, *Exoticism in Salammbô* (Birmingham, Al.: Summa, 1995); Eugenio Donato, 'Flaubert and the Question of History', in *Critical Essays on Gustave Flaubert*, ed. Laurence Porter (Boston: Hall, 1986), pp. 91 ff.

²⁸ Roger Célestin, *From Cannibals to Radicals*, pp. 94-95.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 2, 4.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

³¹ Gustave Flaubert to Ernst Feydeau, Jules Duplan, and Charles-Augustin Sainte-Beuve, quoted by Roger Célestin, *From Cannibals to Radicals*, pp. 118-19.

³² Théophile Gautier, quoted by Roger Célestin, *From Cannibals to Radicals*, p. 119; Gustave Flaubert, quoted by Eugenio Donato, 'Flaubert and the Question of History', p. 110.

³³ Byron, quoted by Isaac Disraeli, *Literary Characters*, 5th ed. (London: Moxon, 1834), pp. 68-69; Mohammed Sharafuddin, *Islam and Romantic Orientalism: Literary Encounters with the Orient* (London: Tauris, 1994), pp. 215-16; Sharafuddin notes also the voracious orientalist reading that underpinned Landor's *Gebir* (pp. 1, 3), Southey's *Thalaba* (pp. 49-50), and Moore's *Lalla Rookh* (p. 135).

³⁴ Thomas Westwood, 'Miniature Odes', in *Gathered in the Gloaming* (London: Whittingham, 1881), pp. 11-15; R. H. Stoddard, 'A Lament' and 'The Pearl', in *The Lion's Cub* (New York: Scribner, 1890), pp. 49-50; Edwin Arnold, 'The Grateful Foxes', in *Potiphar's Wife*, pp. 37-55.

³⁵ Van Gogh's *Japonaiserie: The Bridge in Rain* (1886-88), Hiroshige's *Ōhashi atake no yudachi* (Ōhashi bridge in rain) and *Kyōbashi takegashi* (The bamboo docks at Kyōbashi), both in the 'Hundred views of famous places in Edo' series (1856-58), and Whistler's *Old Battersea*

Bridge, Nocturne in Blue and Gold (c. 1873-75), are reproduced in Siegfried Wichmann's *Japonisme* (CC5), pp. 41, 138.

³⁶ W. S. Gilbert and Arthur Sullivan's *The Mikado, or, The Town of Titipu* (London: Chappell, 1885) premiered at the Savoy Theatre on 14 March 1885 and became the most successful English operetta of the century, running for 672 successive performances.

³⁷ Ezra Pound, Canto LXXXI (1948, BK56f), in *The Cantos of Ezra Pound* (1995, BK57), p. 542.

³⁸ For a discussion of work by Alfred Noyes see CA2; for other twentieth-century treatments of Japan that remind of nineteenth-century literary Japonisme see Arthur Davison Ficke, *The Happy Princess and Other Poems* (1907, BG1), Amy Lowell, 'Lacquer Prints' (1917, BI4), and John Gould Fletcher, *Japanese Prints* (1918, BH7); Pierre Loti's *Madame Chrysanthème* (1887) is available both in the original French and English translation in several modern editions; Lafcadio Hearn is discussed at D9; David Belasco's stage adaptation of John Luther Long's *Madame Butterfly* premiered in New York in March 1900, and is printed in *Six Plays by David Belasco* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1923); Giacomo Puccini's *Madama Butterfly*, based on Belasco's play, premiered at Milan in February 1904.

³⁹ In the context of this study the most important of the several works written by members of the Perry Expedition is Perry's official account itself, *Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan*, ed. Francis Hawks (1856, D2); the 'scholar envoys' include Algernon Mitford (D4), Percival Lowell (D6), W. G. Aston (D13), George Sansom (D22), and Ernest Satow, all associated with the diplomatic corps, and F. V. Dickens (D3) and Frank Brinkley (D14), sent to Yokohama by the Royal Navy and British Army, respectively; nineteenth-century travellers to Japan, some of whom remained in the country for many years, include Rudyard Kipling, Edwin Arnold, Henry Adams, William Sturgis Bigelow, and the artists Josiah Condor, Frank Dillon, Christopher Dresser, Alfred East, George Henry, Edward Atkinson Hornel, John La Farge, Mortimer Menpes, Alfred William Parsons, John Varley, Jr., and Charles Wirgman; important figures who taught at the Imperial University at Tokyo include Basil Hall Chamberlain (D5), Lafcadio Hearn (D9), Ernest Fenollosa (D10), Karl Florenz (D11), and Edward Morse; the earliest of the Japanese writers whose works in English are important to this study are Inazô Nitobe, Yonejirô Noguchi (D15), and Kakuzô Okakura (D16).

⁴⁰ An OCLC search limited to books about Japan in English published between 1854 and 1903 yields 4,589 titles; many of these would be different editions of the same work, but discrete titles number perhaps as many as 3,500.

⁴¹ Earl Miner, *The Japanese Tradition in British and American Literature*, p. 270.

⁴² Earl Miner, 'Our Heritage of Japanese Drama' (1972, A47), p. 590; Miner makes similar points in 'Japan's Contribution to Western Literature and the Arts' (1968, A41) and 'The Significance of Japan to Western Literatures' (1968, A42); among writers on the subject after Miner a number note errors made by particular poets in interpreting Japanese subjects, but only two focus directly on the distance between representation and represented: Kathleen Flanagan, in 'The Orient as Pretext for Aesthetic Revolution in Modern Poetry in English' (1987, A65), 'Far Eastern Art and Modern American Poetry' (1993, A67), and 'The Orient as Pretext for Aesthetic and Cultural Revolution in Modern American Poetry' (1994, A68); and Rolf J. Goebel, in 'Japan as Western Text: Roland Barthes, Richard Gordon Smith, and Lafcadio Hearn', *Comparative Literature Studies* 30 (1993): 188-205.

⁴³ Earl Miner, *The Japanese Tradition in British and American Literature*, p. 269.

⁴⁴ The treaties 'represented an infringement of Japanese sovereignty' because 'under the system of extraterritoriality, foreign residents were subject to the jurisdiction of their [own] consular [and not Japanese] courts' and 'Japanese tariffs were under international [and not Japanese] control' (Kenneth B. Pyle, 'Meiji Conservatism', in *The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. 5, *The Nineteenth Century*, ed. Marius B. Jansen [Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989], pp. 688-89).

⁴⁵ George Sansom, *The Western World and Japan*, pp. 382-85.

⁴⁶ Akira Iriye defines the essential characteristics of the modern state as 'centralization of state authority' and 'mass incorporation into the economy and polity', and notes that in the nineteenth century such a state 'by definition' had armed forces at its command, both to 'maintain law and order' internally and 'to demonstrate national power abroad' ('Japan's Drive to Great-Power Status', in *The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. 5, pp. 721, 724-25).

⁴⁷ Basil Hall Chamberlain, *Things Japanese*, 5th ed. rev. (London: Murray, 1905), pp. 4-5.

⁴⁸ Akira Iriye, 'Japan's Drive to Great Power Status', p. 746.

⁴⁹ The revolt known in English as the Satsuma Rebellion is referred to in Japanese as *seinan sensō*, 'the south-western war', and 'is rightly considered a civil war' (Stephen Vlastos, 'Opposition Movements in Early Meiji', in *The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. 5, p. 393).

⁵⁰ William Gray Dixon, *The Land of the Morning* (Edinburgh: Gemmell, 1882), pp. 125-26.

⁵¹ 'The Treaty Drama in Japan', *Times*, 19 April 1889, p. 6.

⁵² Akira Iriye, 'Japan's Drive to Great Power Status', p. 764.

⁵³ See, for example, 'The Japanese Declaration of War', *Times*, 3 September 1894, p. 4: 'The reasons given for the course of action by the Japanese Government are not in accordance with facts.'

⁵⁴ 'The Treaty Negotiations with Japan', *Times*, 28 Dec. 1889, p. 6.

⁵⁵ Ian Nish, *The Anglo-Japanese Alliance*, 2d ed. (London: Athlone, 1985), p. 81; Immanuel C. Y. Hsu, 'Late Ch'ing Foreign Relations', in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 11, *Late Ch'ing*, ed. John K. Fairbank and Kwang-Ching Liu (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1980), p. 123.

⁵⁶ Hsu's analysis of the Boxer uprising traces its effects through the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and the Russo-Japanese War ('Late Ch'ing', pp. 115-41); remarkably, some recent English-language accounts of the military resolution to the uprising fail to mention the role of the Japanese, leaving the impression that the allied army was made up entirely of forces from the Western nations whose interests were under threat; see, for example, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 15th ed., Micropaedia, vol. 2, q.v. 'Boxer Rebellion', and Macropaedia, vol. 16, pp. 129-30.

⁵⁷ Nish's *Anglo-Japanese Alliance* is authoritative; for the English text of the treaty see pp. 216-17, for discussion of public reaction pp. 226-28.

⁵⁸ 'Japan and Korea—Attitude of the British Government', *Times*, 25 August 1910, p. 3; 'Japan and Korea—The Policy of Annexation', *Times*, 29 August, 1910, p. 5.

⁵⁹ Advertisement, *Times*, 16 May 1910, p. 4; 'The Japan-British Exhibition', *Times*, 29 October 1910, p. 5.

⁶⁰ 'Death of the Emperor of Japan', *Times*, 30 July 1912, p. 8.

⁶¹ Karatani Kōjin, *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*, trans. Brett de Bary and others (Durham: Duke UP, 1993), pp. 18-34; translation of *Nihon kindai bungaku no kigen* (1980; reprint, Tokyo: Kodansha bungei bunko, 1995).

⁶² The writers to whom reference is made are, respectively, S. Foster Damon (*BH25b*, 1918), Jun Fujita (*A15*, 1922), the anonymous author of a 1917 review of 'Noh' or *Accomplishment* (*BK93a*), Yoshiko Suetsugu (*BL99*, 1958), F. F. Farag (*BL122*, 1965), Hiro Ishibashi (*BL131*, 1966), Yasuko Stucki (*BL134*, 1966), Reiko Tsukimura (*BL138*, 1967), Masaru Sekine (*BL233*, 1986; *BL247*, 1989; *BL250*, 1990; *BK207*, 1995), Junko Nishiguchi (*BH32*, 1986), Emiko Yamaguchi (*BI36*, 1983), Richard Eugene Smith (*BK111*, 1965), Yukinobu Kagitani (*BK127*, 1970), Jyan-Lung Lin (*BK196*, 1992), Torao Taketomo (*A8*, 1920), and S. Ramaswamy (*BL164*, 1973).

⁶³ Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987), pp. 3-7.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 70, 79.

⁶⁵ John Ruskin, 'The Corruption of Modern Pleasure', in *Time and Tide* (Orpington, Kent: Allen, 1882), p. 33.

⁶⁶ 'Japan', *MacMillan's Magazine* 26 (1872): 496-97; 'The Treaty Negotiations with Japan', *Times*, 28 Dec. 1889, p. 6; 'The New Era in Japan', *Times*, 17 July 1899, p. 3.

⁶⁷ George Barlow, 'Anglo-Japanese Treaty Sonnet' (1902), in *Poetical Works of George Barlow*, vol. 10 (London: Glaisher, 1914), p. 224.

⁶⁸ Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire*, pp. 79-80.

⁶⁹ *Times*, 11 Feb. 1904, quoted by Jean-Pierre Lehmann, *The Image of Japan* (1978, *CC4*), p. 15; Henry Hyndmann, 'Peace in the Far East', *Justice*, 2 Sept. 1905, p. 1.

⁷⁰ Richard Aldington to Megata Morikimi, 16 May 1959 (*BB15i*), in 'Richard Aldington's Letters' (1971, *BB15*), p. 70.

⁷¹ Richard Aldington, 'Living Sepulchres' (*BB9b*), in *Images of War* (1919, *BB9*), p. 25.

⁷² Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire*, p. 314.

⁷³ Inazō Nitobe, *Bushido: The Soul of Japan*, 10th ed. rev. (London: Putnam's Sons, 1905); Yoshisaburō Okakura, *The Japanese Spirit*, introduction by George Meredith (London: Constable, 1905).

⁷⁴ Sidney L. Gulick, *The White Peril in the Far East: An Interpretation of the Significance of the Russo-Japanese War* (New York: Revell, 1905), pp. 115-16.

⁷⁵ 'A Great Historic Event', *Justice*, 7 Jan. 1905, p. 1.

⁷⁶ T. W. H. Crossland, *The Truth about Japan* (London: Richards, 1904), p. 1.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 3, 8, 11, 30-31, 44, 57, 70-72.

⁷⁸ Authors whose work is collected in Phil Hammond, ed., *Cultural Difference, Media Memories: Anglo-American Images of Japan* (London: Cassell, 1997), for example, are willing to condemn as racist the bulk of Anglo-American writing about Japan from the mid-nineteenth century forward, though their over-reliance on secondary sources in discussion of early-century works is telling, as are frequent errors in matters as basic as the name of the American commander of the squadron to Uraga.

⁷⁹ Archibald Cary Coolidge, *The United States as a World Power* (New York: Macmillan, 1909), pp. 64, 353.

⁸⁰ Akira Iriye, 'Japan as a Competitor, 1895-1917' (1975, see *CC12*); Jean-Pierre Lehmann, *The Image of Japan* (1978, *CC4*); Ian Littlewood, *The Idea of Japan* (1996, *CC10*); John Dower's *War Without Mercy* (1986) and *Japan in War and Peace* (1993, see *CC12*) include description of the ways the racist imagery of early-century re-surfaced in the years leading to and encompassing the Pacific War.

⁸¹ Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire*, pp. 313-15; the 'first step towards the Triple Alliance', Hobsbawm writes, was the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, 'since the existence of that new power [Japan], which was soon to show that it could actually defeat the Tsarist Empire in war, diminished the Russian threat to Britain' and 'made the defusion of various ancient Russo-British disputes possible' (p. 315).

⁸² Ezra Pound, 'A Few Don'ts for an Imagiste', *Poetry* 1 (Mar. 1913, *BK2*); 'How I Began', *T.P.'s Weekly*, 6 June, 1913 (*BK4*); 'Vortex', *Blast* 1 (June 1914, *BK10*); 'Edward Wadsworth, Vorticist', *Egoist* 1 (Aug. 1914, *BK11*); 'Vorticism', *Fortnightly Review* NS 96 (Sept. 1914, *BK12*); 'Affirmations II: Vorticism', *New Age* 16/11 (Jan. 1915, *BK14*); 'Affirmations IV: As for Imagisme', *New Age* 16/13 (Jan. 1915, *BK16*); and 'Affirmations VI: The "Image" and the Japanese Classical Stage' (1915), *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 53/1 (1991, *BK87*).

A. Critical and Comparative Studies

1. Hartmann, Sadakichi. 'The Influence of Japanese Art on Western Civilization'. In *Japanese Art* (see *D12b*), 1903.

Chapter 5 of Hartmann's history of Japanese art is the earliest detailed study of its effects in Europe and America, and offers a well-understood account of the growing Western interest in Japan from the early seventeenth century through the Japonisme of ^{the} closing decades of the nineteenth. Hartmann makes claims that are perceptive and fascinating, even if not wholly supportable. The influence of Japanese art 'was felt everywhere' in the West, in painting, interior design, music, theatre, and poetry, though the only specific claim for the last of these is that in the poems of Poe we can find a 'law of repetition with slight variation', which according to Hartmann is a feature of Japanese aesthetics.

2. Flint, F. S. 'Book of the Week: Recent Verse'. *New Age*, 11 July 1908, pp. 212-13.

The earliest work to suggest that English verse might benefit from a look to Japanese sources. Reviews among other works *Sword and Blossom Poems from the Japanese* (3 vols., Tokyo: Hasegawa, 1901), and finds that 'surely nothing more tenderly beautiful has been produced of late years than this delicate conspiracy of Japanese artist with Japanese poet', though 'it is a pity . . . that the translators did not choose some other measure than the heavy English rhymed quatrain', for 'it is probable that nearly all the spontaneity of the Japanese tanka has thus been lost'. Identifies 'suggestion' as a feature of Japanese poetry, and equates this with Mallarmé. In example of the possibilities of unmetred and unrhymed verse that might serve as models for poets writing in English, Flint offers two 'haikai'—'literal renderings', Harmer (*A51*) points out, of Couchoud's French (see *D19*)—and suggests that for the poet who can 'catch and render, like these Japanese, the brief fragments of his soul's music, the future lies open'. He was right. Kodama (*A59*) notes that the second of these poems, Moritake's 'A fallen petal', is the probable source of Pound's knowledge of it in his famous 'Vorticism' essay of 1914 (*BK12*), and adds that 'fortunately' it was 'in the "form of superposition"' (see *BK12*), though it should be added perhaps that by the time of Pound's article both Aston (*D13*) and Noguchi (*D15e6*) had published English translations of Moritake's poem, and Pound would have been aware of these as well.

3. Flint, F. S. 'History of Imagism'. *Egoist* 2 (1915): 70-71.

Succinct account of the birth of Imagism, beginning 'somewhere in the gloom of 1908', with T. E. Hulme and 'a companion' forming the Poet's Club, and ending with Pound's anthology *Des Imagistes* in 1914. Makes clear the degree to which Imagism

from the earliest stages borrowed from Japanese poetry and what was understood to be Japanese poetics, and equates the latter both with reliance on a central image and with *vers libre*. The 'Imagists' Flint mentions, who beginning in March 1909 met weekly at a Soho restaurant, include himself, Hulme, Edward Storer, F. W. Tancred, Joseph Campbell, Florence Farr, and, from April 1909, Pound. What the group had in common 'was a dissatisfaction with English poetry as it was then . . . being written', and among several forms and techniques proposed to revitalise English verse were 'pure *vers libre*' and 'Japanese tanka and haikai', the latter of which all present 'wrote dozens of . . . as amusement'. These 'amusements' seem not to have survived, though effects of the experiments may be found in the published work of all those who were present.

4. Henderson, Alice Corbin. 'Japanese Poetry'. Review of *The Spirit of Japanese Poetry* (D15e6), by Yone Noguchi, and *Japanese Lyrics* (D9b), by Lafcadio Hearn. *Poetry* 7 (1915): 89-93.

Henderson's enthusiastic review closes with consideration of 'the importance of the oriental influence upon all western art' in the previous fifty years, and notes that 'curiously enough' this is only in 1915 'beginning to make itself felt in our literature'. She cites the need for 'a conception of Japanese and Chinese poetry . . . based upon a wider knowledge of originals' and suggests that she 'need not venture to say what English poetry may gain' from such an 'infusion', for 'it has gained much in the past from many . . . sources, all of which have contributed their share of richness and beauty to English verse'.

5. Leonard, William Ellery. 'The New Poetry—A Critique, II'. *Chicago Evening Post*, 24 September 1915, p. 9.

In his attack on the principles and poetics of the Imagists Leonard assails their use of Japanese materials. Their work is 'prettily adorned with occult references to Japanese poetry and criticism, with much expenditure of printer's ink in spelling out exotic-looking syllables in ki, ka, and ko', and it is, indeed, 'skilful in the artistic use of the exotic', but this is 'strange', for 'the psychology of the exotic' requires 'the generation of a mood' that can scarcely be accomplished by the 'one poetic cathartic [of] the image'. By September 1915 Fletcher and Lowell had published collections making use of Japanese materials (BH1 and BI1), and Flint had published critical articles about the influence (A2 and A3), but Leonard's remarks would have been directed mainly at Pound, his *Fortnightly Review* article of the previous September (BK12), and his adaptations of Fenollosa's versions of the nô (BK8, 13, and 17). See also A7.

6. Monroe, Harriet. Introduction to *The New Poetry*. New York: Macmillan, 1917.

Monroe's widely-influential anthology went through many editions, but all through 1936 include her survey of the influences behind the 'new' Anglo-American poetry, in which she notes the 'airs from Japan' that 'blew in—a few translations of hokku and other forms—which showed the stark simplicity and crystal clarity of the art among Japanese poets'. Likewise, all editions through 1936, in an attempt to present 'the best work of twentieth-century poets of the English-speaking nations', include a selection of poems by Noguchi (see *D15*).

7. Bodenheim, Maxwell. TO LI T'AI PO. *Dial* 67 (1919): 428.

Leonard (*A5*) was not alone in taking exception to the East Asian interests of the Imagists, though Bodenheim is more provocative in approaching the matter. This poem, which appeared in the same issue of the *Dial* as a piece of chinoiserie by Amy Lowell, is addressed to the Chinese poet Li Po (Jpn.: Rihaku), whose work in translation, via Fenollosa's notebooks (*CB1a-b*), was the source for the poems Pound had published four years earlier in *Cathay* (*BK15*): 'They are writing poems to you: / White devils who have not / Smeared the distant yellow of your life / Upon their skins . . . / These faces bend over paper / And steal from you a little silver and red / So that their lives may seem to bleed / Under the prick of a flashing need'.

8. Taketomo, Torao. 'American Imitations of Japanese Poetry'. *Nation* (New York) 110 (1920): 70-72.

Taketomo asserts an 'undeniable imitation of the old Japanese poetry in the new poetry of America [and Britain]', and mentions specifically work by Aldington, Crapsey (see *CA4*), Fletcher, Lowell, and Pound, along with passing reference to Yeats, 'whose deep insight reached at last to the essence of Oriental life'. This is the first work to note the 'strangeness' of the fact that Anglo-American poets 'in their search for freedom, and in their effort to escape from their own traditional poetry, should have found the poems [tanka and hokku] which to the Japanese seem to limit freedom'. Includes what is also the first of several speculative suggestions that poems by H. D. demonstrate an influence from Japan (see also *11, 16, 23, 31, and 63*).

9. Weaver, Raymond. 'What Ails Pegasus?' *Bookman* (New York) 52 (1920): 57-66.

In review of Bynner's *Canticle of Pan* (*BE3*) Weaver draws general conclusions about the 'pernicious' influence of 'the Orient' in English poetry: 'Both the language and the poetry of China and Japan . . . are irreconcilably alien both to the genius of our speech and the traditions of our literature. Whereas English poetry—with Greek—is perhaps the greatest in the world, oriental poetry—and Japanese in particular—is superlatively narrow in its scope and resources, and is

chiefly remarkable for its limitations.' Includes reference to Hearn (see *D9*), whose translation of Japanese poems 'degenerated . . . into a prose caricature of vers libre', and Noguchi (*D15*), who 'capitalized our hysterical avidity for foreign novelties, and an "oriental manner"'.

10. Noguchi, Yone. 'Literary Cooperation Between America and Japan'. In *Japan and America*. New York: Orientalia, 1921.

Consists primarily of musings about America, American literature, and the Japanese 'true contemplation of nature', but concludes with assurances that 'we Orientals can contribute . . . new poetical strength' to the United States.

11. Snow, Royall. 'Poetry in Borrowed Plumage'. *New Republic* 25 (1921): 312-15.

The first work to note specifically the influence of ukiyoe on poetry in English. Argues that the influence in contemporary poetry is 'profound' and 'farreaching', 'chiefly responsible for' the abundant use of colour by such poets as Aldington and Lowell, for a 'linear effect' in other poems, and for a 'tone' in poems by Fletcher and others. Includes reference as well to an influence in the work of Binyon, Bynner, Ficke, H. D. (see also 8), and Pound.

12. Snow, Royall. 'Marriage with the East'. *New Republic* 27 (1921): 138-40.

Finds that emphasis on 'concentration' and 'suggestion' in contemporary poetry in English has its genesis at least in part in interest in Japanese poetry, especially 'hokku'. Examples are taken from work by Lowell and Crapsey (see *CA4*). Follows Taketomo (*A8*) in identifying Crapsey's debt to early translations of Japanese verse, though the 'famous' poem attributed to Buson, from which Crapsey's TRAPPED probably derives, is in fact by Issa. The translation cited is that done by Chamberlain (see *D5a*), who makes clear whose work is being translated, but, strangely, Snow's erroneous attribution is repeated both in Eunice Tietjens's *Poetry of the Orient* (New York: Knopf, 1928), in which the poem appears, and in Bynner's review of that work (*BE8*).

13. Van Doren, Mark. 'The Progress of Poetry in England'. *Nation* (New York) 112 (1921): 883-85.

The first work to note the general influence of translations of Japanese poetry on contemporary English verse. Two of the 'four departments' of important non-Georgian verse are 'the translators' and 'the imagists'. Important influences from Japan are attributed particularly to the former: 'Translation, so important for the food it furnishes to growing poetry, is at its most useful today . . . in a number of persons who work . . . with the brief, perfect poems of classical China and Japan. . . . It is not to Gilbert Murray's heroic couplets that the subtlest poets are going to school, but to the finely cadenced prose or free verse of Arthur Waley's

translations from the Chinese and Japanese [see *D26*], E. Powys Mathers's from the Chinese [and] Japanese [see *D25*] . . . and . . . Pound's from the Chinese and the Provençal' (see *BK15*, and, from the Japanese, *BK8* and *13*).

14. Chang, Hsin-Hai. 'The Vogue of Chinese Poetry'. *Edinburgh Review* 236 (1922): 99-114.

A review of translations by Arthur Waley (see *D26*) and Amy Lowell (especially *B110*) that argues that contemporary poets and translators were using Chinese and Japanese poetry to vindicate positions they held before coming into contact with East Asian materials. See Flanagan (*A65*, *67*, and *68*) for a recent and more detailed examination of the point.

15. Fujita, Jun. 'A Japanese Cosmopolite'. *Poetry* 20 (1922): 162-64.

In discussion of Noguchi (*D15*) Fujita draws general conclusions about the 'so-called oriental influence in western literature today'. He is 'afraid' that it 'is taking the form it has assumed in the other arts, which . . . have adopted the carcass of Japanese pictures and missed the essence'. The 'hokku', particularly, requires an 'illusory mood' absent both in Noguchi's work and in European and American imitations, for the 'seventeen syllable . . . form does not make a hokku'. Japanese poems are 'not condensed milk', and the work of Noguchi and Amy Lowell 'miss^(es) the essential quality of the type'.

16. Hall, Josef Washington. 'The Pacific-Asian Influence on the Poets of the United States'. *Anthology of Magazine Verse* (1926): 150-71.

The first systematic account of the influence of East Asian verse on American poetry suggests that American poets are 'learning poise and appropriating assurance' from the classical poetry of East Asia. Does not try to evaluate the influence beyond noting that some poets are interested in the 'domestication of the oriental forms' while others have turned attention to methods, 'atmosphere', or philosophy adapted from China and Japan. Includes brief discussion of work by Aldington, Bynner, Crapsey (see *CA4*), H. D. (see *8*), Fletcher, Lowell, Pound, and Sandburg (see *CA6*), and mention of the importance of Chamberlain (see *D5*), Dickins (*D3*), Hearn (*D9*), Mitford (*D4*), Okakura (*D16*), Ernest Satow, and Waley (*D26*).

17. Seaver, H. L. 'The Asian Lyric and English Literature'. In *Essays in Memory of Barrett Wendell*. 1926. Reprint, New York: Russell, 1967.

Begins by asking which 'Asian lyrics' other than FitzGerald's *Rubàiyât* and the poetry of the Old Testament might be 'transplanted into the English garden'. Reviews and compares translations of, in the case of the Japanese, Aston (*D13*), Mathers (*D25*), Hearn (*D9b*), Chamberlain (*D5a*), Curtis Hidden Page (1870-1946,

Japanese Poetry [Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1923]), and Porter (D20). Comments on 'the splashing journalism of Mr. Kipling' (see CA1), the debt of the Imagists to Japanese verse, the 'paradoxical rhapsodies' of Noguchi (see D15e), and the 'insufficiently appreciated' cinquains of Crapsey (see CA4).

18. Schwartz, William Leonard. 'L'Appel de l'extrême-Orient dans la poésie des États-Unis'. *Revue de littérature comparée*, January 1928, pp. 113-26.

Carefully traces the Japanese 'influence' on American poetry from Whitman's BROADWAY PAGEANT and Longfellow's KERAMOS (see CA1) through late work by Amy Lowell. Discusses the use of Japanese materials by, among others, Bynner, Ficke, and Fletcher, along with Pound's debt to haiku and his handling of the Fenollosa manuscripts. Includes a knowledgeable list of works that helped spread the influence, including translations by Dickins (D3), Porter (D20), and Chamberlain (D5a), and commentaries by Percival Lowell (D6), Hearn (D9), and Noguchi (especially D15e6). The demonstration in a footnote of Lowell's unacknowledged debt to Edmond de Goncourt's works about Utamaro and Hokusai (see BI4f, 7a8, and 8aa) is presented in more detail in Schwartz's 'Study of Amy Lowell's Far Eastern Verse' (BI28) published two months later.

19. Hughes, Glenn. *Imagism and the Imagists: A Study in Modern Poetry*. 1931. Reprint, New York: Biblo and Tannen, 1972.

This first book-length study of Imagism remains a standard text and refers throughout to Imagist influences from and likenesses to Japanese poetry (see index). Includes discussion of Fletcher, Lowell, Pound, tanka, and haiku.

Misleading in an assertion that by the time of Leonard's attack on the Imagists (A5) only Pound 'had shown any special interest in Oriental poetry'. By the autumn of 1915 both Fletcher and Lowell had published collections making use of Japanese materials (BH1 and BI1), and Flint had foreshadowed the influence from Japan in one critical article (A2) and commented on it in another (A3).

20. Gatenby, E. V. 'The Influence of Japan on English Language and Literature'.

Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society (London) 34 (1936-37): 37-64.

The first detailed account of Japanese influence in British verse begins with the question 'To what extent have Japanese writings, history, philosophy, religion, and art affected our literature', and answers it by discussing pertinent writers 'in rough chronological order', beginning with sixteenth-century historians and geographers and ending with contemporary dramatists and poets. Writers discussed include Edwin Arnold (see CA1), Binyon, Blunden, Hearn (D9), Kipling (see CA1), Masfield (see CA5), Noyes (see CA2), Plomer, and Yeats. Includes the

only published reference to a 'Japanese' poem by Binyon, MOMIJI, which itself does not appear in the published record.

- 2 1. Nicoll, Allardyce. *World Drama from Aeschylus to Anouilh*. London: Harrap, 1949. Enlarged ed., 1976.

Sections on 'The Japanese Drama' and 'The Poetic Stage' call attention to the incorporation of Japanese techniques in early twentieth-century English verse drama, in work by Binyon, Bottomley (see CA3), Masefield (see CA5), Yeats, and others.

- 2 2. Ennis, Thomas. 'Japan in the Literature of England'. *Eastern World* 9/12 (1955): 35-36.

A brief but knowledgeable overview of British literary interest in Japan from the sixteenth century through the first third of the twentieth, with reference to the importance of works by Nitobe Inazô (1862-1933, author of the widely-influential *Bushido: The Soul of Japan* [1900]) and Okakura (see D16) in providing information of the country, and to the work of Edwin Arnold (see CA1), Binyon, Blunden, Masefield (see CA5), Noyes (see CA2), Plomer, and Yeats.

- 2 3. Kimura, Ki. 'Nichibei bungaku kôryûshi' (Japanese-American literary exchange).

In *Nichibei bunka kôshôshi*. Tokyo: Yôyôsha, 1955. Revised in *Nichibei bungaku kôryûshi no kenkyû*. Tokyo: Kodansha, 1960. Reprint, 1982.

Translated and adapted by Philip Yampolsky in *Japanese Literature; Manners and Customs in the Meiji-Taisho Era*. Vol. 2 of *A History of Japanese American Cultural Relations*. Tokyo: Obunsha, 1957.

In the first section of Kimura's long, anecdotal study of cultural exchange between Japan and the United States only two chapters are directly related to this study. In 'The *Hyakunin isshu* and the Cinquain' Kimura echoes earlier writers in tracing the form of Crapsey's 'cinquain' (see CA4) to Japanese sources, and in 'Haiku and Imagism' he discusses in general terms the possibility of an influence from haiku in the poems of H. D. (see 8), Fletcher, Lowell, Pound, and Sandburg (see CA6). The study is not without questionable judgements and errors of fact—H. D. was not, for example, Fletcher's wife—but it does bring to Japanese scholarship its first serious confrontation with the idea of a significant influence from the literature of Japan in the poetry of the United States.

- 2 4. Teele, Roy E. 'Translations of Noh Plays'. *Comparative Literature* 9 (1957): 345-68.

A useful comparative survey of 163 European and American translations of the nô published before 1957, including those by Aston (see D13), Brinkley (D14), Chamberlain (D5a), Dickins (D3), Noguchi (D15e), Noël Péri, Pound (see especially BK24), Revon (D21), Sansom (D22), Stopes (D23), and Waley (D26b).

25. Miner, Earl. *The Japanese Tradition in British and American Literature*.

Princeton: Princeton UP, 1958. 2nd ed. rev., 1966. Reprint, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1976.

Miner's work has defined the study for four decades, and remains the best description and evaluation of the use of Japanese materials by Victorian writers, the relationship between Japonisme, ukiyoe, and Impressionism, literary inter-relationships between Japanese, French, and English literature in the early twentieth century, and Pound's discovery of haiku and its relationship to Imagism. Includes 'The Meeting of East and West', 'New Images and Stereotypes of Japan', 'From Japonisme to Impressionism', 'Transition to the "New Poetry"', 'Ezra Pound', 'The Absorption of Japan into Twentieth-Century Poetry', 'Kabuki and Nô as Dramatic Criteria', "'An Aristocratic Form": Japan in the Writing of William Butler Yeats', and a 'Summing Up'. Discusses the Japanese debts of Aiken, Aldington, Edwin Arnold (see CA1), Binyon, Blunden, Bottomley (CA3), Bynner, Crapsey (CA4), Damon (CA8), Eliot (CA10), Empson, Fenollosa (D10), Ficke, Fletcher, Flint, Goodman (CA12), Hartmann (D12), Hearn (D9), Hulme (see A3), Kipling (see CA1), Longfellow (see CA1), Lowell, Masfield (CA5), Moore (CA9), Noguchi (D15), Noyes (CA2), Plomer, Stevens (CA7), Symons (see BL190), Sherard Vines, Whitman (see CA1), Thornton Wilder (see also 30, 55, and BL129), and others. The preface to the second edition updates the subject, but in general terms. Translated into Japanese by Fukase Motohiro and others as *Seiyô bungaku no Nippon hakken* (Tokyo: Chikuma shobô, 1959); the Pound chapter, abridged, appears in German translation as 'Vom Image zum Ideogramm' in *Ezra Pound: 22 Versuche über einen Dichter*, edited by Eva Hesse (Frankfurt: Athenaum, 1967). Incorporates 'The Influence of Japanese Nature Poetry Upon Modern English and American Verse', MA thesis, University of Minnesota, 1951, and 'The Japanese Influence on English and American Literature, 1850 to 1950', PhD thesis, University of Minnesota, 1955 (reprint, Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1986).

a. Reviews: Miner's work has been the subject of dozens of notes in subsequent scholarship, but received modest notice when it appeared. The most generally favourable contemporary response was that of Alfred Marks (*Literature East and West* 5 [1959]: 29-30), who finds the study 'undoubtedly the most important critical work that has appeared in the near-century that comprises the term of Japanese-English comparative studies'; both Howard Hibbett (*Comparative Literature* 11 [1959]: 186-87) and F. A. C. Wilson (*Modern Language Review* 54 [1959]: 425-26) find Miner's work commendable for its accuracy of detail, though Wilson takes exception to the treatment of Yeats; an unsigned reviewer in *TLS*

(‘Absorbing Japan’, 8 August 1958, p. 446) commends the study as that of ‘an enthusiast who yet keeps a sense of proportion’; and Edward Seidensticker (*Journal of Asian Studies* 18 [1958]: 141-42) finds that Miner ‘has put together a fascinating story with great resourcefulness’, but ‘with such enthusiasm that he has perhaps overstated the case’. Other brief notices appeared in *Library Journal* 83 (1958): 1539; *American Literature* 39 (1967): 264; *American Quarterly* 10 (1958): 497; and *English* 12 (1958): 111; see also 26.

26. Meredith, William. ‘Listening to Incense, in Translation’. Review of *The Japanese Tradition in British and American Literature* (A25), by Earl Miner. *Hudson Review* 11 (1958): 312-14.

Advances the thesis that ‘Western interest in Japan has been characterized by a deep and abiding illiteracy’, and finds many of the works Miner discusses ‘as amusing as they are insignificant’, for writers such as Edwin Arnold (see CA1), Noguchi (D15), and Ficke have been ‘overtaken [by] oblivion’ not because they were ‘inferior orientalists’ but because their works have ‘died of native English or American maladies’. Meredith is more forgiving of Miner’s treatment of Pound and Yeats, but still finds his study ‘a little wilful . . . as a work of scholarship’.

27. Baird, James. ‘Critical Problems in the Orientalism of Western Poetry’. In *Asia and the Humanities*, edited by Horst Frenz. Bloomington: Comparative Literature Committee, Indiana University, 1959.

A contentious piece that attempts ‘finally . . . to suggest certain impressive differences between West and East in the meaning of poetic experience’. Distinguishes between two ‘kinds’ of Orientalism in European and American poetry. The first represents a ‘superficial concern’ and is of ‘minor aesthetic importance’. Examples include Fletcher’s ‘persistent devotion to the sensuous image and nothing else’ and Amy Lowell’s ‘imagined “Oriental” feeling’ and ‘quest for exotic color’. A more ‘seriously posited’ Orientalism has been undertaken by writers who ‘have turned to the Orient . . . at least intent upon finding substitutions for what has been lost in the West’. Baird disagrees with those who would place Pound in this category, but believes that Fenollosa’s notebooks contain ‘significant pages . . . which seem to be expressions of Japanese mentality’, and that Yeats, in his introduction to the Pound/Fenollosa versions of the *nô* (BL11) and elsewhere, offers an ‘impressive . . . non-Western rejection of absolutism’. Baird is not altogether persuasive about ‘the meaning of poetic experience’ in Asia, but the work is impressive in its insistence on the reality of Asian experience independent of Western representation of it, and in its clear distinction between

works that deliberately invoke 'a vagrant dream world' and those that turn to Asia with 'reverence'.

28. Fukuhara, Rintarô. 'The Old Familiar Faces'. *Japan Quarterly* 6 (1959): 494-98.
Fukuhara's recollections of Britons who have taught in Japan include notes about Empson's years in the country, along with passing discussion of Blunden, Enright (see *CA14b*), G. S. Fraser, Ralph Hodgson, James Kirkup (see *CA14c*), Plomer, Peter Quennell, Anthony Thwaite, and others.
29. Rexroth, Kenneth. 'The Poetry of the Far East in a General Education'. In *Approaches to the Oriental Classics*, edited by Wm. Theodore de Bary. Proceedings of the Conference on Oriental Classics in General Education. New York: Columbia UP, 1959.
Rexroth notes that translation of Japanese and Chinese poetry, if done badly, 'degenerates into the most mawkish sentimentality', and so Western poets translating from those traditions have had to 'pay attention always to [the] spiritual bookkeeping' of the original works. The results, he argues, have exercised a considerable influence on Anglo-American poetry. Translation from Japanese and Chinese verse 'purges . . . many of the vices of Occidental poetry' and 'accomplishes in one blow the various programs of the twentieth-century revolutions in poetry', for to translate East Asian poetry 'all the manifestos of the imagists and objectivists . . . have to be fulfilled'. The Japanese and Chinese translations of Pound (see especially *BK15* and *24*), Lowell (*BI10*), and Bynner (see the *BE* headnote, p. 156), Rexroth argues, 'are incomparably the best work of those poets', and 'amongst the best American poems of the twentieth century'. For notes about Rexroth's own incorporation of Japanese materials see *CA13* and *14d*.
30. Ashmead, John, Jr. 'Japanese-American Cultural Interaction'. *Yearbook of Comparative and General Literature* 11, supplement (1962): 211-19.
Includes thoughtful notes about influences from the nô in European theatre, and about 'poetic interpenetrations' between Japanese and Anglo-American verse, which though they come comparatively late in the history of cultural interaction have been 'among the most powerful and long-lasting influences' from Japan in Anglo-American culture. Includes reference to Chamberlain (see *D5*), Hearn (*D9*), Hulme (see *A3*), Kipling (see *CA1*), Longfellow (see *CA1*), Noyes (see *CA2*), Pound, Thornton Wilder (see also *25*, *55*, and *BL129*), Yeats, and others.
31. Fukuda, Rikutarô. 'Japanese Elements in Western Literature'. *Yearbook of Comparative and General Literature* 11, supplement (1962): 204-10.
Offers general discussion of 'examples of new interpretations of Japan as seen in modern Western literature', and includes passing reference to Fenollosa (see *D10*),

H. D. (see 8), Hearn (D9), Pierre Loti, Amy Lowell, Wallace Stevens (see CA7), D. T. Suzuki (D28), and Yeats.

- 3 2. Anniah Gowda, H. H. 'The Influence of the Noh on Verse Drama'. In *The Revival of English Poetic Drama*. Bangalore: Government, 1963. Enlarged ed., Bombay: Orient Longman, 1972.

Discusses the use of 'Nô technique' in verse plays by Yeats, Bottomley (see CA3), Binyon, Moore (see CA9), and Masefield (see CA5), but confuses the nô itself with the uses to which Yeats put it, and so concludes, therefore, that Yeats, Bottomley, and Binyon 'make use of the Japanese technique pure and simple', while Moore and Masefield do not. Useful mainly for identifying effects of Yeats's *Plays for Dancers* (BL17) in the work of his contemporaries.

- 3 3. Colgrove, C. Lee. 'Kabuki and the West'. *Hikaku bunka* 8 (1964): 139-61.

Asserts that kabuki as 'a great living theatre subsisting largely on style has been both intriguing and instructive to the West', and that 'as a pre-eminent theatre of the imagination' it is 'a source of possible solutions' for European and American drama, but does not offer specific examples of influence. Includes passing reference to Craig (see D17). For fuller treatment of the subject see A25, 45, and 47.

- 3 4. Wells, Henry Willis. 'Poem into Play: Impressions on the West'. In *The Classical Drama of the Orient*. London: Asia Publishing House, 1965.

Outlines resemblances to the nô in Yeats's plays written after 1916 (see especially BL12) and Stevens's *Three Travelers Watch a Sunrise* (see CA7). Not an influence study so much as a tracing of similarities, many of which may be argued to have come from sources other than the nô, or to have been accidental, but the work remains perceptive and useful for the sheer number of 'striking likenesses' identified and discussed.

- 3 5. Ôtake, Masaru. 'The Haiku Touch in Wallace Stevens and Some Imagists'. *East-West Review* 2 (1965-66): 152-65.

Suggests 'resemblances' to haiku in poems by Stevens (see CA7), Pound, Amy Lowell, and Crapsey (see CA4).

- 3 6. Holloway, John. 'The Far East: Egypt: Some Conclusions'. In *Widening Horizons in English Verse*. London: Routledge and Paul, 1966.

The last of Holloway's four essays about the influence of foreign cultural traditions in English literature includes notes about the relationship of early writing about the nô, especially by Stopes (D23) and Fenollosa (see especially BK13b and D10b), to the 'anti-Romanticism' of 'post-symbolist' English poetry, including Yeats's verse drama.

37. Sellin, Eric. 'The Oriental Influence in Modern Western Drama'. *France-Asie/Asia* 21 (1966): 85-93.

Offers 'a few concrete cases' that 'may indicate by their great variety the vastness of the Oriental influence' on Western drama. Includes discussion of incorporation of principles from the *nô* in the work of Craig (see *D17*) and Yeats.

38. Stryk, Lucien. 'Zen Buddhism and Modern American Poetry'. *Yearbook of Comparative and General Literature* 15 (1966): 186-90.

Stryk begins with an account of 'Zen poetry', especially that written by Japanese masters, then offers a brief 'investigation' of the importance of Zen in American poetry, focusing mainly on post-war writing.

39. Pronko, Leonard Cabell. 'Three Visions of Noh'. In *Theater East and West: Perspectives toward a Total Theater*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1967. Reprint, 1974.

A reliable discussion of the *nô* that examines the relationship between the form and Yeats's adaptations (see especially *BL12*), Britten and Plomer's *CURLEW RIVER* (*BJ18*), and Beckett's drama (see also *BL190*, 235, and 250). Pronko emphasises that the *nô* is not only a literary genre but also a theatrical art, and that 'in any work . . . faithful to the spirit of the Noh, meaning comes to us not through the words alone, or even primarily, but through other aural and visual means'. The discussion of Yeats's adaptations draws from Sharp's earlier analysis (*BL101*) and is more perceptive than most writing on the subject.

40. Kanaseki, Hisao. 'Haiku and Modern American Poetry'. *East-West Review* 3 (1967-68): 223-41.

A useful antidote to works that find an 'essential haiku spirit' or an 'intimate understanding of the inner life of Japan' in the haiku adaptations of Anglo-American Modernism. With intelligence, wit, and a firm grasp both of Japanese and Anglo-American tradition, Kanaseki sets forth his view that 'it is impossible to write haiku in a language other than Japanese'. Takes particular exception to the suggestion in Pound (in *BK12*), and in Miner writing about Pound (in *A25*), that a technique of super-posing 'seeming contrasts' has anything to do with Japanese poetic tradition. Finds that in its 'extreme succinctness and understatement . . . its direct treatment of subjects and . . . emphasis on imagery', haiku has influenced modern Anglo-American writers such as Aldington, Fletcher, Flint, Lowell, and Pound, but has not been and could not be 'assimilated' in any work written in English.

41. Miner, Earl. 'Japan's Contribution to Western Literature and the Arts'. *UNESCO Courier*, September-October 1968, pp. 28, 30, 34, 43, 45-46, 48.

Summarises major points from Miner's earlier study (A25), and anticipates writers such as Flanagan (A65, 67, and 68) in suggesting that 'Western writers and artists have turned to Japan for what they needed, not necessarily for what is there'. The essay appears slightly revised as 'From "Japonisme" to "Zen"', in *Asian Student* (San Francisco), March 1969, pp. 5-6.

42. Miner, Earl. 'The Significance of Japan to Western Literatures'. *Proceedings of the International Round Table on the Relations between Japanese and Western Arts*. Tokyo: Japanese National Commission for UNESCO, 1968.

Drawing freely on his own earlier work (A25 and 41), Miner traces the history of the 'significance' of the title, focusing particularly on Pound—'the important figure in the poetic adaptation of Japan'—but offering comment as well about Robert Bly (see CA14), Blunden, Lowell, Plomer, Snyder (see CA14e), Stevens (see CA7), Lucien Stryk (see CA14), William Carlos Williams, and Yeats, among others. Concludes that 'the story of Western borrowings from Japan is one largely concerned with a Western need to search . . . for what it was felt was represented by Japan', and the meaning of this search, though it may not accord with the 'reality' of Japan itself, has been 'much more important than might reasonably have been expected'. Just as 'fifty years ago there were probably more Frenchmen who had heard of Hokusai than of Phidias', today 'probably more Americans . . . have heard of Bashô than of Aristophanes', and 'whatever we may decide to be fit in such matters, we may be sure that the American poet, like the French painter, has discovered in Japanese civilization that which gives his art and life a special grace'.

43. Rexroth, Kenneth. 'Classic Japanese Poetry'. In *Classics Revisited*. Chicago: Quadrangle, 1968. Reprint, New York: New Directions, 1986.

Rexroth surveys Japanese poetic tradition and suggests that 'possibly the greatest single influence on the poetry of the West since Baudelaire has come from . . . Chinese and Japanese poetry in translation'. The generation of poets who came of age in the early decades of the century 'accepted Far Eastern poetry as the very matter of fact of their art', and 'a whole section of Western European verse after the First War occupies the same universe of discourse as that of Tu Fu [Jpn.: To Ho] or Hitomaro'. Includes disparaging comment about the profusion of Western-language 'haiku' after the Second World War.

44. Arnott, Peter. 'Some English Imitations [of the nô]'. Appendix to *The Theatres of Japan*. London: Macmillan, 1969.

A knowledgeable discussion of the nô adaptations of Yeats and the collaborations of Britten and Plomer (BJ18, 19, and 21), focusing both on the degree of faithfulness to sources and the degree of dramatic success. Notes the 'spiritual affinity' of

Yeats to the nô even before he was introduced to the form, and outlines those elements to which he was drawn, including the 'highly allusive verse style', staging techniques, performance conditions, dramatic merging of the past and present, and the 'fleeting and illusory' nature of the sensible world 'emphasized' by a 'metamorphosis' of character. The discovery of the nô for Britten, as for Yeats, 'caused . . . immediate excitement and gave a new turn and a new form' to previously-held aesthetic ideals, but *CURLEW RIVER (BJ18)* succeeds where Yeats's adaptations 'partially failed' because Britten and Plomer 'recognized from the outset the artistic invalidity of merely imitating the Japanese conventions', and 'sought instead . . . a workable equivalent, and a ritual form more immediately meaningful to a Western audience'.

45. Ernst, Earle. 'The Influence of Japanese Theatrical Style on Western Theatre'.

Educational Theatre Journal 21 (1969): 127-38.

A work useful for its placement of Western-language nô adaptations in the historical context of the search for alternatives to dramatic realism. Ernst argues that much of the technique of Yeatsian drama often attributed to the discovery of the nô actually came from the theories of Maeterlinck and the Symbolists, and that Craig (see *D17*), unlike Yeats and Masefield (see *CA5*), 'recognis[ed] the difficulty of acquiring a genuine understanding of Japanese theatre' without actually seeing performances. Includes a careful tracing of the history of Japanese theatre troupes in the West, and reaction to them from audiences, critics, directors, and dramatists. Concludes that the appeal has come from the 'fusion' of acting, voice, movement, dance, and music into 'total theatre', and that the 'techniques by which this fusion is accomplished' may yet prove fruitful for European and American dramatists.

46. Lewin, Bruno. 'Literarische Begegnungen zwischen Amerika und Japan'. *Jahrbuch für Amerikastudien* 14 (1969): 25-39.

A broad survey of literary interrelations between Japan and the United States that draws heavily on Miner (*A25*). Includes discussion of Aiken, Crapsey (see *CA4*), Eliot (see *CA10*), Fenollosa (*D10*), Fletcher, Hearn (*D9*), Amy Lowell, Noguchi (*D15*), Pound, Yeats, and others.

47. Miner, Earl. 'Our Heritage of Japanese Drama'. *Literature East and West* 15/4-16/1-2 (1971-72): 577-600.

Finds that artists in Europe and America have been attracted both by the beauty and the form of Japanese drama, but also by something 'that may be called a possibility of a creative center that had not theretofore been glimpsed'. Pound, Sergei Eisenstein, Yeats, and others 'found Japanese drama a revelation' and 'a

justification for a new departure and a break with existing conventions', though often this 'finding' was of 'what they needed rather than what is . . . present in the arts they extolled'. Includes discussion of the 'church dramas' of Plomer and Britten (*BJ18*, *19*, and *21*) and passing reference to Fenollosa (*D10*) and Amy Lowell.

48. Rexroth, Kenneth. *American Poetry in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Herder & Herder, 1971.

In his idiosyncratic history of twentieth-century American poetry Rexroth stresses the importance of influence from Japan and China. Includes knowledgeable discussion of Hartmann (see *D12*), Hearn (*D9*), and Noguchi (*D15*), the writers from whom American writers 'first learned about the poetry of Japan', and suggestion that Pound's work with Chinese poetry and the *nô* (see especially *BK15* and *24*) for the first time 'made Far Eastern literature meaningful in the context of modern [American] society', even if Pound and Lowell's conception of the ideogram (see *BK32* and *BI10*) 'mised many a translator'.

49. Rexroth, Kenneth. *The Elastic Retort: Essays in Literature and Ideas*. New York: Seaburg, 1973.

Two works in a 'Japan' section include notes about a Japanese influence in American poetry.

a. 'Japan and the Second Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere'. In this vigorous defence of Japanese industry and economic growth Rexroth asserts influences from Japan in American intellectual life and literature, focusing particularly on American interest in Japanese Zen and classical poetry. The claims are large—Zen has become 'the American form of existentialism' and post-war American poets are influenced by classical Japanese verse more than by the poetry of France or Britain—but specific examples are limited to passing reference to Hearn (see *D9*), Snyder (see *CA14e*), and the work of D. T. Suzuki (see *D28*). According to a note the work appeared first in *San Francisco Magazine*.

b. 'The Influence of Classical Japanese Poetry on Modern American Poetry'. Miner's *Japanese Tradition* (*A25*) is 'close to definitive', Rexroth writes, but while that work ends with discussion of Pound and Yeats, the Japanese influence in American poetry after the Second World War has been 'far more pervasive' than before, and 'close to determinative' for American poets born after 1940. Rexroth traces the reasons for this to a 'distortion' of culture in Europe and America, and the recognition by thousands of Americans during the post-war Occupation that the traditional literature and religion of Japan represents a 'completeness' of culture lacking in American life. Includes discussion of the use of Japanese

materials by Corman (see *CA14a*), Pound, Snyder, Philip Whalen (see *CA13*), and others, reference to the importance of work by Hartmann (see *D12*), Hearn, Kitasono (see *D29*), Noguchi (*D15*), Mathers (*D25*), and Suzuki, and particular contentions of influence from the *nô*, Zen, Hitomaro, and sumie, particularly from the Muromachi-period (1392-1573). Originally a speech delivered at the International Conference for Japanologists in Tokyo, November 1972; first printed in *Studies on Japanese Culture*, vol. 1, edited by Saburô Ota and Rikutarô Fukuda (Tokyo: Japan PEN Club, 1973); reprinted in *World Outside the Window: Selected Essays of Kenneth Rexroth*, edited by Bradford Morrow (New York: New Directions, 1987). See also *CA13* and *14d*.

50. Atsumi, Ikuko. Introduction to *Yone Noguchi: Collected English Letters (D15e9)*, 1975.

Atsumi argues that Noguchi's influence on Yeats and the Imagists, particularly Pound, must have been greater than is generally acknowledged (see also *BK195*), and 'must have been more direct than the mere fact that he wrote free verse with *haiku*-type images [see especially *D15e1*, 4, and 7] . . . and published many translations of Japanese *haiku* [see *D15e6* and 7]'. His influence 'was absorbed in the strong inward necessity of the advancement of English modern poetry', and when we read the letters to him from Anglo-American writers, 'it comes to light that Noguchi united US-Japan-England with an Oriental spirit representative in *haiku*'.

51. Harmer, J. B. *Victory in Limbo: A History of Imagism, 1908-1917*. New York: St. Martin's, 1975.

Includes a useful summary of the use of Japanese materials in Imagist poetry, including work by Aldington, Fletcher, Flint, Hulme (see *A3*), Lowell, and Pound, and a careful sorting out of the relationships between early translations, especially those of Chamberlain (*D5a*), and the work of the Imagists. Contains also a brief but insightful analysis of the relationship between Pound, Fenollosa (*D10*), Japanese and Chinese materials, and Imagist theory. Careful not to claim too much, but shows that Japanese materials had 'effects on Imagist poetry [that] deserve at least some notice'. See also *A2*.

52. Iwahara, Yasuo. 'Imagist shijin to haiku no kankei' (The relationship between Imagist poets and haiku). *Kôgakuin daigaku kenkyû ronsô* 17 (1979): 1-32.

A careful tracing of the understanding of haiku by poets associated with Imagism, including Aldington, Fletcher, Flint, Hulme (see *A3*), Lowell, and Pound, between 1909 and the second Imagist anthology of 1915. Suggests that Pound first heard of

the form, probably in November 1912, from Hulme or Flint, but that by 1915 Lowell and Fletcher had the greater knowledge of Japanese subjects.

53. Storry, Richard. 'The Image of Japan in British Literature'. In *Proceedings of the British Association for Japanese Studies, 1980: History & International Relations*, edited by John W. M. Chapman and Jean-Pierre Lehmann. Sheffield: Centre of Japanese Studies, University of Sheffield, 1980.

Briefly traces the reactions of British and other writers in English who have responded to Japan, including Blunden, Brinkley (see *D14*), Chamberlain (*D5*), Hearn (*D9*), Kipling (see *CA1*), Mitford (*D4*), Sherard Vines, and Yeats.

54. Gage, John T. *In The Arresting Eye: The Rhetoric of Imagism*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1981.

Not a comparative study *per se*, but refers throughout to the influence of haiku, tanka, and the Fenollosa/Pound ideogram (see *BK32*) on Imagism (see index). The issues and examples discussed are not new, but along with their treatment in Hughes (*A19*), Harmer (*A51*), and Coffman (*BK96*) demonstrate that acknowledgement of an influence from Japanese materials has become part of mainstream critical writing about Imagism.

55. Durnell, Hazel B. *Japanese Cultural Influences on American Poetry and Drama*. Tokyo: Hokuseido, 1983.

Durnell's attempt to trace the full history of Japanese influence in American poetry and drama is flawed by lack of critical judgement, documentation so poor that notes and bibliography entries often cannot be traced, and numerous outright errors of fact. Useful only in suggesting the scope of influence. Includes discussion of Aiken, Bynner, Crapsey (see *CA4*), Eliot (see *CA10*), Fenollosa (*D10*), Ficke, Fletcher, Hearn (*D9*), Lowell, Stevens (see *CA7*), Thornton Wilder (see also 25, 30, and *BL129*), and others, and sections about haiku, tanka, the *nô*, and kabuki in America. The only notable review of the work is by Kevin Keane (*Japan Quarterly* 30 [1983]: 439-41), who finds it 'a useful study', but notes that 'those who want a detailed analysis will have to look elsewhere'.

56. Yu, Beongcheon. *The Great Circle: American Writers and the Orient*. Detroit: Wayne State UP, 1983.

A careful study, organised biographically, that traces Indian, Chinese, and Japanese influences in the work of the writers discussed. Careful throughout to distinguish between parallels of thought and actual influence. Chapters on Fenollosa (see *D10*), Hearn (*D9*), and other 'Yankee Pilgrims in Japan'—Edwin Morse, William Sturgis Bigelow, Henry Adams, John La Farge, and Percival Lowell (see *D6*)—provide an excellent overview of early American literary and artistic

interest in Japan, and the chapter on Pound, though emphasising Chinese interests, offers as well a useful summary of his debts to Japan.

57. Kawano, Akira. 'Haiku and American Poetry: The Influence of Haiku upon American Poetry'. *Neohelicon* 10/1 (1983): 115-22.

Speculates about an influence of haiku in Crapsey (see CA4), Robert Frost, Amy Lowell, Pound, Wallace Stevens (see CA7), Louis Untermeyer, William Carlos Williams, and others.

58. Lai, Stanley Sheng-Chuan. 'Oriental Crosscurrents in Modern Western Theatre'. PhD thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1983. Abstract in *DAI* 45/3: 0684A.

Traces 'the conscious pursuit and assimilation of Oriental philosophy and theatrical practice in Western theatre of the twentieth century, and concurrent development, independent of conscious influence, of elements in modern drama that reflect the structure and spirit of Japanese Noh'. Includes discussion of Yeats's assimilation of the form.

59. Kodama, Sanehide. *American Poetry and Japanese Culture*. Hamden, Conn.: Archon, Shoe String, 1984.

An attempt to bring up to date the history of Japanese influence in American poetry, useful in part for its thoroughgoing acquaintance with Japanese scholarship. Corrects several errors in Durnell (A55) and is altogether a more successful work. Begins with historical background and discussion of the use of Japanese subjects and materials in Whitman and Longfellow (see CA1) and Lowell and Crapsey (see CA4). Material on Fenollosa, Pound, and Fenollosa's notebooks is especially distinguished, the first detailed examination by a scholar who reads Chinese, Japanese, and English and has examined the notebooks. Shows that Fenollosa's Chinese translations 'contain almost exact, literal renderings of the original Chinese poems', and attempts with some success to defend Pound against accusations of incompetence resulting from his handling of the material. Discussion of Rexroth's use of Japanese materials (see CA13 and 14d) is likewise insightful, and a section on Snyder (see CA14e) contains useful information. Includes 'General Observations', 'Amy Lowell and Adelaide Crapsey', 'Ezra Pound', 'Kenneth Rexroth', and 'Gary Snyder and Other Poets'. Incorporates 'Pound no nazo to Fenollosa MSS no hakken' (The enigma of Pound and the discovery of Fenollosa's manuscripts), *Eigo seinen* 115 (1969): 234-37; 'Amerika bungaku ni okeru Nippon tonon setten: Ezra Pound no *Cantos* o megutte' (A meeting point of American literature and Japan: Pound's *Cantos*), *Dôshisha America kenkyû* 12 (1976): 51-64; 'The Eight Scenes of Shô-Shô', *Paideuma* 6 (1977): 131-45; 'Amerika no shi to

Nippon bunka: Amy Lowell no baai' (American poetry and Japanese culture: the case of Amy Lowell), *Shuryû* 39 (1978): 33-47; 'Kenneth Rexroth and Japan: A Homage from the Far East' (in *For Rexroth*, edited by Geoffrey Gardner, New York: The Ark, 1980); and 'Gary Snyder no seikai' (The world of Snyder), *Dôshisha joshidaigaku kenkyû nenpô* 34/1 (1983): 98-107.

a. Reviews: Kodama's work was generally well received. Morgan Gibson (*Comparative Literature Studies* 23 [1986]: 85-90) finds it 'a triumph of transcultural understanding'; Bert Almon (*Western American Literature* 21 [1986]: 82-83) suggests that Miner (*A25*) is 'stronger on the historical and literary background of Japanese influence', but commends Kodama's knowledge of both Japanese and American literary tradition, and believes his work 'adds to our understanding of an important influence on American poetry'; G. L. Ebersole (*Choice* 22 [1985]: 1493-94) finds the work an 'important complement' to Miner, even if Kodama 'occasionally . . . overstate[s] the importance' of the influence; Yoshio Iwamoto (*World Literature Today* 59 [1985]: 666-67) finds that while 'neither the subject matter nor the style of [the] book is likely to recommend it to a large literary audience', it will 'prove a welcome cornucopia of information' for specialists; John K. Gillespie (*Yearbook of Comparative and General Literature* 35 [1986]: 171-72) writes that the influence from Japan in American arts and letters has been 'profound', and notes that Kodama's work 'argues compellingly for this view', but takes exception to Kodama's lack of acknowledgement of the role translators have played in making Japanese poetics accessible to Anglo-American poets; Rosaly DeMaios Roffman (*Library Journal* 109 [1984]: 2151) generally finds the work valuable, but believes that 'since most knowledge of Japan is acquired either second-hand or through quick visits, the subject of influence becomes complex, and Kodama's pithy generalizations are occasionally puzzling'; the only generally negative review, by Don L. Cook (*American Literature* 58 [1986]: 134-36), finds that Kodama's work 'disappoints expectation' largely because it fails to offer an 'integrated view' of the influence, and relies on 'isolated literary texts that have been translated, quoted, paraphrased or paralleled in American poems'. A brief notice appeared as well in *American Notes & Queries* 23 (1984): 53.

60. Gibson, Morgan. 'The "True-Word" of Kûkai and Modern Literature in English'.

Mikkyo bunka 147 (1984): 102-14.

General comments about Japanese Buddhist themes in twentieth-century Anglo-American poetry, with a focus on post-war American writing. Includes reference to Fenollosa (see *D10*), Hearn (*D9*), Pound, Stevens (see *CA7*), and Yeats. Originally a lecture given at Kôyasan in 1983. Reprinted in *Kôbo Daishi to mikkyo no bunka*

(Kôbo Daishi and esoteric writings), edited by Mitsuhiro Fujita (Kôyasan: Kôyasan UP, 1986).

6 1. McLeod, Dan. 'Asia and the Poetic Discovery of America from Emerson to Snyder'.

In *Discovering the Other: Humanities East and West*, edited by Robert S. Ellwood. Malibu: Undena, 1984.

Finds the use of Asian materials central to the development of a distinctly American poetry. Since 'the attraction of Asian traditions for American poets has usually been accompanied by dissatisfaction with a critical part of our transplanted European culture', American poets who have recognised 'poetic insights expressed effectively in an Asian work' have been 'inclined . . . to pursue those directions' in their own work. The result often has been that the 'borrowings' have 'enriched and helped to define [American] culture', to such an extent that 'the Asian sources in our poetry contribute to its American identity'. Focuses particularly on Gary Snyder's discovery and use of Chinese materials, but includes reference throughout to the effects of Japanese sources in American poetry, including Pound's understanding of the *nô* in relation to *The Cantos*.

6 2. Record, Alison Kirby. 'Haiku Genre: The Nature and Origins of English Haiku'. PhD thesis, Indiana University, 1984. Abstract in *DAI* 44/12: 3679A.

Kirby traces 'the historical development and aesthetic nature of English-language haiku' and compares this to the 'Japanese prototype', arguing that while the form has exercised a 'significant influence on modern Anglo-American poetry' from the time of Pound's definitions of Imagism (see particularly *BK1*, 2, and 12), 'haiku poets' writing in English 'have either discarded the classical principles' or have 'transformed them almost beyond recognition'. The result is that 'haiku' in English 'bears little or no resemblance to the Japanese model'.

6 3. Shikina, Seiji. 'The Adaptation of the Haiku Form in the Poetry of the Imagists'.

PhD thesis, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1986. Abstract in *DAI* 47/6: 2161A.

A study of haiku and the Imagists that largely summarises earlier observations. Focuses particularly on Pound, Fletcher, and H. D. (see 8).

6 4. Wilson, Jean, and Louis Allen. 'Japan and English Literature'. *Proceedings of the Japan Society* 108 (1987): 3-23.

Surveys British literary response to Japan primarily by quoting at length from pertinent works, including Mitford's *Tales* (see *D4*), selections from Hearn (*D9*), an 1898 *Japan Mail* piece condemning Hearn and Edwin Arnold's 'poetic . . . outbursts' (see *CA1*), Yeats's introduction to *Certain Noble Plays of Japan* (*BL11*),

Plomer's 'Brutal Sentimentalist', CAPTAIN MARU, and *Double Lives* (BJ3, 7, and 10), and Laurens van der Post's *The Seed and the Sower* (London: Hogarth, 1963).

65. Flanagan, Kathleen Theresa. 'The Orient as Pretext for Aesthetic Revolution in Modern Poetry in English'. PhD thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1987. Abstract in *DAI* 48/9: 2331A.

The first study to bring self-consciously post-structuralist methods to the discussion shows that Chinese and Japanese poetry and art have been used by Anglo-American poets 'to legitimize many of the poetic stances' we now associate with Modernism. Places Pound's work with East Asian materials in the context of writers such as Fenollosa (see *D10*) and Hearn (*D9*), 'who saw the East as a peaceful, meditative, and spiritual alternative to a Western society . . . they found largely aggressive and acquisitive'. Includes discussion of the Orient as 'other' in the work of Fletcher, Lowell, Pound, Yeats, and others.

66. Etô, Jun. 'Some Reflections on the Japanese Contribution to Western Arts and Letters'. *Japan Society Review* 112 (1989): 70-81.

Offers a critique of 'Euro-Centric' narrative and a description of Japanese narrative principles that, according to Etô, if properly understood could bring about a revolution in European and American literature as significant as the overthrowing of the laws of perspective in European art in the nineteenth century. Begins by reviewing the role of Japanese visual arts in helping to revolutionise Western painting in the nineteenth century, and following this argues that Western writers and readers share unexamined concepts of narration that like perspective are 'institutional device[s], peculiar to Western arts'. Etô does not focus particularly on writers under discussion here, but his criticism of Eurocentric understanding implicitly includes them all. Originally a lecture sponsored jointly by the Japan Foundation and the Japan Society, delivered 4 October 1988 at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University.

67. Flanagan, Kathleen. 'Far Eastern Art and Modern American Poetry'. *Postscript* 10 (1993): 57-65.

Offers examples of American poetry that has 'interpreted' or 'represented verbally' East Asian art, particularly ukiyoe, and suggests that this art has served as a 'pretext' for beliefs the poets held even before their discovery of it. Includes discussion of work by Aldington, Bynner, Ficke, Fletcher, Lowell, Pound, and others.

68. Flanagan, Kathleen. 'The Orient as Pretext for Aesthetic and Cultural Revolution in Modern American Poetry'. In *Cohesion and Dissent in America*, edited by Carol Colatrella and Joseph Alkana. Albany: State U of New York P, 1994.

A condensation and further exploration of issues introduced in Flanagan's earlier work (A65 and 67). Argues that writers such as Fletcher, Lowell, and Pound 'perceived the Orient as a utopian "other" in order to "challenge the status quo" of English poetics', but that their 'proclaimed revolution' was in fact 'neither new nor intrinsically connected to the Far East'. Includes passing reference to Fenollosa (see D10) and Hearn (D9).

69. Kodama, Sanehide. *America no japonisme* (American Japonisme). Tokyo:

Chûôkôronshakan, 1995.

Kodama's knowledgeable study of manifestations of Japonisme in American fashion, art, and society traces the milieu in which American writers have come to know of Japan, and includes a chapter about the effects of knowledge of Japan in American literature. 'America bungaku no naka no Nippon' (Japan in American literature) addresses the incorporation of Japanese subjects in the writing of Crapsey (see CA4), Longfellow (see CA1), Lowell, Pound, and others.

70. Qian, Zhaoming. *Orientalism and Modernism: The Legacy of China in Pound and Williams*. Durham: Duke UP, 1995.

Though Qian's central thesis concerns the role of Chinese tradition in the shaping of Anglo-American Modernist verse, particularly that of Pound and William Carlos Williams, his ambitious and well-argued work includes reference throughout to Japanese subjects and interests (see index). Includes reference to Aldington, Ariga Nagao, Binyon, Eliot (see CA10), Fenollosa (D10), Fletcher, Flint, Freer, Hulme (see A3), Amy Lowell, Mori Kainan, Wallace Stevens (see CA7), and Arthur Waley (see D26), as well as comment about the roles of haiku and the nô in the development of early-century Anglo-American verse.

71. Kern, Robert. *Orientalism, Modernism, and the American Poem*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996.

Even more than Qian (A70) Kern focuses on the role of ideas about China in his 'critical and historical interpretation of "oriental" influences on American modernist poetry', though nonetheless raises issues that apply equally well to understanding of Japanese subjects. Focuses particularly on the work of Fenollosa (see D10), Pound, and Gary Snyder (see CA14e).

72. Sadria, Mojtaba. 'Japanese Way and American Followers'. *Kokusaikankeigaku kenkyû* 22 (1996): 53-76.

Begins with the proposition that literary exoticism is an adjunct to imperialism, and that as the position of Japan relative to the United States has changed, 'the role of exoticism in Japan's influence on American literature [has] changed as well'. Proposes to show where Amy Lowell, Pound, and Rexroth (see CA13 and 14d) 'were

able to get beyond the exotic', as well as where they failed, though offers a sympathetic reading of each. Finds a progression from Lowell's 'superfluous [Japanese] decoration' through Pound's avoidance of exoticism to Rexroth's movement beyond exoticism to an experiential knowledge of Japan.

73. Okada, Sumie. *Western Writers in Japan*. London: Macmillan, 1999.

Okada's study is useful for anecdotal details about the series of British writers who have taken up residence in Japan, but lacking in critical rigour, relying throughout on abstractions about 'Western sensibilities', the 'Japanese mind', and how the latter has befuddled the former. Includes 'Lafcadio Hearn: The First Great Literary Emissary from the West', 'William Plomer: East-West Relationships', 'William Empson: "Unresolved Conflicts"', 'G S Fraser: A Westerner's Analysis of *Haiiku*', 'James Kirkup and D J Enright: A Humanitarian Mission?', 'Anthony Thwaite: Two Decades a Generation Apart', 'Stephen Spender: A Traveller Through Japan', 'Homosexuality and Japan', and 'Cultural Differences', which includes brief sections on Peter Quennell, George Barker, Ronald Bottrall, Francis King, Dennis Keene, Harry Guest, and Peter Robinson.

See also *BH15*, and for studies that focus specifically on the poets of section B see *BA21-22*, *BB21-24*, *BC35-43*, *BD172-94*, *BE23-27*, *BF23-31*, *BG17-18*, *BH24-35*, *BI22-40*, *BJ29-41*, *BK91-209*, and *BL60-259*; critical studies of the writers under study in sections C and D are noted in the individual entries listed there.

B. Poets Central to the Study, 1900-1950

BA. Conrad Aiken, 1889-1973

Aiken's Japanese interests date from his student days at Harvard and his work during that time, along with Fletcher and Eliot, at the *Harvard Advocate*. In a letter to Miner written in the early fifties (18) Aiken remembered that by 1909 he and others at the *Advocate* were aware of Fenollosa and the Japanese collection at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and that they knew of Hearn's translations of hokku (see *D9b*) and had themselves experimented with the form. By 1915 to 1917, Aiken recalled, he and Fletcher had 'dived into Japanese and Chinese poetry and art', and his autobiography (16) and published letters (19) demonstrate that the interest continued and grew deeper throughout his life. The effects of this on his work, however, are understated. While contemporaries were publishing experiments with hokku and romanticised verse 'after the fashion' of Japanese prints, Aiken was at work on a series of introspective book-length poems that only occasionally make use of Japanese subjects, and never as a central conceit. The study of his use of Japanese materials, then, more than for others of his time, must confront the degree to which techniques are derived from an understanding of Japanese models, and in this matter evidence for at least an indirect influence is clear. Miner notes the Impressionism of the early work and suggests a source in ukiyoe, a reasonable enough claim given Aiken's love of the prints and the clear debt to ukiyoe of earlier literary Impressionism (see *A25*, pp. 66-96). Both Miner and Martin (21) note as well that despite misgivings Aiken borrowed extensively from the Imagists, and Miner cites examples of Pound's hokku-derived technique super-position (see *BK12*) in much of his early work. Finally, evidence may be cited that Aiken's techniques for unifying long poems owe something to Japanese models, at least as filtered through contemporary English sources (see especially 7 and 9). Taken together these demonstrate that while Aiken's practice is never defined by Japanese techniques, neither is it unaffected by them. What we see are traces and shadows, but with enough substance to make Aiken an important part of this study. His influence has been such, furthermore, that if we find a general dissemination of techniques traceable to Japan in the poets of our own day, surely he, along with Pound, was for a time an important channel for their transmission, on both sides of the Atlantic. Poems listed here, unless otherwise noted, are reprinted in *Collected Poems* (17).

Primary Materials

1. EPISODE IN GREY. In *Nocturne of Remembered Spring and Other Poems*. 1917. Rev. ed., Boston: Four Seas, 1925.
 Miner (A25) notes the ‘Impressionistic’ technique and ‘pictorial’ structure of this poem, THE CHARNEL ROSE (3a), and SEVEN TWILIGHTS (10a), and suggests that these may owe something to Aiken’s interest in and understanding of ukiyoe. The title was changed to EPISODE in the 1925 edition, but restored in *Collected Poems* (17).
2. VARIATIONS I-XVIII. *Contemporary Verse* 3/6 (June 1917): 81-96.
 See 7. Reprinted with slight emendations in 3 and 14. Not in *Collected Poems*.
3. *The Charnel Rose, Senlin: A Biography, and Other Poems*. Boston: Four Seas, 1918.
 Reprint, New York: Haskell House, 1971.
 Includes VARIATIONS (formerly VARIATIONS I-XVIII [2]).
 a. THE CHARNEL ROSE. The second of five Aiken ‘symphonies’, all of which rely to some degree on the ‘Impressionistic’ technique Miner equates with interest in ukiyoe (see A25). Written in 1915, according to the preface to *The Divine Pilgrim* (15). Reprinted, considerably revised, as the first part of that collection. Compare to Aiken’s later ‘symphonies’ (see 9 and 15) and others by Ficke (BG8c and 9c) and Fletcher (BH2b and 4b), each of which derives subject and imagery from particular works of Japanese art. In 1915, it might be noted, Fletcher and Aiken were neighbours on Walnut Street in Boston.
4. ‘The Return of Romanticism’. Review of *Japanese Prints* (BH7), by John Gould Fletcher. *Dial* 65 (September 1918): 165-67.
 Though Aiken recalls in the letter to Miner (18) that he and Fletcher, his friend at Harvard, had both ‘dived into’ Japanese and Chinese poetry in the years 1915-17, by this review of late 1918 he is sharply critical of Fletcher’s Japanese interests. ‘In *Japanese Prints*, even more . . . than in *Irradiations* [BH2]—and certainly more conventionally than in *Goblins and Pagodas* [BH4]—we find [Fletcher] participating in the current romantic nostalgia for the remote and strange; as Aldington, H. D., Lowell, and Pound have ‘exploited’ Greece and China, ‘so now Mr. Fletcher takes his turn with Japan’. This ‘tendency’ is ‘indicative of a curious truckling to reason. . . . One admits that [beauty and wonder] are not to be found at one’s humble and matter-of-fact door, and [so] takes refuge in the impalpability and marvel of distance.’ This tendency to romanticise is but one of Aiken’s objections to Imagism, especially as practised by Amy Lowell. This article and others expressing related doubts and general misgivings are collected in *Scepticisms* (6).
5. ‘Sunt Rerum Lacrymae’. Review of *One Hundred and Seventy Chinese Poems*, by

Arthur Waley. *Dial* 67 (July 1919): 23-24.

Demonstrates both Aiken's respect for the man who was to become the first great English translator of Japanese literature and his keen interest in the poetics of East Asia and lessons that might be derived from them. The understanding that East Asian poetry is 'not . . . even remotely akin to free verse' is ahead of its time, and in contrast to contemporary claims about Japanese and Chinese poetry by, among others, Flint (see A2 and A3). Aiken's knowledge of Chinese prosody is genuine, and demonstrates a close study of an earlier Waley article, 'Notes on Chinese Prosody', which had appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* in London in 1918. By contrast, in a book published a year later (9a) Aiken mistakes the name of a major Japanese artist, and apparently does not know in which century he lived. The knowledge of Japanese subjects improves over time, but the more central importance of Chinese poetry continues. Reprinted in 6.

6. *Scepticisms: Notes on Contemporary Poetry*. New York: Knopf, 1919. Reprint, Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries, 1970.

Aiken wrote extensively on contemporary poetry for the major literary journals on both sides of the Atlantic. This work collects thirty of his reviews, including 'The Return of Romanticism' (4), 'Sunt Rerum Lacrymae' (5), and others that set forth misgivings about Imagism and especially the contributions offered it by Amy Lowell.

7. LIGHTS AND SNOW. *Harvard Advocate* 105/2 (January 1919): 17-19.

More unambiguously than most of Aiken's verse demonstrates a debt to Pound and the principles of Imagism he derived partly from Japanese models. Martin (21) finds that the 'basic form' has its origin in *Cathay* (BK15) and Waley's Chinese translations, with their 'foreshortened blank verse', 'subdued' emotion, and 'conjunction of sharp images with a deliberate flatness of tone', and Miner (A25) notes 'examples of Pound's super-pository technique [see BK12] which recur in Aiken's work of this period'. The reliance on images of winter to unify disconnected sections is reminiscent of Japanese practice, as are other methods of 'linking' sections, through 'mood' or 'unexpressed meaning' or 'hidden theme', for example, but the only account of Japanese linked verse (*renga*) available in a European language in 1919 was Chamberlain's (see D5a), from which such technical devices could not have been derived, and so any debt to Japanese practice in this regard is more a matter of intuition than conscious imitation of technique. VARIATIONS (2), written at about the same time, relies similarly on Imagist principles, seasonal words and images (*kigo*), and modernist 'links' between disparate sections. Reprinted, with additions, in 10 and 14, the former of which

includes a note identifying the year of composition as 1917.

8. CONVERSATION: UNDERTONES. *Youth: Poetry of Today* 1/5 (June 1919): 94-96.

A woman's observations about a Hokusai print in a dimly lit room make up the 'conversation', while a man, the speaker of the lines we read, observes and listens. Reprinted with slight emendations in 9 and 15.

9. THE HOUSE OF DUST: A SYMPHONY. Boston: Four Seas, 1920.

The fourth of Aiken's 'symphonies' (see also 3a and 15), composed in 1916 and 1917. A book-length poem divided into four parts, the first two of which evoke an ominous and impersonal city, the latter two, in a series of vignettes, seemingly unrelated characters set against the cityscape. Two sections make use of ukiyoe. In both, the prints are seen through the eyes of a woman who herself is observed by a man who is silent but for his internal monologue about her, the lines 'spoken' in the poem. In both, as well, as in a later Aiken poem (12), the characters see the tranquil world depicted in the prints in contrast to their own world and its complications. Neither print is identifiable from details provided. The unifying principle for these works derives from the orchestral metaphor, but one is reminded as well of Pound's comments about a 'long vorticist poem', which like 'the best "Noh" . . . is gathered about one image . . . enforced by movement and music' (see BK12). No definitive connection may be drawn from the published record, but Aiken would have known of Pound's article. Here similar and recurring images of the impersonal city provide a centre around which the world of the poem revolves. Part III, section XI is a reprint with slight emendations of CONVERSATIONS: UNDERTONES (8). Reprinted, with revisions, in *The Divine Pilgrim* (15) and *Collected Poems* (17), in both cases along with Aiken's other 'symphonies' in a connected sequence, which according to the preface of *Divine Pilgrim* had been intended from as early as 1915.

a. THE SCREEN MAIDEN (Part III, section II). A note at the beginning says that Aiken is 'indebted to Lafcadio Hearn for the episode called "The Screen Maiden" in Part II', but the 114-line section indebted to Hearn is in fact in Part III. The episode is framed by lines that reveal it to be a passage from a book, presumably Hearn's, being read by a woman as she is watched by the speaker, the 'I' character, from a window. In the tale she reads, 'Tokkei', a Japanese poet grief-stricken because of the death of his lover, finds a portrait of a young woman by 'Hiroshigi' (Hiroshige) and falls in love with the image. He learns sometime later that Hiroshige's talent was so great that when the subject of one of his works dies the spirit may '[enter] the portrait wholly'. Tokkei appeals to the image and slowly it comes to life. Aiken's incomplete knowledge of ukiyoe at this date is indicated not

only by his misspelling of Hiroshige—he has it right by 1928, in *11*—but also by the fact that he has the nineteenth-century artist ‘many centuries dead’.

10. *Priapus and the Pool*. 1922. Enlarged as *Priapus and the Pool and Other Poems*.

New York: Boni and Liveright, 1925.

Some poems in the 1925 edition are slightly revised; three with little relation to this study are omitted. Both include a slightly emended version of IMPROVISATIONS: LIGHTS AND SNOW (formerly LIGHT AND SNOW [7]).

a. SEVEN TWILIGHTS. See 1. Parts II, IV, and VII had appeared first in June 1921 as TWILIGHT, RYE, SUSSEX; BATTERSEA BRIDGE; and THE FIGUREHEAD in *Century Magazine*; part III in October 1922 as THE HOUSE in the *Bookman* (New York).

11. ‘Field of Flowers’. In *Costumes by Eros*. New York: Scribner, 1928.

Aiken’s facility with narrative is evident both in his long poems and his short stories. This story from his second collection demonstrates his love and knowledge of ukiyoe (though see 9a). The title derives from a Hiroshige landscape, and the climactic scene takes place in a shop that sells Japanese prints. The central character is exhilarated by what he sees. An Utamaro of three fisherwomen carries him to ‘a world of serenity and perfection’, and the Hiroshige landscape of the title is ‘exquisite . . . like a poem . . . like a piece of music by Debussy. . . . His hand positively trembled as he held it’. Includes description of these and other prints, Hiroshige’s ‘Fox Fires’, ‘Monkey Bridge’, and works in the ‘Tokaido road set’ (*Tôkaidô gojûsan tsugi*, Fifty-three stations of the Tôkaidô), and others by Utamaro and Hokusai. Killorin (in introduction to 19) notes that Aiken frequented ukiyoe shops in London in the twenties, particularly one in Holborn where the Japanese proprietor, Kato, taught him to read the names of the artists. The work is reprinted in two later collections of Aiken’s fiction, *The Short Stories of Conrad Aiken* (New York: Duell, Sloane, Pearce, 1950; reprint, Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries, 1971) and *The Collected Short Stories of Conrad Aiken* (New York: World, 1960; reprint, New York: Schocken, 1982).

12. PRELUDE. *Dial* 84 (June 1928): 472-74.

Included in a list of objects that remind the speaker of ‘the bickerings of the inconsequential, / The chatterings of the ridiculous, [and] the iterations / Of the meaningless’ is an ukiyoe print, Utamaro’s ‘Pearl-fishers’, the print of ‘three fisherwomen’ that carries the speaker to a ‘world of serenity and perfection’ in the short story ‘Field of Flowers’ (11). The world depicted in the print, as in earlier work by Aiken (see especially 9), is set in contrast with the troubled world of the speaker. Aiken’s reading of the work is recorded in ‘Robert Fitzgerald, Marya Zaturenska, Robert Lowell, Conrad Aiken [and] William Empson Reading Their Own

Poems' (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress Recording Laboratory, 1951). Reprinted as part I of *Preludes for Memnon: Or, Preludes to Attitude* (New York: Scribner, 1931), and in *Selected Poems* (New York: Oxford UP, 1961; reprint, New York: Schocken, 1982) and *Preludes* (New York: Oxford UP, 1966).

- 1 3. 'Flower of Old Japan'. Review of *Tale of Genji (D26c)*, by Murasaki Shikibu, translated by Arthur Waley. *Bookman* (New York) 68 (December 1928): 477-79. Aiken's praise for *Genji* is uncharacteristically fulsome. The work 'takes a place with the great "stories" of the world' and 'compels' the reader to 'accept the Japan of the year 1000 as . . . one of the high water marks of human civilization'. *Genji* himself is among 'the great figures given to the world by the art of letters'. Reprinted in *A Reviewer's ABC: Collected Criticism of Conrad Aiken from 1916 to the Present* (New York: Meridian, 1958) and *Collected Criticism* (New York: Oxford UP, 1968).
- 1 4. *Selected Poems*. New York: Scribner, 1929. Reprints VARIATIONS (2), IMPROVISATIONS: LIGHTS AND SNOW (formerly LIGHTS AND SNOW, 7), HOUSE OF DUST (9), and SEVEN TWILIGHTS (10a). Awarded the 1930 Pulitzer Prize for poetry.
- 1 5. *The Divine Pilgrim*. Athens, Ga.: U of Georgia P, 1949. Reprints THE CHARNEL ROSE (3a), HOUSE OF DUST (9), and Aiken's other 'symphonies' as a connected series, which Aiken notes in the preface he had intended as early as 1915. The title 'the Screen Maiden' and a thirty-nine line introduction have been dropped from the HOUSE OF DUST section indebted to Hearn (9a); 'Hiroshigi' has been corrected throughout to Hiroshige, though the artist is still 'many centuries dead'; curiously, the note acknowledging the debt to Hearn still has the passage in part II when in fact it is and always was in part III. What was earlier CONVERSATION: UNDERTONES (8) is the untitled Part III, section 10. The whole work has undergone revision, but these sections are not significantly changed.
- 1 6. *Ushant: An Essay*. 1952. Reprint, New York: Oxford UP, 1971. Aiken's autobiography contains reference throughout to his 'lifelong love affair' with ukiyoe and Chinese painting, the latter of which is always referred to by the Japanese ^{word} *kakemono*. Among several works specifically mentioned are 'the great Hiroshige triptych', 'Snow on the Kiso Mountains' that hung in Aiken's houses in Rye, Sussex and Brewster, Cape Cod.
- 1 7. *Collected Poems*. New York: Oxford UP, 1953. Enlarged ed., 1970. Reprints all poems noted here except VARIATIONS (2); the 'symphonies' are the revised versions from *The Divine Pilgrim* (15). Awarded the 1954 National Book

Award for poetry.

18. To Earl Miner, ca. 1951. Quoted in Miner (A25), 1958, pp. 182-83.

See p. 65 above. The letter(s) would be among those in the Miner Papers at UCLA (see CB3).

19. *Selected Letters of Conrad Aiken*. Edited by Joseph Killorin. New Haven: Yale UP, 1978.

Aiken in a letter of 20 June 1923 mentions 'being bankrupt at the moment through buying too many ukiyoe,' and mentions particularly work by Kiyonaga, Utamaro, Harunobu, Hokusai, 'Shunyei' (Katsukawa Shunei, fl. late 18th-early 19th c.), Katsukawa Shunshō (1726-92), Hiroshige, and Katsushika Taito (fl. 1810-53, student of Hokusai); Killorin adds in a note that Aiken 'began collecting Japanese prints in London in 1914, and again in 1920. . . . He regularly visited the print shops, especially one in Holborn owned by "Kato," who taught him the signatures of the artists'. Aiken describes Kato and his shop in Holborn in *Ushant* (16).

Passing reference to Hokusai appears in letters of 27 May 1926 and 27 May 1937; in both cases a metaphor is derived from his use of colour.

20. †Unpublished materials.

a. Conrad Aiken Papers. Huntington Library. 5,300 items. Manuscripts include a notebook covering the years 1914-25, drafts of short stories and poems, and the first draft of *Ushant* (16). Correspondents include Bynner, Eliot, Fletcher, Lowell, and Pound.

b. Conrad Aiken Papers. Houghton Library, Harvard University. Includes Aiken's poetry notebook for 1918-19 and draft versions of several of his longer poems, including those in *Preludes for Memnon* (see 12).

c. Conrad Aiken Papers and Photographs, 1912-59. Department of Special Collections, Clifton Waller Barrett Library, University of Virginia. Includes much of Aiken's correspondence from 1915-59.

d. Aiken materials. Henry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin. 257 items that appear in several collections, including the Cid Corman Collection, the Fletcher Collection (BH23b), the Flint Collection, and the Pound Collection.

e. Other materials. Aiken's letters to Bynner are among the Bynner Papers at Harvard (BE22a), his correspondence with Miner in the Miner Correspondence at UCLA (CB3). Other materials may be found in the Conrad Aiken Manuscripts at the Pennsylvania State University Library; the Aiken Collection, 1917-62, at Washington University; the Rare Books and Manuscripts Collection at the New York Public Library; the Poetry and Rare Books Collection at the University Libraries,

State University of New York at Buffalo; the Houghton Mifflin Collection at Harvard; and the Poetry Bookshop Collection at the University of Tulsa.

Secondary Materials

21. Martin, Jay. *Conrad Aiken: A Life of His Art*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1962.

This sympathetic study is useful in the context of this study for its careful tracing of the relationship between Aiken's work and Imagism.

22. Bonnell, F. W., and F. C. Bonnell. *Conrad Aiken: A Bibliography (1902-1978)*. San Marino, Cal.: Huntington Library, 1982.

The standard Aiken bibliography provides further publication history and bibliographic detail for many works noted here.

See also A25, 46, 55, BH35, BK59, 88, 126, 181, and 188.

BB. Richard Aldington, 1892-1962

Aldington's earliest memories of Japan dated from 1904 or 1905, when he and other English schoolboys wore small Japanese flags in school-uniform buttonholes and prayed for Japanese victory in the Russo-Japanese War (15*i*), and soon after this, when he began reading Hearn. By 1911 he was present at Imagist gatherings in Soho, where according to Flint (A3) Japanese poetry was much discussed, and those assembled wrote tanka and haiku as 'amusement'. Aldington's writing in defence of Imagism does not follow Flint and Pound in invoking Japanese verse for justification, but that he drew on Japanese art and poetry in his work of the period is indisputable. He accepted Flint's pronouncements about the importance of Japanese poetry, and incorporated into his own work Pound's hokku-derived technique of super-position (see BK12); he patterned poems on ukiyoe in the British Museum Print Room, copied there and kept translations of Japanese poems and songs, and according to Miner (A25) carried to the battlefields of France a notebook for recording his own 'hokku'. In later years Aldington disavowed Imagism and Modernism, and insisted disingenuously that 'it was [by] mere accident' that what he wrote before 1920 'chanced to meet with the approval of the verse revolutionaries' of the time (12); but even then he continued to find in Japanese poetry a 'quality of feeling' (13) he believed missing in English verse, and in the last decade of his life his correspondence with a young Japanese scholar demonstrates continued interest in the art and literature of Japan, and continued willingness to see in these a subtlety and sophistication that Europe would do well to emulate (see 15). Aldington did not write poetry in the last decades of his life, and in the larger context of his work, as novelist, biographer, critic, and translator of considerable energy and skill, the role of Japan should not be overstated. His poems of 1911 to 1920, however, are central to the verse experiments of their time, and as such their reliance on principles derived from Japanese sources is itself an important footnote in the literary history of the period.

Primary Materials

1. PENULTIMATE POETRY. *Egoist* 1 (January 1914): 36.

A parody of Pound and the preoccupations of the Imagists, including their Oriental interests. The last of nine sections finds its humour at the expense of the hokku-derived IN A STATION OF THE METRO (BK3) and the form of super-position (see BK12): 'The apparition of these poems in a crowd: / White faces in a black dead faint.' Reprinted in 16.

2. I HAVE DRIFTED ALONG THE RIVER. *Poetry* 3 (January 1914): 133

Derived from ukiyoe. Aldington wrote to Miner (see 14) that the poem was written in the British Museum Print Room 'on a couple of Japanese colour prints', a landscape that was 'certainly Hokusai's' and another of a woman that was 'perhaps an Outamaro [Utamaro], perhaps a Toyokuni.' Miner notes (A25, p. 159) that the poem 'illustrates . . . that the early Imagists found . . . Japanese prints useful for pictorial and color-laden technique and exotic emotional response'. See also 3. Reprinted, slightly revised, as THE RIVER, in 3 and in Pound's 1914 anthology *Des Imagistes*.

3. *Images (1910-1915)*. London: Poetry Bookshop, 1915.

Among the more interesting stories in this study is one that may be pieced together from a letter Aldington wrote to Miner (see 14) that touches on poems in this collection. At least one, THE RIVER (formerly I HAVE DRIFTED ALONG THE RIVER, 2), was based on ukiyoe in the British Museum Print Room, and Aldington notes that along with the prints were translations of the poems that appeared within their borders. He writes that he copied these and 'kept them for a long time'. Miner speculates that the translations were by Waley, but Waley did not begin working for the Sub-Department of Oriental Prints and Drawings until 1913, and did not publish a translation from Japanese until after the war. At the time Aldington was working in the Print Room, however, probably between 1912 and 1914, but certainly not later than December 1916 when he left for the front, Binyon had worked in the Department of Prints and Drawings for at least fifteen years, and was Assistant-Keeper in charge of the Sub-Department of Oriental Prints and Drawings. Binyon had published three important books on Japanese art, and was at work on his *Catalogue of Japanese and Chinese Woodcuts . . . in the British Museum (BC14)*, which appeared in 1916 with his own translations of the songs and poems from the Print Room ukiyoe. The translations Aldington copied and 'kept . . . for a long time', then, were Binyon's, though Aldington apparently never knew, and Binyon, who died fifteen years before Miner's book referred to Aldington's letter, likewise would not have known that Aldington copied his translations, kept them, and derived poems in his most important collection from them. Miner (A25), Harmer (A51), Megata (BB21), and Smith (BB22) note the resemblance of several of the poems to haiku. The poems noted appear also in two enlarged editions, *Images Old and New* (Boston: Four Seas, 1916) and *Images* (London: Egoist, 1919).

a. A GIRL, OCTOBER, and NEW LOVE. Printed here as separate poems, but appeared first under one title, EPIGRAMS, in *Some Imagist Poets, 1915*, and

restored to that title in Aldington's *Collected and Complete Poems* (11 and 13). Smith notes that in early translations 'haiku' was rendered 'epigram'—see Chamberlain (*D5a*), Couchoud (*D19*), and Porter (*D20*), for example—and suggests that these are examples of 'more or less conscious' imitation of the Japanese form. The similarities are limited, though, to approximate length and reliance on concrete imagery. Two other EPIGRAMS appear in *Images of Desire* (8), and four others written about this time in 'An Anthology of Uncollected Poems' (16). Some of these are as similar to haiku as those printed here, but others are 'epigrams' in a typically European sense, and so Aldington seems not to have had the Japanese form solely in mind when he chose the title. See also 23.

b. IMAGES. Six three- to five-line verses which like Aldington's later set of 'Images' (see 8) Smith finds 'comparable' to tanka, and probably are modelled in part on Binyon's translations from ukiyoe (see above). Appeared first in *Poetry* 7 (October 1915). See also 23.

c. EVENING and LONDON. Smith suggests a 'marked . . . resemblance to . . . haikai' in the former, and makes a plausible case for the observation, but adds that similarities may be 'accidental'. He regards the opening five stanzas of the latter as 'haikai in English', and notes the haiku-like seventeen syllables of the first two stanzas, the first of which he finds 'the most genuine haiku, by Japanese standards, among all of Aldington's poems'. Aldington probably was working from Japanese models, but to suggest that these are 'genuine haiku by Japanese standards' is a misunderstanding. Better put, they are 'genuine haiku' by the standards of Flint and Pound, though as such they are nonetheless ultimately derived from Japanese originals.

4. 'The Poetry of Ezra Pound'. *Egoist* 2 (May 1915): 71-72.

Lest we believe that Aldington by 1915 had made a serious study either of Japanese literature or of Pound's activities associated with it, we should keep in mind this work in which Aldington writes of the *Chinese* plays Pound has adapted from Fenollosa's translations. Pound's versions of the *nô* had appeared in *Poetry*, *Quarterly Review*, and *Drama* by this date (see *BK8*, 13, and 17), but neither before nor after 1915 did he work with Chinese drama. Thirty-eight years later Aldington makes the same mistake in reverse in a comment about Amy Lowell's work with the Japanese (see 19c).

5. EPIGRAM. *Little Review*, March 1916, p. 29.

As similar to the Imagist conception of haiku as those EPIGRAMS that appear in 3a and 8. Reprinted in 16.

6. R. V. AND ANOTHER. *Egoist* 3 (November 1916): 169.

Miner (A25) notes the clear debt to Pound's super-pository technique (see BK12): 'You are delicate strangers / In a gloomy town, / Stared at and hated— / Gold crocus blossoms in a drab lane.' Reprinted in *Some Imagist Poets, 1917* and the enlarged 1919 edition of *Images* (see 3).

7. STREAM. *Little Review*, April 1917, pp. 12-13.

In spite of his parody of Pound's technique of super-position (see 1), Aldington employed it in his work. The first two of four short sections here are among the better examples: 'Pebbles, that gleam dully, / white, faint ochre, drab green: / mosaic under pale sliding water. // Foam; / mobile crests leaping, sinking: / thin fingers grasping round cold rocks.' Reprinted in 16.

8. EPIGRAMS and IMAGES. In *Images of Desire*. London: Mathews, 1919.

See 3a, 3b, and 23. Both poems are reprinted in 11 and 13.

9. *Images of War: A Book of Poems*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1919. Enlarged as *War and Love (1915-1918)*. Boston: Four Seas, 1919.

Both poems noted are reprinted in 11 and 13.

a. INSOUCIANCE. Aldington acknowledges in a letter to Miner (14) that the poem has 'something of the hokku idea'. Miner (A25) points out that the 'something' is Pound's technique of super-position (see BK12). Appeared first in *Poetry* in July 1919.

b. LIVING SEPULCHRES. 'One frosty night when the guns were still / I leaned against the trench / Making for myself hokku / Of the moon and flowers and of the snow. // But the ghostly scurrying of huge rats / Swollen with feeding upon men's flesh / Filled me with shrinking dread.'

10. 'The Art of Poetry'. *Dial* 69 (August 1920): 166-80.

Aldington does not mention Japanese art or poetry specifically, but does acknowledge his debt to the critical theories of Flint and Pound, important statements of which had appeared in the *Egoist* between 1914 and 1916 when Aldington was assistant editor. Flint's work (A2 and A3) places Japanese and French poetry at the centre of Imagist doctrine; Pound was more eclectic, but had stressed lessons to be gained from Japan in several articles Aldington surely would have known (see especially BK4 and BK10-12).

11. *Collected Poems*. New York: Covici, Friede, 1928; London: Allen and Unwin, 1929.

Reprint, New York: AMS, 1981.

Reprints THE RIVER (formerly I HAVE DRIFTED ALONG THE RIVER, 2), EPIGRAMS (formerly A GIRL, OCTOBER, and NEW LOVE, 3a), IMAGES (3b), EVENING and LONDON (3c), R. V. AND ANOTHER (6), EPIGRAMS and IMAGES (8), INSOUCIANCE (9a), and LIVING SEPULCHRES (9b). A second American edition appeared as *Poems*

of *Richard Aldington* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran, 1934).

12. *Life for Life's Sake: A Book of Reminiscences*. New York: Viking, 1941. Reprint, London: Cassell, 1968.

Aldington's autobiography. Pertinent here primarily because it does *not* mention hokku, haiku, haikai, tanka, or ukiyoe in the long, good-humoured discussion of the birth of Imagism. Aldington distances himself from the movement and questions earlier accounts of the first Imagist gatherings.

13. *The Complete Poems of Richard Aldington*. London: Wingate, 1948.

In an introduction Aldington takes issue with 'the intellectualist poetry of our time' and cites in contrast 'many Japanese poems' that 'are almost unalloyed sense impressions'. These illustrate the 'quality of feeling' Aldington believes a poem should strive for. His protestation that he can 'claim no share whatever in the so-called "revolution of 1912"' and that 'it was a mere accident' that his work of the period 'chanced to meet with the approval of the verse revolutionaries' belies the fact that for a time Aldington cultivated the role of spokesman for the Imagist movement, and borrowed extensively from Flint, Pound, and others of the 'revolutionaries'. Of poems pertinent to this study the collection reprints the same works that had appeared in *Collected Poems* (11).

14. To Earl Miner, 1951. Quoted in Miner (A25), 1958, pp. 159-60.

Aldington's letters acknowledge a debt to ukiyoe and translations of poems from them in the British Museum Print Room (see 3), and mention specifically the use of Japanese materials in THE RIVER (see 2) and INSOUCIANCE (9a). Miner does not mention the number or dates of letters from Aldington, but Gates (see 16) lists three, of 30 January, 24 February, and 4 April 1951. These would be in the Miner Papers at UCLA (CB3).

15. 'Richard Aldington's Letters, 1952-1962'. Edited by Morikimi Megata. *Kôbe gaidai ronsô*. October 1969, pp. 23-39; January 1970, pp. 95-111; July 1970, pp. 65-73; July 1971, pp. 107-116.

While he was a student in Kyoto in April 1952 and working on a thesis about D. H. Lawrence, Megata wrote to Aldington in France to inquire about Lawrence's use of the Isis/Osiris myth, and thereby began a correspondence that would continue and grow in warmth through the last decade of Aldington's life. The thirty-four letters he wrote to Megata constitute the most complete record of his interest in Japan.

Lengthy excerpts appear in 21. In addition to letters noted, others mention Japan in passing or thank Megata for gifts sent through the years. According to Gates (see 16) three signed postcards from Aldington to Megata remain unpublished.

- a. 14 June 1952. Aldington writes of his 'small collection' of ukiyoe, 'quite

ordinary' prints—'Hokusai, Hiroshige, Toyokuni, and so forth', but 'their beautiful bright colours seem arranged with such perfect taste and give so much pleasure in our drab commercial world'. The 'old kingly and aristocratic' Europe 'abounded in [such] beautiful colour', but 'the triumph of the bourgeoisie [has] imposed black and white on us'. Aldington writes that he is concerned that the same process is under way in Japan, a veiled reference, the first of many in the letters, to his distaste for the United States and the Occupation of Japan.

b. 10 September 1952. Aldington again writes of his collection of ukiyoe, 'about 150' prints, 'mostly Hiroshige, Toyokuni, Kuniyoshi, with odd specimens of Hokusai, Utamaro, Kiyonaga and others less renowned'. He believes that 'European artists still have lessons to learn' from Japanese art, but admits that writers and artists in Europe 'tend to idealise Japan', because in the 'carefully selected impression' given by writers such as Hearn 'we . . . find in Japan the dream-country of beauty and distinction and good manners and religious tolerance of which we dreamed in youth and no longer dare hope for'. He seems, however, to believe yet in that vision. 'It was an evil day when the barbarians of the West in their war-ships shattered the calm isolation of that beautiful world', he writes. 'We should have come humbly to learn instead of arrogantly to conquer'.

c. 18 October 1952. Aldington wants Megata to think of him as a young man rather than the old man he has become, and so encloses a snapshot of himself taken in 1916, when he was a twenty-four-year-old infantryman on his way to the war in France. He has read in 'a European book on Japan' that 'in the old days' when a Japanese reached sixty 'he put on a red robe and red cap, and said he had reached his second childhood', and so he has decided, therefore, that he must buy himself a red cap. The letter closes with reference to the change of seasons, and, oddly, thoughts of 'how melancholy . . . the autumn months [would have been] for ladies living in solitude as recorded in *The Lady Murasaki*'. A later letter indicates that Aldington had read and admired Waley's translation of *Genji monogatari* (D26c).

d. 17 November 1953. Europe 'sadly [needs] . . . an organised set of translations of the great classics of the Orient and translations of new books of interest', Aldington writes. Muller's (*sic*) *Wisdom of the East* series (see D18) is 'limited to religious and philosophical works' and 'the publications of the Asiatic Society' are 'difficult to obtain'. He asks if Megata knows of Waley's translation of 'the novels by the Lady Murasaki' (*Genji monogatari*), and wonders if they are 'modernised' or 'Westernised'. He knows Waley and doesn't like him, but 'greatly admires' that work.

e. 6 April 1954. What is 'so attractive' about 'ancient Japanese work',

Aldington believes, is ‘the mingling of exquisite aristocratic breeding with artistic sensibility and creativeness’, but the thought spurs another, ill-tempered, reflection on the American Occupation (see also a): Aldington worries that since ‘His Imperial Majesty’s Government’ has stopped using the chrysanthemum as an emblem on postage stamps it will be replaced with ‘a packet of chewing gum or a newspaper’.

f. 5 March 1958. Includes a poem by Fujiwara no Atsutada copied in roman letters to congratulate Megata on his marriage. The poem is number 43 in the *Hyakunin isshu*.

g. 10 August 1958. Aldington is always happy to increase his ‘meagre knowledge’ of Japanese literature, but complains that the ‘American translations’ in a book Megata has sent are ‘vulgar’ and ‘illiterate’.

h. 12 December 1958. Aldington finds ‘in good taste’ the recent translations Megata has sent him, of Kawabata Yasunari’s novel *Snow Country* and the ‘*Anthology of Recent Poetry*’; no anthology of Japanese poetry by that name exists, but Ichirō Kōno and Rikutarō Fukuda’s *Anthology of Modern Japanese Poetry* had appeared from Kenkyusha in 1957, and so is probably the work in question; the *Snow Country* would be the translation by Edward Seidensticker (New York: Knopf, 1956).

i. 16 May 1959. The letter in which Aldington recalls the Japanese flags English schoolboys wore in their buttonholes during the Russo-Japanese War, and his reading of Hearn shortly after the war (see p. 73 above). Closes with a cryptic reference to ‘the sacred personage of the [Showa] Emperor’, an idea to which Aldington returns in the letter of 1 October.

j. 1 October 1959. Expresses relief that ‘the Sacred Person of the [Showa] Emperor has been spared’ in a hurricane that has swept over Japan.

k. 12 December 1959. Aldington laments the democratisation of Japan, for ‘democracy leads always to demagoguery, and to anarchy, and thence to tyranny—it is all explained by Aristotle and Plato—2000 years ago’; he is ‘grieved’ that democracy should come to ‘a truly aristocratic country like Japan’.

l. 2 February 1962. Aldington thanks Megata for a book of modern Japanese paintings, but hopes that Japan ‘will not become too modernised’, for the ‘ancient culture and traditions, matured through so many centuries of civilisation, are far too precious to be lost’.

16. ‘An Anthology of Uncollected Poems’. In *The Poetry of Richard Aldington: A Critical Evaluation*, by Norman T. Gates. University Park: Pennsylvania State UP, 1974.

Reprints PENULTIMATE POETRY (1), EPIGRAM (5), and STREAM (7), and includes 213 other works, many previously unpublished. Several of those written between 1914 and 1920 demonstrate the same debts to haiku as poems in Aldington's *Images* collections (3, 8, and 9).

17. *A Passionate Prodigality: Letters to Alan Bird from Richard Aldington, 1949-1962*. Edited by Miriam J. Benkovitz. New York: New York Public Library, 1975.

Letters numbered 24, 85, and 142 mention in passing Aldington's correspondence with Megata (see 15), numbers 29 and 53 his profound dislike of Arthur Waley.

18. To Yone Noguchi, 1 March 1921. In Atsumi (*D15e9*), 1975.

A brief note in which Aldington thanks Noguchi for the gift of one of his books, probably *Hiroshige* (*D15e8*).

19. *Richard Aldington: An Autobiography in Letters*. Edited by Norman T. Gates. University Park: Pennsylvania State UP, 1992.

Along with letters noted below, includes many pertinent to the study of Aldington's relationship with the Imagist movement (see index).

a. To Babette and Glen Hughes (see *A19*), 7 August 1929. Writing from Paris Aldington recalls the beauty of the harbour at Toulon, which he believes 'looks exactly like a set of Hokusai prints at dawn'.

b. To H. D., 18 January 1947. Aldington writes that while ill in bed in Greece he had 'entertained' himself with 'books on Japan' and 'lovely Japanese colour prints (Toyokuni, Hiroshige, Kuniyoshi)' that he had been 'lucky enough to pick up cheap . . . owing to current prejudices'.

c. To H. D., 2 September 1953. In 1915 Aldington mistook Pound's adaptations of the *nô* for Chinese drama (see 4). Here he makes the opposite mistake, recalling Lowell 'try[ing] her virgin hand at Japanese', an apparent reference to Lowell's work with Ayscough on translations from the Chinese (see *BI10*).

20. †Unpublished materials.

a. Richard Aldington Papers. Department of Special Collections, Temple University Library. Includes 'extensive correspondence' and manuscripts. Among principal correspondents are Fletcher and H. D. The 'Constable Correspondence, 1915-1930' contains correspondence between Aldington and the publisher Constable and Co. concerning the critical reception of the Imagist movement and the publishing of *Images Old and New* (see 3). A catalogue of the materials is *Richard Aldington, 1892-1962: A Catalogue of the Frank G. Harrington Collection of Richard Aldington and Hilda "H. D." Doolittle, Comprising Books & Manuscripts and Miscellanea* (Philadelphia: Temple University Libraries, 1973).

b. Other collections. Aldington's letters to other writers of importance here may be found in the John Gould Fletcher Papers at Arkansas (*BH23a*); the F. S. Flint Papers at the Henry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin; the Amy Lowell papers at Harvard (*BI22a*); the T. Sturge Moore Papers at the Library of the University of London; and the Pound Papers at Yale (*BK90*). His letters to Miner are in the Miner Correspondence at UCLA (*CB3*). Other Aldington materials may be found in the Aldington Papers, University of Iowa Libraries; the Poetry and Rare Books Collection at the University Libraries, State University of New York at Buffalo; the Department of Manuscripts at the British Library; the Department of Rare Books, Cornell University Library; the Department of Special Collections, University Research Library, UCLA; and the Department of Special Collections of the Library of Southern Illinois University at Carbondale.

Secondary Materials

21. Megata, Morikimi. No title. In *Richard Aldington: An Intimate Portrait*, edited by Alister Kershaw and Frederic-Jacques Temple. Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 1965.

Megata comments on his ten-year correspondence with his 'Master' (see 15) and the friendship that grew from it. Aldington did not mention haiku in the letters, Megata notes, but his knowledge of the form was nonetheless 'indisputable', and its influence may be 'sensed' in his early poetry. Ultimately, however, Megata does 'not believe . . . Japanese art and literature influenced [Aldington] much'. His 'interest in Japan was . . . keen' and 'his knowledge of pre-war Japan accurate', but 'he did not show an understanding of or sympathy with the changes' that took place after the war, and his 'yearning' for the country was mainly for 'the dream-land of mystery and beauty depicted by Hokusai and Hearn'. Includes quoted passages from several of the letters.

22. Smith, Richard Eugene. 'Haiku and Other Early Images'. In *Richard Aldington*. Boston: Twayne, 1977.

Compares Aldington's early short poems with haiku and tanka. Does not distinguish carefully between stylistic likenesses and actual influence, and definitions of Japanese forms are elementary, but given Aldington's own acknowledgements elsewhere (see 3 and 14) and earlier critical studies (particularly A25, 51, and 52), the assertion that 'one may readily observe the influence' of Japanese poetry in Aldington's work is difficult to dispute, and several poems cited here have not before been noted in this context.

23. Comito, Terry. 'Richard Aldington'. In *British Poets, 1914-1945: Dictionary of*

Literary Biography 20, edited by Donald E. Stanford. Detroit: Gale, 1983.

Comito asserts that Aldington's 'more "Japanese" verses' such as those gathered together as EPIGRAMS and IMAGES (3a-b and 8) 'apparently were inspired more by his fondness for Japanese prints than by . . . close study of such poetic forms as the haiku', and that 'they are closer to traditional uses of simile . . . than to Pound's ideographic method (see BK32)'. Surely the latter point cannot be disputed, and surely Aldington did not study Japanese poetics seriously, but to suggest that the early poems are 'inspired more' by ukiyoe than by Japanese poetic forms is to underestimate the influence of Flint, Pound, and Binyon's translations (see p. 73 above and BB3).

24. Doyle, Charles. *Richard Aldington: A Biography*. London: Macmillan, 1989.

Concerned with Aldington's Japanese interests only in a note that 'British and American free verse was . . . influenced by Chinese and Japanese poetry' (p. 328, n. 4), which cites as its source a letter from Aldington to Amy Lowell, dated 20 November 1917, in the Houghton Library at Harvard (see BI22a).

See also A8, 11, 16, 25, 40, 51, 52, 67, 70, BA4, BF35, BI34, BK59, 86, 88, 105, 126, 181, 188, and 195.

BC. Laurence Binyon, 1869-1943

By the end of the first decade of the century Binyon's knowledge of Japanese art was unsurpassed in the West, and thereafter he was a major force in defining Western understanding of Japanese subjects. He provided textual and conceptual models for Aldington, Pound, Yeats, and many others (see especially *BB3*, *BK140* and *148*, and *BL10*, *25*, *27a*, and *54*), and in this regard is among the more important of the scholarly 'sources of influence and transmission' in this study. He is as central to the shaping of images as Mitford (*D4*), Chamberlain (*D5*), Percival Lowell (*D6*), Fenollosa (*D10*), Aston (*D13*), Brinkley (*D14*), and Waley (*D26*). Binyon was a poet of considerable sophistication and skill, as well, however, and among the more striking of his poems are those that have origins in his experience of Japan. Perhaps the first point to note about Binyon's verse mediation of Japan concerns what he did not write. In the early decades of the century his younger contemporaries often were occupied with poems derived from ukiyoe and understandings of Japanese poetry, but Binyon resisted this impulse. By 1931, when his two-volume *Collected Poems* appeared, he had authored four influential monographs on Japanese art (*2*, *6*, *9*, and *17*), the entry on Japanese painting and prints for the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (*21*), descriptive and interpretative catalogues of Japanese art in the British Museum (*7*, *11*, *14*, and *15*), a collection of translations from classical Japanese poetry (*20*), and verse plays following Yeats's experiments with the *nô* (*16* and *22*), but in twenty-four volumes of poems had derived neither technique nor accoutrement from Japanese sources. After his 1929 trip to Japan, however, Binyon published poems of the country that are among the earliest in English to respond reverentially and without condescension to experience of Japan (see especially *24*). The conventional forms set these apart from the verse innovations of the time, but they remain among the most gracious and graceful of English poems of Japan, and at their best, as in the quiet and carefully-wrought verse of 'Koya-san' (*24a*), are among the most striking in the Binyon canon.

Primary Materials

1. [Binyon]. Review of *The Ideals of the East* (see *D16*), by Kakuzô Okakura. *TLS*, 6 March 1903, pp. 73-74.

Takes exception ^{to} with particular parts of Okakura's thesis, but nonetheless finds his work of 'extraordinary interest'. The unsigned review is attributed to Binyon by Hatcher, who suggests that *Ideals* and Okakura's *Book of Tea* introduced Binyon to the 'facets of Taoism and Zen Buddhism that would colour his . . . writing on

Oriental art and his thinking in general' (43, p. 165). Thirty years later Binyon relies on the central thesis of *Ideals of the East* in the second of his Charles Eliot Norton Lectures at Harvard (see 27).

2. *Painting in the Far East: An Introduction to the History of Pictorial Art in Asia, Especially China and Japan*. London: Arnold, 1908. 4th ed. rev., 1934. Reprint New York: Dover, 1959.

Demonstrates a remarkable breadth of knowledge about Japanese art for this date in England. Binyon writes in the 1908 preface that the work is 'an attempt to survey and to interpret the aims of Oriental painting, and to appreciate it from the standpoint of a European in relation to the rest of the world's art'. His note in the 1934 preface that the first edition was 'the first book in a European language on the subject with which it deals' is largely correct. Earlier studies had surveyed Chinese and Japanese art, but none had attempted a comparative and evaluative interpretation of the kind offered here. Binyon's obituary in the *Times* (39) echoed general critical opinion in referring to the work as a 'remarkable triumph'. The original edition acknowledges Okakura's *Ideals of the East* (see D16) and 'Brinkley's great work on Japan' (D14), as well as Taki Seiichi's periodical *Kokka*, and notes as well the 'invaluable help' of Kohitsu Ryōnin, direct descendent of a distinguished hereditary line of art critics associated with the Japanese imperial family, who from December 1901 to July 1903, at the behest of the Tokyo Imperial Museum, was resident in London to study the Japanese collection at the British Museum. Among those he met during this time was Yeats (see BL25). Holaday (BK148) argues that *Painting* was a source for Pound's SEVEN LAKES CANTO (BK43). See also BL10, 27, 54, 80, and 228.

3. *Pictures by Japanese Artists*. London: Gowans and Gray, 1908.

Chiefly reproductions of caricatures and humorous works from the Japanese tradition, selected by Binyon with brief accompanying notes.

4. 'Some Phases of Japanese Painting'. *Transactions of the Japan Society* 7 (1908): 96-109.

A concise history of Japanese painting, which includes frequent comparisons to European art history. Pages following the article record the laudatory reactions of the audience when the paper was presented before a meeting of the Japan Society.

5. 'Whistler'. *Saturday Review* (London) 106 (November 1908): 571-73.

Binyon argues here that a contemporary 'prejudice' against 'literary' painting derives from Whistler's misunderstanding of Japanese art. 'Whistler imagined that the art of Japan was an abstract art', Binyon writes, but 'as a matter of fact it is more saturated with literary allusion and deals more in moral ideas than our own'.

Japanese artists 'had none of Whistler's prejudices; art was a part of life to them, not something detached and unrelated.' This is an understanding of Whistler's relationship with Japanese art echoed by Yeats, who would have drawn his understanding of the subject at least in part from Binyon (see *BL10* and 25). See also 10.

6. *Japanese Art*. International Art Series. London: Unwin, 1909.
Demonstrates that among Western interpreters of Japanese art in the first decade of the century, Binyon alone stood alongside Fenollosa, whose *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art* (*D10c*), published posthumously, did not appear until 1911. Focuses primarily on the Kanô school, especially Masanobu (1434-1530), Motonobu (1476-1559), 'Yeitoku' (Eitoku, 1543-90), and Tanyû (1602-74), and demonstrates a remarkable knowledge of medieval Japanese art history, social and political history, and religion. Includes the first detailed discussion by a British writer of the Zen 'mode of thought' and its relationship to art (see *D16*), and biographical notes about all major artists discussed. Alludes to Fenollosa's *Masters of Ukiyoe* (*D10a*) in noting that Hokusai, Utamaro, Hiroshige and others are 'already familiar names in Europe'. A French edition appeared as *L'art japonais* (Paris: Librairie Artistique internationale, 1910), and a German edition as *Japanische kunst* (Berlin: Marquardt, 1912). See also 19.
7. *Guide to an Exhibition of Chinese and Japanese Paintings in the Print and Drawing Gallery [of the British Museum]*. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1910.
The title page attributes authorship to the Department of Prints and Drawings of the British Museum, but a note indicates that the work was prepared by Binyon, and his scholarship is evident.
8. 'Japanese Masterpieces in London'. *Saturday Review* (London) 109 (May 1910): 686-87.
Binyon's enthusiastic review of an exhibition at Shepherd's Bush emphasises that unlike 'our way' in Europe the Japanese works 'defy nature' and 'shatter the world of appearances'. Artists 'will not be slow to appreciate' the work, he concludes, 'and it may be that the art of the Far East will now affect our art in other and less obvious ways than the designing of picture posters'.
9. *The Flight of the Dragon: An Essay on the Theory and Practice of Art in China and Japan, Based on Original Sources*. Wisdom of the East Series. London: Murray, 1911. Reprint, 1972.
Describes conceptions of nature and theories of art in China and Japan, and is particularly perceptive about the outlines of Zen thought and the relationship of Zen to the arts. Offers frequent and insightful comment about similarities and

differences in European and Asian aesthetic traditions, including a ‘corresponding attitude’ toward nature and art between Asian painters and some English poets, most notably Wordsworth, but also Shelley, Keats, and Meredith, an observation that anticipates by three decades R. H. Blyth’s more famous exploration of the point in *Zen in English Literature and Oriental Classics* (Tokyo: Hokuseido, 1942). Cites, among others, Okakura’s *Book of Tea* (see *D16*) and Taki Seiichi’s *Three Essays on Oriental Painting*, (London: Quaritch, 1910), as well as an early essay by Chamberlain (see *D5*). In addition to editions noted above, Murray issued reprints in 1914, 1935, and 1948; a Grove Press edition appeared in 1961, a French translation, *Introduction a la peinture de la Chine et du Japon*, in 1968 (Paris: Flammarion). See *BK140* and *BK148* for notes about the influence of the work in Pound’s work, and *BK18* for Pound’s own comments.

10. ‘Ideas of Design in East and West’. *Atlantic Monthly*, November 1913, pp. 643-54. Binyon’s argument about the ‘error’ of the view that art ‘has come into existence as a result of the imitative instinct in mankind’ draws its sustenance from Chinese and Japanese traditions of design. Includes discussion of and disagreement with Whistler’s response to Japanese art (about which see also 5).
11. *Guide to an Exhibition of Japanese & Chinese Paintings Principally from the Arthur Morrison Collection*. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1914. A brief but knowledgeable preface is signed by Binyon.
12. ‘The Art of Asia’. *Atlantic Monthly*, September 1915, pp. 348-59. A ‘brief outline’ written ‘to emphasize what is typical in the genius of the art of India, of Persia, [and] of China and Japan’.
13. *The Art of Asia*. London: Eastern, 1916. Traces the historical backgrounds of Chinese and Japanese art, with examples drawn from work in the British Museum and the Freer Collection at the Smithsonian Institution. Originally a paper read at a joint meeting of the China Society and the Japan Society at Caxton Hall, London, 24 November 1915.
14. *A Catalogue of Japanese and Chinese Woodcuts Preserved in the Sub-Department of Oriental Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1916. Reveals again Binyon’s remarkable grasp of the history and practice of Japanese art, in this case ukiyoe. Certainly no European or American writer could have known more in 1916. Succeeds in the stated aim of giving ‘a careful description of [each of] the prints’ in the British Museum collection and, ‘whenever possible, such information as is necessary for the understanding of the subject’, including translations of the inscriptions on many of the prints, often including poems from

early classical sources, some of which appear later in 20. Among inscriptions translated are poems by Ōtomo Yakamochi (d. 785, compiler and among the four principles poets of the *Manyōshū*), Narihira, Izumi Shikibu, the Monk Jakurin (c. 1139-1202), Bashō, and many others. Some of these translations in their pre-publication form almost certainly are those Aldington copied in the Print Room before he went to the French front (see BB3). Binyon acknowledges the ‘successive assistance’ of Mr. S. Nishigori, Mr. S. Takaishi, and Mr. H. Inada. A bibliography includes Fenollosa’s *Masters of Ukiyoe* (D10a), Aston’s *History of Japanese Literature* (see D13), Mitford’s *Tales of Old Japan* (see D4), and Brinkley’s *Japan: Its History, Arts, and Literature* (D14).

15. *Guide to an Exhibition of Japanese Colour Prints, Together with Contemporary Paintings of the Ukiyo-Ye School, Sketchbooks, and Picture Books*. 6 vols. London: Clowes, 1921-26.

A comprehensive, period-by-period study of ukiyoe, drawn largely from Binyon’s descriptions in the *Catalogue of Japanese and Chinese Woodcuts . . .* (14).

Authorship is attributed to the British Museum Department of Prints and Drawings, but a note indicates that the text is by Binyon.

16. AYULI: A PLAY IN THREE ACTS AND AN EPILOGUE. Oxford: Blackwell, 1923.

A verse drama set in ‘a Kingdom of Eastern Asia’, written in 1910-11 but never produced. The epilogue, in which a grieving emperor disguised as a wandering mendicant returns by moonlight to the scene of a murder and is comforted by the victim’s ghost, is more reminiscent of the *nô* than any drama written in English before Yeats’s experiments of 1916-20. According to Miller (BL185), Binyon and Craig (see D17) were guests in Yeats’s rooms in January of 1910, around the time Binyon would have been at work on the play, and Hatcher (43) notes that an earlier Binyon verse drama, KING HORN, which was neither produced nor published, contains scenes that ‘have something of the numinous, otherworldly quality’ of the *nô*, and so critics interested in Yeats’s knowledge of the form before he came to know of Fenollosa’s manuscripts (see especially BL256) might turn attention to Binyon’s verse drama of the period.

17. With J. J. O’Brien Sexton. *Japanese Colour Prints*. London: Benn, 1923. 2nd ed.

rev., edited by Basil Gray, London: Faber, 1960. Reprint, London: Sawers, 1978. A period-by-period study of ukiyoe from 1658 to 1881 that remains useful and in print. All major artists are discussed. The bibliography of the 1923 edition lists twenty-five works in Japanese, including several on the theatre, one specifically about kabuki, along with Fenollosa’s *Masters of Ukiyoe* (D10a) and Noguchi’s *Hiroshige* and *Harunobu* (see D15e). The Faber and the Sawers editions have

identical text, but the latter reproduces only sixteen of the original forty-eight plates. Gray, Binyon's son-in-law, had succeeded Arthur Waley as Binyon's assistant in the Department of Prints and Drawings.

18. 'The Art of Yoshijirô Urushibara'. In *Ten Woodcuts, Cut and Printed in Colour by Yoshijirô Urushibara*, edited by Frank Brangwyn. London: Lane, 1924.

Praise for the work of Urushibara, who according to Hatcher (43) was a 'young Tokyo-trained friend' of Binyon in the early years of the century. See 33b for Binyon's only other reference to Urushibara in the published record.

19. *Asiatic Art in the British Museum*. Paris: Van Oest, 1925.

This brief description of the holdings, followed by plates, is not as detailed as other Binyon writing on the subject. A French edition appeared simultaneously, *L'art asiatique au British Museum: sculpture et peinture*, and the chapter on Japanese painting and sculpture in a 1939 Italian edition of Binyon's writing—'Pittura e scultura giapponese', in *Arte orientale* (Rome: Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente)—appears to have been derived from this work and *Japanese Art* (6).

20. *Little Poems from the Japanese, Rendered into English Verse*. Leeds: Swan, 1925.

An edition of two hundred copies printed for private circulation. Binyon's translation of nine tanka into rhymed metrical verse. Seven of these had appeared in 1916 in *Catalogue of Japanese and Chinese Woodcuts* (14).

a. FROM A PRINT BY HARUNOBU. Appeared in the *Catalogue* in Binyon's description of Harunobu's 'The Evening Bell in Asakusa'.

b. GOTOKUDAIJI NO SADAIJIN. Appeared in the *Catalogue* in description of Kitawo [Kitao] Masanobu's 'Hinazuru and Chozan'. The author, 'Gotokudaiji no Sadaijin' (The Gotokudaiji Minister of the Left) was Fujiwara Sanesada (1139-91), cousin of Fujiwara Teika. The poem is number 161 in the *Senzaishû*.

c. KOKONOE. Source unknown.

d. GONCHUNAGON SADA-IHE. Appeared in the *Catalogue* in description of Harunobu's 'Autumn by the Sea-Shore'. 'Gonchunagon Sada-ihe' (Gonchûnagon Sadaie, Assistant Imperial Advisor Sadaie) is another name for Fujiwara Teika. The poem is number 363 in the *Shin kokinshû*.

e. FROM A PRINT BY HARUNOBU. Appeared in the *Catalogue* in description of Harunobu's 'Blowing Soap Bubbles Under the Plum Blossom'.

f. HAKUTOTEI RIUSHI OF OMI. Source unknown.

g. FROM A PRINT BY GAKUTEI. Appeared in the *Catalogue* in description of 'Genso and Yôkihi', by Gakutei (ca. 1786-1868). Genso and Yôkihi are Japanese readings of the names of famous Chinese lovers, Ming Huang and Yang Kuei Fei.

h. NARIHIRA. Appeared in the *Catalogue* in description of ‘Koriusai’s’ (Koryûsai, fl. ca. 1764-88) ‘The Children’s Rokkasen or Six Poets’. The poem, by Narihira, is number 747 in the *Kokinshû*. Four other poems of Narihira are translated in the *Catalogue*. The *rokkasen*, six poet-sages, are the six poets singled out for praise in Ki no Tsurayuki’s preface to the *Kokinshû*, including most notably Narihira and Ono no Komachi.

i. JAKURIN HOSHI. Appeared in the *Catalogue* in description of Harunobu’s ‘Girls Reading a Poem on an Autumn Evening’. Binyon identifies the poem, by the Monk Jakurin, as number 87 in the *Hyakunin isshu*; it originally appeared in the *Shin kokinshû*, number 491. A second poem by Jakurin is translated in the *Catalogue*.

- 2 1. ‘Japanese Painting and Prints’. Encyclopaedia Britannica, 14th ed. London: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1929.

Binyon’s survey of the subject for the widely-respected edition of the encyclopaedia. A brief bibliography includes Fenollosa’s *Epochs (D10c)* and Binyon’s own *Painting in the Far East (2)* and *Japanese Colour Prints (17)*. The work is reprinted in *Japanese Art: A Selection of Articles from the New 14th Edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica: A Brief Survey of the Various Arts and Their Periods in Japan* (New York: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1933).

- 2 2. *Three Short Plays: GODSTOW NUNNERY, LOVE IN THE DESERT, MEMNON*. London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1930.

Plays in verse that are reminiscent of Yeats’s nô-inspired drama (see especially *BL12*), though no direct connection exists in the published record. *LOVE IN THE DESERT* was performed at the Oxford Recitations in 1928, *GODSTOW NUNNERY* and *MEMNON* at John Masefield’s theatre at Boar’s Hill, Oxford, probably in the same year. Writers about Binyon have noted often that verse drama was not his strength, nor was it reason for his wide readership. The copy of this work at the University Library at Cambridge had been in the collection for sixty-two years and six months before the pages were cut, so that the work could be consulted for this bibliography.

- 2 3. *Landscape in English Art and Poetry*. Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1930. Reprint, London: Cobden-Sanderson, 1931.

Lectures Binyon delivered at Tokyo Imperial University in October 1929, during his only trip to Japan. In the first he describes his interest in the country. ‘For years I have dreamed of seeing your country’, he writes. ‘Very long ago when I was young I saw in London a screen-painting of flowers attributed to Sosatsu [probably Nonomura Sôtatsu]. Though I fear it was not really by that great master, I had never

seen in European art the glory of flowers so expressed. I fell in love with the art of Japan. Later, I tried in my ignorant way to study and interpret to my countrymen the art of your country. Now, if you allow me, I will try to interpret the art of my country to you.' In the following lectures the Japanese students and faculty to whom Binyon speaks get more comparisons between English and Japanese painting and poetry than Binyon's English and American readers had received in thirty years of publications. The lectures touch on many subjects, but commentaries here address only those concerned directly with Japan. Throughout the lectures Binyon draws examples freely and eloquently from the Japanese literary and aesthetic tradition. He suggests in the preface that he made allusions to Western subjects 'as plain as possible' for his audience listening in a foreign language, but one wonders how many were able fully to appreciate his frequent and fluent allusions to their own tradition. 200 copies of a catalogue of the paintings Binyon brought with him from the British Museum were published as *Catalogue of the Loan Collection of English Water-Colour Drawings [sic] Held at the Institute of Art Research, Ueno, Tokyo, October 10-24th, 1929* (Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1929), with a note by Taki Seiichi and text by Binyon.

a. Lecture 1. Discusses reasons for the later development of landscape painting in Europe than in China and Japan; contrasts the European Reformation, in which medieval art was destroyed, with Zen reform in Japan, in which art flourished.

b. Lecture 2. Comparison of Japanese and English gardens; describes the 'amateur English water colourists' of the eighteenth century as 'a kind of English *Bun-jin-gwa*' (*bunjinga*, Chin.: *wen jen hua*), literary men's painting.

c. Lecture 3. Describes Turner's 'affinities with Japanese art', though notes that the latter was not known in Europe during Turner's lifetime (1775-1851); describes as well Wordsworth's 'resemblances to Zen thought and the landscape of Sung and Ashikaga', i.e. Sung China and Japan during the Ashikaga shogunate (1338-1573); both observations were made later and more famously by R. H. Blyth in *Zen in English Literature and Oriental Classics* (see also 9).

d. Lecture 4. Discusses the work of Thomas Rowlandson (1756-1827) as 'the nearest [European] counterpart to . . . Ukiyo-ye' (*ukiyo-e*), and calls attention to 'Blake's affinities with Oriental thought and art'.

e. Lecture 5. Compares depictions of the movement of water in Turner and Ogata Kôrin.

f. Lecture 6. Contains a knowledgeable account of the influence of Japanese art, especially *ukiyo-e*, in the work of Impressionist painters, and compares Whistler with Hiroshige; *ukiyo-e* 'revealed to [European artists] a new kind of balance of

forms, a new method of spacing, a new simplicity of motive. It was characteristic of European painting in the 19th century to accumulate fact upon fact. . . . How refreshing then were these colour-paints, for which a single motive and a few colour-blocks were sufficient! The influence of Japan was a liberating influence.'

24. *Koya San: Four Poems from Japan*. London: Red Lion, 1932.

An edition of 110 copies. From the opening of Japan to the West in the nineteenth century through the first third of the twentieth, the country provided setting and detail for a host of British and American poets who knew little of the culture but nonetheless produced exotic evocations of it that were much in demand. For Binyon such a practice was anathema. His first mention of Japan in verse comes here, in his twenty-eighth collection of poems, after he had studied Japanese culture and aesthetics for a quarter century and had travelled in the country. The poems neither sentimentalise nor condescend, and are early examples of a sober receptiveness to Japanese culture that remains even now the exception rather than the rule in English-language poetry about the country. KOYA-SAN, MATSUSHIMA, and MIYAJIMA are reprinted in *The North Star and Other Poems* (London: n.p., 1941), which includes as well a note page explaining the settings of the former two. Binyon wrote at least one other poem during his stay in Japan, but it has not been published (see *A20* and *BC34b*).

a. KOYA-SAN. The speaker recalls an ascent along the path 'shrouded in vast trees' to the 'inmost Shrine' of Kôyasan, the great Shingon monastery at Mt. Kôya in present-day Wakayama Prefecture, and the pilgrim he saw there, 'unconscious of all else but his heart's prayer'. The description focuses on the serenity and great natural beauty of the mountain. The note page in *The North Star* identifies the 'shrine' the pilgrim stands before as 'the grave of the famous Buddhist saint Kobo', a reference to Kôbô Daishi, the honorific name for Kûkai, founder of the monastery at Kôyasan. Hatcher (43) rightly calls the work 'one of [Binyon's] most fully achieved meditative poems'. Details reworked in the poem, and notes about the circumstances of Binyon's visit to Kôyasan, may be found in a letter to his daughter of 20 November 1929 (see 33c).

b. MATSUSHIMA. A celebration of the famous view of one of the *Nihonsankei*, 'three views of Japan', the traditionally-designated three most beautiful sights in the country.

c. MIYAJIMA. Binyon's celebration of Miyajima, a second of the *Nihonsankei*, the beautiful forested island and Shintô complex in Hiroshima Bay, is more sentimental and less grounded in concrete details than preceding poems. He recalls the visit to Miyajima in the 20 November 1929 letter to his daughter;

Yashiro Yukio, who accompanied Binyon to the island, recalls details of the composition of the poem in 38.

d. HAKONE. Hakone, a town famous for its view of Mt. Fuji, was one of fifty-three post stations on the Tōkaidō, the 303-mile 'Eastern Sea Road' that from ancient times connected Osaka and Kyoto with Edo (modern-day Tokyo, particularly associated with the reign of the Tokugawa, 1603-1867). Binyon's poem describes an autumn scene in which the speaker wonders if in 'a different birth' he paused 'at this same path's turning' to smell the earth and relish the view, a question more sensitive to Japanese conceptions of Buddhism than most English-language poets would have been able to manage in the twenties.

25. 'Baron Takuma Dan'. *Times* (London), 11 March 1932.

An obituary for Dan Takuma, head of the Mitsui conglomerate, who was assassinated by rightists in the so-called 'League of Blood Incident' in March 1932. Binyon had visited Dan and studied his fine collection of Japanese art during his stay to Japan.

26. 'Replica of a Statue of Kwannon'. *British Museum Quarterly* 7/1 (1932): 1.

Binyon's notes about a replica of the Kudara Kannon he had commissioned in Nara in November 1929.

27. *The Spirit of Man in Asian Art*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1935. Reprint, New York: Dover, 1965.

The Charles Eliot Norton Lectures at Harvard University for 1933-34. Lecture II begins with Okakura Kakuzō's assertion from *Ideals of the East* (see D16) that 'Asia is one', and develops the thesis that, at least regarding artistic heritage, the various cultures of Asia 'have more in common than might be supposed'; lecture III includes discussion of the impact of 'Zen' (throughout his career Binyon uses the Japanese rather than the Chinese term) on Southern Sung-dynasty art; lecture V traces the development of Japanese art, focuses again on the importance of Zen, and discusses illustrations of the *Genji monogatari*, 'the greatest of Japanese (and doubtless of all Oriental) novels . . . now beginning to be well known in the West through Mr. Waley's beautiful translation' (D26c); lecture VI, about popular art in India and Japan, includes description of the development and flourishing of ukiyoe. A Chinese translation of the essays appeared in 1988 as †*Ya-chou i shu chung jen ti ching shen* (Shenyang: Liaoning jen min ch'u pan she).

28. *Art of the Far East: Landscapes, Flowers, Animals*. Art and Nature in Colour Series. London: Batsford, 1936. Reprint, 1950.

Brief notes introducing sixteen colour plates of well-known works.

29. Preface. BRIEF CANDLES. [London]: Golden Cockerel, 1938.

Notes that ‘many years ago’ Binyon, Yeats, Bottomley (see CA3), Masfield (see CA5), Moore (see CA9), and ‘two or three others’ met to discuss the re-establishment of an ‘English Literary Theatre’. Given that all those named tried their hand at verse drama drawn in part either from the *nô* or from other Japanese sources, one might reasonably assume that ideas about the Japanese drama constituted a part of the discussions. BRIEF CANDLES itself is a verse drama, Binyon’s last, but the retelling of the story of Richard III does not rely on methodology reminiscent of the *nô*. The work is dedicated to Bottomley.

30. *Impressions of Japanese Art*. Kokusai bunka shinkôkai 2,600 anniversary essay series. Tokyo: Kokusai bunka shinkôkai, 1941.

Notes derived from earlier Binyon publications, especially *Japanese Art* (6). Few books by English writers were published in Tokyo in the early forties, and while the aim of the publication would have been at least in part to demonstrate to Japanese readers that their artistic heritage was valued even by important men in Europe, the edition, published by the ‘Society for International Culture’ remains a testimonial to the esteem held for Binyon in Japan even at the height of anti-British and anti-American sentiment.

31. *The Burning of the Leaves and Other Poems*. London: Macmillan, 1944.

Posthumous, with an introduction by Binyon’s wife, Cicily, saying that these were all the poems her husband would have wished to be published. Binyon does not return directly to Japan in his last poems, but many reflect his profound sadness at the ‘illness’ of the world at war, and THE CHERRY TREES is arguably about Binyon’s hope that Japan and the world will soon be returned to peace.

32. To Yone Noguchi. In Atsumi (*D15e9*), 1975.

a. January 1903. Binyon thanks Noguchi for the gift of his ‘little book’ and finds that it ‘has an atmosphere of beauty and suggestion which is peculiar in itself and unlike anything we have’ in English. The book in question is not named, but would be *From the Eastern Sea* (*D15e1*).

b. February 1903? and 24 February 1903. In both letters Binyon invites Noguchi to dine with him; in the former he suggests that afterwards they call on Sturge Moore.

33. Letters. Quoted in Hatcher (43), 1995.

According to Hatcher the letters to Nicole Binyon and the 10 September and 4 October letters to Margaret and Helen Binyon are in the Binyon Archive at the British Library (see 34b); the letter to William Rothenstein is in the India Office Library at London; the 20 October letter to Margaret and Helen Binyon was in 1995 in the possession of Harriet Proudfoot, Binyon’s granddaughter.

a. To William Rothenstein, 10 September 1912 (p. 70). Writing to recommend the work of a young Japanese artist, Urushibara Yoshijirô (see also 18), Binyon contends that Japanese artists have attained ‘a level totally beyond anything possible in our Western processes’.

b. To Margaret and Helen Binyon, 10 September, 4 October, 20 October 1929 (pp. 246, 248). Letters from Tokyo to Binyon's daughters note details of the trip and Binyon's impressions of the city and of those he met there.

c. To Nicolette Binyon, 18 October, 20 November 1929 (pp. 247, 253). In the October letter to his youngest daughter Binyon describes his impressions upon seeing a performance of the nô. The ‘plays were too wonderful for words. Just the theatre itself, the spotless fine unpainted wood of the stage (uncurtained) with its fine proportions & the big pine-tree painted on the back, was ravishing to look at. And then the utter remoteness from realism, the slow movements, the gorgeous dresses!’ In the November letter Binyon writes that he has ‘lost [his] heart’ to Miyajima (see 24c for the poem that resulted from this), and includes details of his visit to Kôyasan that found their way into his poem about the monastery (24a).

34. †Unpublished materials.

a. The Renaissance in Europe and Japan. Lecture. 17 March 1909, location of manuscript unknown. Pound's interest in and respect for Binyon's understanding of Japanese art is well documented (see especially *BK18*, 59, 140, and 148), and information may be pieced together from three sources to demonstrate that this lecture would have played a role in its genesis. The lecture itself is described by Hatcher (43). It was the second of four that Binyon delivered on the subject of ‘Art & Thought in East & West’ at the Small Theatre of the Albert Hall in March of 1909, featuring discussion of the aesthetic interests of the Ashikaga shogunate (1338-1573) and the ‘spirit . . . of Zen Buddhism’. Hatcher notes as well that the previous month Binyon had invited Pound to visit the Print Room of the British Museum, that the Visitor's Book records his first visit on 9 February, and that ‘for several months thereafter he dropped in about once a month’. That this occurred early in Pound's friendship with Binyon is ascertainable from Wilhelm (*BK188*), who places Pound's meeting with Binyon in early February of the same year. Finally, Stock (*BK126*) places Pound at a Binyon lecture on this date, and notes that Pound found the presentation ‘intensely interesting’. Pound continued visiting the Print Room and talking with Binyon there at least into 1913, and remembers ‘Bin-Bin’ at that location twice in *The Cantos*. See also *BK77b* and *g*, *BK86*, and *BK105*.

b. Laurence Binyon Archive. British Library, Uncatalogued Loan Collection

103. Includes according to Hatcher 'a great many manuscripts, including fair copies and drafts of published and unpublished poems, plays, translations, and lectures', along with 'a large cache' of letters to Binyon and from Binyon to various correspondents, including Bottomley (see CA3). In addition to Binyon's letters noted in 33, the archive contains letters from several correspondents in Japan congratulating Binyon on the success of his lectures at Tokyo (see 23). At least one poem Binyon wrote in Japan about the country did not see publication (see A20), and this archive is the most likely location of the manuscript if it still exists.

c. Other materials. Binyon's letters are widely scattered in libraries in Britain and the United States, and many remain in private hands. Significant collections may be found in the Bodleian Library and the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, the London University Library (including 'about 100' letters to Sturge Moore), the India Office Library in London, and the Central Archives and Department of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum. In 1995 many letters to family members were in the possession of Harriet Proudfoot (see 33); his letters to Yashiro Yukio were in the possession of Yashiro Wakaba in Tokyo; letters from Binyon to others of significance to this study may be found in the Pound Papers at Yale (BK90) and the Freer Papers at the Smithsonian Institution; other collections in Britain and the United States are noted in Hatcher's acknowledgements and notes in 43.

Secondary Materials

35. *Times* (London), 10 August 1929.

A brief announcement places Binyon's departure for Japan on 10 August 1929: 'Mr. and Mrs. Laurence Binyon have gone to Japan, and will not return to the British Museum till the end of the year'. The article does not mention that 10 August 1929 was Binyon's sixtieth birthday. According to Hatcher (43) the Binyons sailed on the *Empress of Scotland* to Canada, and departed Vancouver on the *Empress of France* on 29 August, 'arriving in Yokohama in torrential late summer rains eleven days later'. For the fullest account of Binyon's stay in Japan see Hatcher, pp. 244-58.

36. Katharine Sansom to Alizon Slingsby, October 1929. Pp. 42-42 in *Sir George Sansom and Japan: A Memoir*, by Katherine Sansom. Tallahassee, Fla.: Diplomatic, 1972.

A letter from the wife of Sansom to her mother. 'The Binyons of the British Museum are now in Tokyo, and Laurence B. has had wonderful success. He is probably as good an ambassador as we have ever had. . . . In the company of him and Mrs. Binyon and escorted by Yukio Yashiro, George and I have inspected marvellous

treasures, bronzes, paintings, ceramics, kept in the godowns of eminent collectors which have been brought out for us. . . .’ Elsewhere in the work Sansom identifies Yashiro as ‘George’s and [her own] best Japanese friend over many years’.

37. Hobson, R. L. ‘A Journey to the Far East’. *British Museum Quarterly* 5/1 (1930): 34-39.

Details of Binyon’s journey to Japan, written by the British Museum expert on Oriental ceramics, who accompanied Binyon on the trip.

38. Yashiro, Yukio. ‘Laurence Binyon’. *Bulletin of Eastern Art* (Tokyo) 7-8 (July-August 1940): 19-23.

Yashiro accompanied Binyon on many of his visits to view public and private collections of Japanese art during his stay in Japan, and here recalls details from those and other occasions. Includes notes about the composition of MIYAJIMA (24c) during an evening walk.

39. Obituary. *Times* (London), 11 March 1943.

Binyon’s visit to Japan is noted and praised as a sojourn of ‘a new kind’. ‘He was invited to Tokyo as the exponent of the British painters, and, taking with him a number of fine examples of the water-colourists, he created a deep impression by his lectures, in which he had the great advantage of information and sympathy. It was the first time that any such apostolic interpretation of men like the Cozenses had been offered with the living voice in Japan; and the gratitude of his audiences is perpetuated in an elaborate illustrated catalogue and in the publication at Tokyo of his ‘Landscapes in English Art and Poetry’ [23] for the general reader.’ Even in this remembrance of Binyon’s life and work, his verse drama (see 16 and 22) is described as ‘showing more correctness than creative power’.

40. Yashiro, Yukio. ‘Nippon bijitsu no onjintachi: Laurence Binyon’ (Benefactors of Japanese art: Laurence Binyon). *Bungei shunjû*, 30 September 1961, pp. 63-77.

A tracing of Binyon’s contributions to the spreading awareness of Japanese art, written by the art historian he had befriended in England forty years earlier.

41. Iwasaki, Ryôzô. To Ezra Pound, 30 November 1956. P. 131 in Kodama (BK82), 1987.

Included in Iwasaki’s Japanese translation of Pound’s *Selected Poems* is a photograph of Fenollosa’s grave at Miidera. In this letter Iwasaki writes that the wooden steps leading to it and the wooden platform and fence encircling it were ‘built by Mr. Laurence Binyon and other foreigners’. The ‘other foreigners’ almost certainly would have included Sansom (see 36).

42. Hatcher, John Trevor. ‘Anglo-Japanese Friendships: Yashiro Yukio, Laurence Binyon, and Arthur Waley’. *Fukuoka daigaku jinbun ronsô* 23 (1992): 997-1022.

Carefully traces this ‘nexus of Anglo-Japanese friendships’ between Yashiro and his ‘closest friends in England’, Binyon and Waley. Notes that in 1923 Taki Seiichi invited Binyon to a professorship in English literature at Tokyo Imperial University, but that for ‘Museum, family and other reasons’ he could not accept. This would have been the post being vacated by Robert Nichols, which was offered as well to T. E. Lawrence (see Lawrence to Sydney Cockerell, 13 January 1924, in *The Letters of T. E. Lawrence* [London: Cape, 1938], p. 450) and eventually went to Blunden.

43. Hatcher, John Trevor. *Laurence Binyon: Poet, Scholar of East and West*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1995.

Hatcher rightly notes that Binyon’s was among ‘most benign and quietly influential voices of the early twentieth century’, and this careful biography offers by far the most compelling source of information about his life. Several chapters are directly of relevance to this study. ‘Images of the Floating World’ traces Binyon’s history of acquaintance with Japanese art; ‘London Visions’ is insightful about connections between Binyon’s work with Japanese art and his early poetry; ‘Adam’s Dream’ details the experiments with anti-realistic drama by Binyon, Craig (see *D17*), Sturge Moore (*CA9*), and Yeats, in the days before Yeats’s experiments with the *nô*; ‘The Generation Gap’ includes details of Binyon’s relationship with Pound; and ‘East and West’ reconstructs Binyon’s sojourn to Japan. Includes details of Binyon’s relationship with Blunden, Bottomley (see *CA3*), Craig (*D17*), Eliot (*CA10*), Fenollosa (*D10*), Ralph Hodgson, Kohitsu Ryônin (see 2), Masefield (*CA5*), Moore (*CA9*), Noguchi (*D15*), Sansom (*D22*), Waley (*D26*), Yashiro Yukio, and Yeats, along with useful bibliography of both primary and secondary materials. Largely incorporates ‘Laurence Binyon: A Critical Biography’, PhD thesis, Oxford University, 1991. See also 33.

See also *A11*, 20, 21, 22, 25, 32, 70, *BD35*, *BH35*, *BK18*, 59, 86, 105, 126, 140, 148, 168, 181, 188, *BL25*, 27a, 48, 54, 78, 129, and *CC3*.

BD. Edmund Blunden, 1896-1974

Blunden wrote more of Japan than any earlier English poet, but it is not his writing of Japan but rather his reception there that has most attracted attention. He made seven journeys to the country over a period of forty years, as professor at Tokyo Imperial University from 1924 to 1927, cultural attaché to the United Kingdom Liaison Mission from 1947 to 1950, and lecturer and promoter of English literature on five tours from 1955 to 1964. In the twenties Blunden was well-liked in Japan, but when he returned after the war Japanese gratitude and admiration was unrestrained. Thousands gathered to hear him speak on English literature at venues throughout the country, stone tablets with his verses inscribed on them were solemnly dedicated at historic sites, and admirers collected and published in commemorative volumes his every occasional note. In some ways this veneration has been to the detriment of Blunden's reputation outside Japan. The poems in the occasional collections are slight, as Blunden himself recognised (see 70), and the reverence with which the Japanese establishment spoke of him for decades often has led to bemusement in England. The poems of Japan that Blunden himself chose to publish in collections in Britain, however (see particularly 18, 27, 30, 41, 50, 59, 125, and 144), are nonetheless striking. The early work is the first in English entirely to set aside the vestiges of literary Japonisme. It focuses as no English poems had before on the similarities between the Japanese natural landscape and that of England, and on the common humanity of the Japanese people. And his later poems of Japan at their best, as in the striking blank verse of 'In Hokkaido' (105), may be counted among Blunden's best. Japan did not bring to Blunden innovations of technique or style. The Georgian edifice of the verse remained intact to the end. But his treatment of Japan both in verse and in prose—the latter from the early essays of *The Mind's Eye* (42) to dozens of unsigned *TLS* reviews from 1927 to 1967—brought to English writing a receptiveness to Japan and a refusal to exoticise that sets the work apart not only from that of Blunden's contemporaries but also from the mainstream of English writing of Japan that has followed.

Note: Works listed here that I have not seen are noted in B. J. Kirkpatrick's Blunden bibliography (187), and cross-referenced to that volume.

Primary Materials

1. Poems in *London Mercury* 10 (October 1924): 574-76

Both works noted are reprinted in *The Augustan Books of Modern Poetry: Edmund*

Blunden (London: Benn, 1925) and *Blunden's English Poems* (London: Cobden-Sanderson, 1926; rev. ed. London: Duckworth, 1929). See also 188.

a. A 'FIRST IMPRESSION': TOKYO. The speaker, 'come to this strange roof, / Beyond broad seas, half round the weary world', imagines the ghost of his 'vanished child', but then he sees 'from neighbouring doors slid back along their grooves' other 'Small children scurrying, with the hastiest joy', and reflecting upon the sight later, though he still feels the loss of his own child, says he 'glittered with their light, / and loved them, as if kindred of my own'. References to the dead child are to Blunden's daughter Joy, who died in 1919 at the age of forty days. The house to which the poem refers would have been Blunden's first residence in Tokyo, at number 25 Kitayamabushi-cho, Ushigome-ku, next door to Ichikawa Sanki, chair of English at the Imperial University. The house was later removed to Seijō in the Tokyo suburbs, and according to Sone (in 179*d*) was still standing in 1960. Sakai (185*e*) speculates that the children in the poem are Ichikawa's. Reprinted in *Best Poems of 1924* (London: Cape, 1925), and in 18, 30, and 125.

b. THE DAIMYO'S POND. The pond of the title belonged to the estate of the Maeda daimyō before the land was deeded to Tokyo Imperial University. The poem describes the natural beauty of the pond and an old man summoning the 'great fishes' to the surface by beating on a wooden bucket as if it were a drum. The summoning becomes a metaphor for poetic creation, and the speaker wishes to 'bring many a mystery from life's shadowy pool'. Except the title, the carp, and the method of summoning them, the poem contains nothing that could not be occasioned by a pond in England. Reprinted, slightly revised, in 14, 18, 30, 165, and 168. Blunden's note in 14 says the poem was 'written almost on [his] first view of the lake in the University grounds, in 1924'.

2. †TOKYO: AN UNPUBLISHED PASSAGE FROM GOLDSMITH'S *THE TRAVELLER?*. *The Blue*, October 1924, p. 15.

Kirkpatrick (187) C479.

3. FAR EAST. [Tokyo: privately printed], 1925.

Blunden's Christmas card for 1925 (see also 58, 65, and 67). A speaker is moved by the beauty of rural Japan, though here more than in similar Blunden poems of the period diction and syntax have been twisted to fit a meter unmatched to the subject, images are hyperbolic, and rhyme is strained. A morning labourer in a field 'smiles' in line 22, for example, and is forced into being 'The Oriental Giles' by the end of the stanza. As in *THE VISITOR* (26) the poem is an attempt to see Japan as essentially like England. Reprinted in 18, 27, 30, and 162.

4. To Ishii Hakuson, 24 July, 1925. Foreword to *Twelve Poems by Haxon Ishii*. Tokyo: Bunka Insatsusha, 1925.

Blunden was a tireless champion of young Japanese who wrote in English (see also, for example, 6, 7, 28, and 123). He writes here of the pleasure and admiration he has felt in reading Ishii's verse.

5. 'Buddhist Paintings: Free Thoughts on the Exhibition at Ueno'. *Japan Advertiser*, 15 November 1925, pp. 6-7.

Blunden admits to an 'undeniable fascination' with the 'ancient and acclaimed Buddhist paintings' on display at the Imperial Museum in Ueno, Tokyo, but with reservations. 'One need not be a profound inquirer into Oriental art in order to feel the atmosphere of these solemn presentations of belief and piety', he writes, but 'one must master and for the time being expel from the mind one's definitions of art and existence.' A theme common in Blunden's writing about Japan is that comfort may be found in the familiar and well-remembered. Here the point is made in a series of comparisons to Western literature and art. A painting of Kannon in the centre panel of a triptych is reminiscent of Milton's 'pensive Nun'; a drawing of a reclusive monk is 'a kind of comment on Coleridge's . . . "Kubla Khan"'; a likeness of Jion Daishi (632-682, Chin.: K'uei-chi, systematiser of the Buddhist sect known in Japanese as Hossôshû) shows 'a man with a jowl somewhat Napoleonic, an eye with some of that meaning associated with Cardinal Wolsey'; and for 'the ordinary spectator' in 'that spiritual treasure-house', 'visions of Rembrandt, Goya, even Rusdael gleam and give comfort and revival'. Reprinted in 42.

6. 'On "Japanese English": A New Poet's Accomplishment is Evaluated'. *Japan Advertiser*, 15 November 1925, p. 6.

In praise of the English verse of Ishii Haxon [Hakuson]. See also 4.

7. 'Japan's English Poets: Transplanting the Cherry Tree—Today and the Future'. *Japan Advertiser*, 7 February 1926, pp. 8-9.

Praise for several Japanese poets who write in English, including Haxon Ishii (see also 4 and 6), Takahito Iwai, Tetsuzô Okada, and J[unzaburô] Nishiwaki (see also BF26c and BK78a and d).

8. 'More Hearn Letters: Some of His Epistles to Japanese Correspondents'. Review of *New Letters and Writings of Lafcadio Hearn*, edited by Sanki Ichikawa. *Japan Advertiser*, 29 March 1926, p. 2.

Ichikawa's 'excellent and patient work deserves well of the public', but Blunden finds Hearn writings included here 'slight'.

9. "'Japan" and its Group: Following the Word Through the Dictionary'. *Japan*

Advertiser, 2 May 1926, p. 6.

Traces the history of uses and meanings of the word 'Japan' in the *New English Dictionary*.

10. 'Hiroshige as Humorist: A Little Known Aspect of the Famous Artist'. *Japan Advertiser*, 22 August 1926, p. 6.

An essay generally dismissive of Hiroshige's comic prints: 'There is nothing astonishing in their quality, nor do they suggest that Hiroshige if rightly understood might be ranked with Phil May as a comic artist'. Includes allusion to the Japanese folktale 'Momotarô'. Reprinted as 'On Some Humorous Prints of Hiroshige' in 42.

11. 'Ghosts-Grotesques: The Curious Colour Prints of Kuniyoshi'. *Japan Advertiser*, 17 October 1926, p. 6.

Again Blunden reveals an interest in and understanding of ukiyoe that is absent in his poems (see also 10 and 42b). Utagawa Kuniyoshi 'had a most imperfect sense of the unity and harmony of a great work' and 'a junk-shop style mainly unpleasing', but demonstrated a 'fertility in fancies of the grim or grotesque . . . odd enough to attract attention and keep it'. Includes detailed description of a print from a series depicting scenes from the *Chûshingura*, and evaluation of prints from two other series, *Scenes from the Life of Nichiren* and *Sixty-Nine Views of the Kisokaidô*, along with allusion to Hokusai's 'Great Wave'. Reprinted in 42.

12. ORIENTAL ORNAMENTATIONS. *Japan Advertiser*, 14 November 1926, p. 6.

Following as it does upon poems in which the speaker is content in Japan (see 1a-b and 3), one cannot help noticing that the contentment was not complete. Here he feels 'locked in' and cannot 'escape' from the very un-English carvings, sculptings, and paintings of Tokyo, the 'curving cranes with serpent necks', 'red-eyed war gods', 'demi-lions' and other 'ornamentations' of the title. In closing lines, however, he is once again comforted by the pastoral similarity between Japan and the England he remembers: 'Claw-tendrils reach, man-monsters glare; / The victim heart prepares to know / Art's terror, dragon genius—till / Thought spies one rose or daffodil'. Okada's suggestion (in 191) that the poem is a source for Yeats's BYZANTIUM (BL32a) is not supported convincingly. For a different reaction by Blunden to similar carvings, in prose of about the same period, see 13. Reprinted in 18, and in 27 and 30 under the title ORNAMENTATIONS.

13. 'A Tokyo Secret: The Tokugawa Mausoleums at Shiba'. *Japan Advertiser*, 23 November 1926, p. 4.

A prose appreciation of the mausoleums at Shiba, the 'Shrine of the Seventh Tokugawa', and the area surrounding, one of the 'few beautiful and sequestered

loitering places in modern Tokyo'. Includes special attention to the 'mysterious ornament' and 'fantastic forms' of the wood carvings, a response in contrast to similar carvings in *ORIENTAL ORNAMENTATIONS* (12). The buildings and carvings Blunden praises here were destroyed eighteen years later in the American firebombing of Tokyo. Reprinted in 42 and 69.

14. *Edmund Blunden, His Professorship and His Writings: Appreciations, by Some of His Students and Friends*. Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1927.

'Selected poems' by Blunden and fulsome appreciations (in Japanese) of his teaching by his students at Tokyo Imperial University before his return to Britain in July 1927. Reprints *THE DAIMYO'S POND* (1*b*).

- a. *EASTERN TEMPEST*. A facsimile of Blunden's manuscript dated 1926.

Description of a typhoon in an urgent metrical-rhetorical structure that befits the subject, though end rhyme is occasionally strained. *Kiri* (l. 12): paulownia. Appeared first in †*Study of English* (Tokyo Imperial University) in June 1927; reprinted in 18, 27, and 30.

b. *TRUST*. The lines examine the nature of trust by describing a 'petticoated child' who 'Bids some great dog begone out of his path'; they do not rely on figures noticeably related to Japan, but in a note Blunden says the poem 'was suggested by things seen in Tokyo'. Reprinted in *Retreat* (London: Cobden-Sanderson, 1928) and in 30.

15. *BUILDING THE LIBRARY, NIGHT SCENE, TOKYO UNIVERSITY*. *Japan Advertiser*, 6 February, 1927, p. 6.

Describes the construction of a new main library at Tokyo Imperial University. The old library, along with much of the university, had been destroyed in the Great Kanto Earthquake eight months before Blunden arrived in the city. Reprinted as *BUILDING THE LIBRARY, TOKYO UNIVERSITY* in 18, 27, 30, and 165.

16. *JAPANESE NIGHTPIECE*. *Observer*, 6 November 1927, p. 24.

Describes 'fishers' and their 'ancient ways' on the Inland Sea at night. Okada (191) finds a haiku influence in this work, *THE QUICK AND THE DEAD* (18*a*), and *THE INVIOLEATE* (18*b*), but evidence is speculative. Reprinted under the title *INLAND SEA* in 18, 27, and 30.

17. [Blunden]. Review of *Social Currents in Japan*, by Harry Wildes. *TLS*, 15 December 1927, p. 967.

For many years Blunden was on the editorial staff of *TLS*, and became the most frequent reviewer of books about Japan for that publication. His reviews are unsigned, but this and others noted here are attributed to him by Kirkpatrick (187). Miner (179*b*) writes of Blunden's dozens of book reviews that they are

‘serious, discerning, and well written studies, not insipid or unknowing praise’. In this brief review Blunden praises Wilde’s work about the incitements against the West in the Japanese press, and hopes that ‘the young generation from the universities, with their passion for great literature and imaginative expression, can find their way into the journalistic world and purify its spirit’. For other *TLS* reviews by Blunden see 22, 24, 29, 47, 52, 53, 56, 57, 63, 73, 75, 78, 81, 85, 89, 90, 91, 96-98, 100-04, 107-08, 121, 126-27, 145, 147, 149-50, 152-53, and 161.

18. *Japanese Garland*. [London]: Beaumont, 1928.

The first book-length collection of poems of Japan published by an English poet in England. Collects most of Blunden’s earliest poems set in Japan in an edition of 390. Reprints A ‘FIRST IMPRESSION’: TOKYO (1a), THE DAIMYO’S POND (1b), FAR EAST (3), ORNAMENTATIONS (formerly ORIENTAL ORNAMENTATIONS, 12), EASTERN TEMPEST (14a), BUILDING THE LIBRARY, TOKYO UNIVERSITY (15), and INLAND SEA (formerly JAPANESE NIGHTPIECE, 16). All poems that appear here are reprinted in 27 and 30. See also 172 and 188.

a. THE QUICK AND THE DEAD. Suggests that the memory of friends walking together in Nara is more important than memory of the famous sights of the ancient capital. The opening line sets the scene—‘Once we three in Nara walked’—and following lines describe the sights of the city, including Tōdaiji and the Great Buddha, here described as ‘louring’ with ‘a dead man’s eye’. Okada suggests that the work is a love poem about walking in Nara with Hayashi Aki (see 191), with ‘three friends’ depicted instead of two as an ‘effort to hide [the] love affair’. See also 16. Reprinted in 125.

b. THE INVIOLATE. Describes a scene on the ‘white Pacific shore’ where a ‘vigil circled’ by temple gates watches a ‘black ship’, a reference to the Japanese description of the ships of Perry’s expedition to Japan in 1853. The ‘murmur’ that the black ship ‘waits the crash of our typhoon’ refers to the sudden storms that destroyed Mongol invasion forces in 1274 and 1281 in what until Perry arrived had been the only serious threats to Japan from abroad, and which left the Japanese for nearly six centuries with the sense that they were ‘inviolated’, protected by *kamikaze*, the divine wind. See also 16. Reprinted in 125.

c. ON A SMALL DOG, THRUST OUT IN A TOKYO STREET SOON AFTER HIS BIRTH, AND RESCUED IN VAIN. An elegy for the small dog of the title. Relies on a simile of cherry blossoms, ‘whose life thin-spun / Seems by its own ghost haunted’.

d. THE AUTHOR’S LAST WORDS TO HIS STUDENTS. A note identifies the students of the title as those ‘in the school of English Literature, at Tokyo Imperial University, 1924-1927’. An apology and tribute to Blunden’s students, written

from England. The speaker asks forgiveness for his 'harsh intrusion', 'gloomed perspective', and 'hobbling commonplaces' upon the 'bright passion' of his former students, and wishes them well. Okada (191) suggests that the 'formalised modesty' of Japanese society had influenced Blunden in a way that can be seen here. Saitô (179a), referring to Blunden's many 'unforgettable' poems about Japan, cites this work in particular: 'it 'will be ever dear to us [Japanese], for it reflects [Blunden's] modesty, gentleness, and thoughtfulness'. Reprinted in 69, 125, 165, 168, and 179. Blunden reads the poem on British Council Tape No. 752, 3 September 1964 (London: British Council) and *The Poet Speaks*, Record 10 (London: Argo, 1968).

19. *Undertones of War*. London: Cobden-Sanderson, 1928. Reprint, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1992.

Blunden's classic novel of the First World War was largely written in his room at the Kikufuji Hotel in Tokyo (see 166j) in 1924 and 1925. See also 166e and 185c.

20. 'The Two Japans'. Review of *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan* (see D9a), by Lafcadio Hearn, and *The Civilization of Japan*, by J. Bryan. *Nation & Athenaeum* 42 (January 1928): 542.

Blunden arrived in Japan to the chair in literature first occupied by Hearn, and would have been prodded at every turn to work toward becoming the 'next' Hearn. Blunden tries to lay the ghost to rest here (see BJ3a for Plomer's expiation of the same spirit): 'Hearn's aromatic, soft, and empurpled prose accounts of Japan might be accepted with thanks, although one might not believe them—Hearn hardly believed them himself', for his 'misty indistinctions' have the 'obvious fault of plastering a delicate grace with sticky epithets'. Bryan's work, by contrast, casts light on themes 'camouflaged by Hearn', and offers a 'masterly and level-headed' interpretation of histories of Japan as written by Brinkley, 'Japanese authorities', and others.

21. 'Japan, Ancient and Modern'. Review of *An Outline History of Japan*, by Herbert Gowan, and *Modern Japan and its Problems*, by G. C. Allen. *Nation & Athenaeum* 42 (February 1928): 758.

Finds Gowan's work 'a plain, well-proportioned, and benevolent record' and Allen's 'a capital companion or continuation'. Includes notes about the 'double life' of Japan, explained in a series of parallel constructions emphasising modernity and Westernisation on the one hand and the traditional culture on the other. Refers to Brinkley's history of Japan (D14), William Adams, Tokugawa Iemitsu (third Tokugawa shogun), Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and the Great Buddha at Kamakura.

22. 'Japan in 19—' and untitled. Review of *Yuki-San*, by Ellen Forest. *TLS*, 24 May 1928, p. 390; *Now & Then*, Summer 1928, pp. 13-15.

Two reviews of the same work, the first published anonymously. In *TLS* Blunden warns readers that Forest's book is dated, and that in Japan 'change in manners, and probably of views and aspirations . . . has proceeded at such a rate that many foreign residents who have seen the last twenty or thirty years of it are scarcely able to credit their own experience'. In *Now & Then* he is more favourable, focusing his remarks on the 'dilemma' of Japanese women caught between tradition and modernity.

23. A QUARTET ("THE MIKADO" AT CAMBRIDGE). *Observer*, 27 May 1928, p. 16.

A sonnet in which the speaker admires the 'Four singers with a Delphic seriousness' as they perform their parts in the play of the title. Reprinted in 27, and, as A QUARTET, in 30.

24. [Blunden]. Review of *The Gardens of Japan*, by Jirô Harada. *TLS*, 7 June 1928, p. 433.

Praise for this work about the 'embodiments of Japanese attitude'.

25. 'Japanese Drama: Classic and Modern Theatres'. Review of *An Outline History of Japanese Drama*, by Frank Lombard. *Daily Telegraph*, 4 December 1928, p. 8.

Describes briefly the nô and kabuki and finds Lombard's work about these admirable.

26. THE VISITOR. *New Statesman* OS 33 (July 1929): 470.

Describes feelings upon arriving in Japan from England. The speaker, conscious of being 'suddenly the other side of this world wide', is comforted that the natural landscape of Japan reminds of England. Includes pastoral passages about Japan that indeed could have been written about England, but also an unconscious revelation that things were perhaps more different than the poem allows. When the speaker 'paused along the yellow plains, / And kissed the child that ran from shy friends / To take our hand', the Japanese would have been shocked, but the speaker is blissfully unaware that in Japan one does not kiss babies or anything else in public, and proceeds to note, immediately following, that 'we could tell what passed / In unknown language between old pouchy boatmen', a claim that should be viewed with suspicion. Closing lines offer slight indication that the speaker realises in retrospect that Japan and England may be not as alike as he first believed: 'no distance, / Sea, landslide, chasm, nor crossway of our life / Divided us that moment from the unknown / Pilgrimage singing in the stranger's mind'. Reprinted in 27, 30 and 125.

27. *Near and Far*. London: Cobden-Sanderson, 1929.

Reprints A QUARTET (23) and, in a section called 'Japanese Garland', THE VISITOR (26) and the poems that had appeared in the earlier limited edition *Japanese Garland* (18). Includes as well a 'Prefatory Note' in which Blunden writes that some of his 'Japanese pieces' have been 'blamed' for their 'English tone' and their author for being 'an incorrigible "Briton"' (see, for example, 172). He believes, however, that 'those . . . who go from England to Japan without succumbing first to Japanesery' will feel 'no great gulf between the old experiences and the new', for by 'substitut[ing] cherry-blossom for rose, and rice for bread, and Alps for Chilterns—you do not thereby produce a mystical incomprehensibility'. This would be 'better (and worse) provided' by poets who avoid Japan altogether and focus on being "'Oriental"'. See also 173.

28. 'English Literature in Japan'. Preface to *Keats' View of Poetry*, by Takeshi Saitô.

London: Cobden-Sanderson, 1929.

In part a survey of important names in the introduction of English Literature to Japan, including Doi Kôchi, Lafcadio Hearn, Ralph Hodgson, Ichikawa Sanki, John Lawrence, Natsume Sôseki, Robert Nichols, William Plomer, Tsubouchi Shôyô, Sherard Vines, and the publishing house Kenkyusha. Saitô's work itself had been his doctoral thesis at Tokyo Imperial University, and was published by Cobden-Sanderson at Blunden's urging.

29. [Blunden]. 'Japanese Intuitions'. Review of *Paper Houses* (BJ3), by William Plomer.

TLS, 21 March 1929, p. 228.

Blunden writes that Plomer is a prose stylist 'humorous, learned, and imaginative', and praises in particular his writing of Japan, for no 'mere observer' could report 'so exactly and intimately the life of that country'. Plomer writes as though he has incorporated 'modern Japanese poems into his prose', and 'if there is a melancholy turn . . . we hasten to say that it is true of the original scene, and of its kind not to be rejected in favour of some more disturbing mirth'. The 'quality' of Japan, Blunden believes, 'lies in half-tones rather than splendid brocade pictures', and Plomer approaches these 'without fantasy or sense of alien nature', altogether avoiding 'Oriental caprice, purple haze, and the rest of the chrysanthemum and bonze paraphernalia' of the "'the era of japonaiserie"'.

30. *The Poems of Edmund Blunden, 1914-1930*. London: Cobden-Sanderson, 1930.

Includes new work and reprints much of Blunden's earlier work of Japan, including FAR EAST (3), A QUARTET (23), and in another expanded 'Japanese Garland' section the poems that had appeared in 18 and 27.

a. A JAPANESE EVENING. The speaker dines at a cottage in Japan, and later, outside under the moonlight with the owner and his daughters is persuaded to give

an English lesson. Plays on Japanese mispronunciation of English words, though not always accurately. Almost certainly no Japanese would say 'mooni' instead of 'moon', 'doggi' instead of 'dog', or 'weino' instead of 'fan', for example. *O tsuki sama* (l. 28): moon; *okashii* (l. 36): strange or odd; *O-Ji-San* (l. 49): uncle, or middle-aged man. Reprinted in 50, 162, and 168.

- 3 1. 'Japanese Moments'. *Time and Tide*, 3 January 1930, pp. 16-17.

Observations about Japan for 'those who are in the prospect for teaching appointments'. Japan 'does not disappoint the stranger' but rather 'corrects his fancies, perhaps a little grimly' before beginning to 'enrich him with her truths'. Reprinted in 42.

- 3 2. 'Lafcadio Hearn'. Review of *Lectures on Shakespeare*, by Hearn, edited by Inagaki Iwao, and *Essays on American Literature*, by Hearn, edited by Sanki Ichikawa. *Bookman* (London) 77 (February 1930): 281-82.

Blunden's attitudes about Hearn were mixed, but here he is unambiguous. The Japanese are 'grateful' for his work, Blunden writes, because 'he produced more and better books on Japan than most sojourners have done'. Compare *BD8*, 20, 27, 36, 42a, 71c, 78, 89, 123, 133, 149, 152, and 156.

- 3 3. 'The Japanese Pilgrimage'. Review of *History of Japanese Religion*, by Masaharu Anesaki. *Nation & Athenaeum* 47 (July 1930): 502.

Opens with a striking prose description of Japanese in religious settings, Christian, Buddhist, and Shintô, before turning to 'the noble singleness of purpose, and extraordinary intellectual accomplishments' of Anesaki (1873-1949), the foremost scholar of Japanese religion in the first half of the century, who would have been at Tokyo Imperial University during Blunden's tenure there, and later was an acquaintance of Empson (see *BF21b3*). What follows is a knowledgeable summary of Anesaki's work, which finds Blunden again offering English readers comparisons with their own traditions (see also 5 and 100). Nichiren 'was a kind of Wesley', and the 'age of Bushido . . . correspond[s] to our Restoration'. Includes reference to Tokugawa Ieyasu and Iemitsu, and to the persecution of Christians during the years of the Tokugawa reign.

- 3 4. 'Japan Opened: The Process of Transition'. Review of *Yofuku, or Japan in Trousers*, by Sherard Vines, and *Realism in Romantic Japan*, by Miriam Beard. *Daily Telegraph*, 21 April 1931, p. 17.

Blunden finds Vines's work 'infinitely more welcome than the majority' of books on Japan, and Beard's 'largely rhetorical' and more 'romantic than realistic'. Notes that in Japan 'the contest between nationalist emotion (or reason) and foreign styles sometimes flares up'. See also 42d.

35. 'English Lectures in Japan: A Reply to Miss West'. Letter to the Editor. *Daily Telegraph*, 6 July 1931, p. 15.

Rebecca West's review of Binyon's *Landscapes in English Art and Poetry* (BC23) had criticised the quality of lectures given in English in Japan (*Daily Telegraph*, 3 July, p. 15). Blunden's reply was quick and testy. The lectures given by such 'gifted men' as Ralph Hodgson, Robert Nichols, Sherard Vines, Arundel del Rey, William Plomer, Peter Quennell, and others 'have inspired a great deal of intellectual and personal animation' among Japanese students, and Ichikawa Sanki, 'one of the most accurate philologists in the world', had recently visited London and informed Blunden 'with particular happiness' that Binyon's lectures 'had been a marked success, even an historic occasion'.

36. 'Lafcadio Hearn, the Mystic'. Review of *Blue Ghost: A Study of Lafcadio Hearn*, by Jean Temple. *Daily Telegraph*, 31 July 1931, p. 15.

Blunden finds Hearn's writings 'mainly exercises in embellishment' and Temple's study of them 'florid': Hearn 'could at all hours conjure clouds of incense out of his ink-pot' and Temple 'feels' strongly the 'satiety of the perfumery'. Compare 32.

37. †Review of *A Superficial Journey through Tokyo and Peking*, by Peter Quennell. *Book Society News*, August 1932, pp. 4-5.

Kirkpatrick (187) C1221.

38. SOMEWHERE EAST. *Cherwell*, 3 December 1932, p. 172.

Blunden satirises the commercialism that by the thirties had become visible around temples and shrines in Japan. *Awabi* (l. 16): abalone. Reprinted as AFTERNOON IN JAPAN in 41 and 50.

39. 'Japanese Poems'. Review of *Anthology of Haiku*, translated by Asatarô Miyamori (see D27). *Fortnightly Review* NS 133 (1933): 527-28.

Miyamori's work is 'the most ambitious attempt of the kind ever seen', but though his knowledge of English is 'admirable' it is 'not thoroughly alive to the varieties of our expression'. In spite of this qualm, or perhaps because of it, Blunden's only attempt at presenting his own versions of haiku in English, published twenty-one years later (see 110), draws heavily on the versions discussed here. See also 47.

40. THE COTTAGE AT CHIGASAKI. *Now and Then*, Summer 1933, p. 25.

Of Blunden's dozens of poems on Japanese subjects the only clear allusion to a particular Japanese poem is here, in an extended reference to a famous hokku by Chiyo (1703-75), *asagao ni / tsurube torarete / moraimizu*, 'With the well bucket / taken over by morning glories— / I go begging water'. Chigasaki is an industrial suburb of Tokyo and Yokohama, but in Blunden's early years in Japan was a quiet retreat from the metropolis. Okada (191) suggests that the poem was written at a

cottage owned by Keio University professor Horii Eishirō. Reprinted in 41, 50, 125, 157, and 163.

41. *Choice or Chance: New Poems*. London: Cobden-Sanderson, 1934.

Reprints AFTERNOON IN JAPAN (formerly SOMEWHERE EAST, 38) and THE COTTAGE AT CHIGASAKI (40)

42. *The Mind's Eye*. London: Cape, 1934. Reprint, Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries, 1977.

Ten essays in a 'Japan' section include more references to Japanese art and religion than appear in all Blunden's poems combined. An author's note suggests that 'many other essays of [this] sort . . . might have been recovered' from periodicals, 'but . . . once mislaid' old journals are difficult to 'recapture', an 'indolence', Blunden adds, that 'may prove to have been as good as a virtue'. Unless otherwise noted the works are dated 1926. Reprints 'Buddhist Paintings' (5), 'Ghosts-Grotesques' (11), 'A Tokyo Secret' (13), 'On Some Humorous Prints of Hiroshige' (formerly 'Hiroshige as Humorist', 10), and 'Japanese Moments' (31). See also 174.

a. 'Winter Comes to Tokyo'. The winter cold drives Blunden from his draughty wooden house and into the streets of the city. Includes a rare allusion to Buddhism, though derived from a simile characteristic of Blunden's writing of Japan in its comparison of time present in Tokyo with an imagined present in England: 'Of eight aspects of Buddha, one is easy enough. I sit in the calm of ages, while the windows . . . rattle in as glacial a breeze as curls now round the gateway of Gray's Inn'. Includes deprecating remarks about the 'circuitous noise' of a shamisen, and allusion to Hearn. The house would be the first Blunden inhabited in Tokyo, next door to Ichikawa Sanki and family (see 1). Dated 1925. Reprinted in 69.

b. 'Line Upon Line'. Blunden begins by offering favourable comparison of ukiyoe to British art of the same period, then turns to studied and striking description of a particular print, by Utagawa Toyohiro. By 1926 poems deriving from ukiyoe had become something of a sub-genre in British and American literary journals (see *BH6* for the most notable collection of these), but Blunden resolutely resists the impulse in verse. Five of seven pages here are in close description of the Toyohiro, but not once in verse does Blunden turn to Japanese visual art either for subject or accoutrement. Reprinted in 69.

c. 'Atami of the Past'. Returning from a trip to the *onsen* at Atami, Blunden's companion, 'N.', translates from an 1830 pamphlet about the town, and Blunden, 'hoping that ancient metaphors would worthily express our modern response to its

serenity', presents this essay derived from the translation and informing of the observations of 1830. Includes allusion to a Toyokuni print of ships on Sagano Bay.

d. 'The Beauty of Vagueness'. Having been informed by a Japanese student that a European cannot possibly comprehend the excellence of a particular kind of Japanese painting, Blunden notes the 'cherished formula' in Japan that holds that the country 'has a spiritual secret so . . . rare as to be quite incommunicable to people of any other blood'. From this he focuses on the darker implications of the Japanese cult of 'vagueness'. The work is more cognisant of nationalist sentiment than other Blunden writing on the country, and includes one of his few published references to the early stirrings of the militarists: the 'convention of mysteries and secrets' is given 'frequent exercise' by the government, police, army, and navy; foreigners are suspected of photographing 'secret areas', and 'extraordinary precautions against espionage' surround 'poison-gas experiments' and other 'manoeuvres'. Closes with lines eerily prophetic for 1926: 'Taboo operates here. Nippon once more closes her gates.' See also 34, 46, and 48.

e. "Not Only Beautiful" [*sic*]. Blunden's tribute to 'an unconsciously entertaining writer . . . employed by a Tokyo firm . . . to supply the English explanations accompanying their very charming reproductions' of ukiyoe: 'He is what he says a certain picture is, "not only beautiful but also washable"'.
 43. †'University Japan Society'. *Oxford Times*, 26 January 1934, p. 9.

According to Kirkpatrick (187, Eb4) includes a summary of Blunden's address to the Society, 'Glimpses of Japanese Literature: Sonnets and Haiku'.

44. 'Old and New Japan'. Review of *Tokyo Calendar*, by Frank Lee. *Observer*, 20 May 1934, p. 4.

Blunden discusses Japan's seasonal festivals and notes 'a touch of make-believe in most things that occur in Japan'. Includes passing reference to Hiroshige, Hokusai, and Utamaro.

45. A SONG. *Fortnightly* NS 138 (September 1935): 338.

When the speaker was a boy in England a shopkeeper on his street pointed to clouds on the eastern horizon and said, 'See Japan'. The poem describes what of 'Japan' the boy could and could not see. Saitô (185a) recalls Blunden telling him that the shopkeeper's words were 'a fact . . . not a poetic fancy'. Reprinted as LOOKING EASTWARD in *An Elegy and Other Poems* (London: Cobden-Sanderson, 1937), and in 50 and 165.

46. Review of *Facing Two Ways*, by Baroness Shidzue Ishimoto. *Fortnightly* NS 139 (January 1936): 117.

Blunden praises the autobiography of this champion of women's suffrage in Japan and offers pessimistic observations about the fate of liberal causes after the 'excitement' of Manchuria.

47. [Blunden]. Review of *Masterpieces of Japanese Poetry Ancient and Modern*, translated by Asatarô Miyamori (see D27). *TLS*, 29 August 1936, p. 698.

Blunden finds Miyamori's work among 'most elaborate and attractive collections of the kind ever offered to the Western reader'. Includes passing reference to earlier translations by Aston (see D13), Chamberlain (D5), Dickins (D3), Porter (D20), and Waley (D26). See also 39.

48. IN THE MARGIN. *Listener* 19 (January 1938): 186.

Blunden's only comment in verse about Japanese militarism. The speaker notes that 'few men praise and hardly more defend' the 'armed power' of Japan; he feels 'Horror and wonder at the deeds thus done, / And fear[s] each day's exploit of thundering steel / Only destroys what old Japan has won'. Still, he hopes that we may not forget 'much that belongs / To that great name "Japan"', for 'Through crowded streets gray-headed virtue goes' and 'from poor farms' we may hear 'old peaceful songs'. Reprinted in 165 and, under the title WHILE FEW MEN PRAISE AND HARDLY MORE DEFEND, in *On Several Occasions* (London: Corvius, 1939).

49. Review of *Japan Over Asia*, by William Chamberlain. *Book Society News*, February 1938, p. 8.

If requested to suggest works that 'explain the present state of Japan', Blunden would include this study, which 'sum[s] up what is felt by the least prejudiced and excitable foreign residents' in the country.

50. *Poems 1930-1940*. London: Macmillan, 1940.

Reprints JAPANESE EVENING (30a), THE COTTAGE AT CHIGASAKI (40), LOOKING EASTWARD (formerly A SONG, 45), and AFTERNOON IN JAPAN (formerly SOMEWHERE EAST, 38)

51. 'Love of Life'. Review of *Double Lives* (BJ10), by William Plomer. *Observer*, 21 November 1943, p. 3.

Blunden recalls that when Plomer arrived in Japan 'the impression he made . . . was . . . of escape from a considerable nervous strain', but now 'he does not . . . write as one at war with the past, however merrily he may treat its phenomena'.

52. [Blunden]. 'The Japanese Emperor'. Review of *Son of Heaven*, by Willard Price. *TLS*, 29 September 1945, p. 459.

Blunden's first post-war publication about Japan includes kind words for Price, but disagrees that the Allies should depose the Showa Emperor. Surely it is time to 'clear' Japan of the 'artificial sublimity round the palace' and 'those grim, crude

patriots who have worked it up', Blunden believes, but the Emperor and 'his people' are 'united by a finer discipline than the myth of deity', and 'regeneration' is more likely if the Imperial system is untouched.

- 5 3. [Blunden]. 'British Embassy, Tokyo'. Review of *Behind the Japanese Mask*, by Robert Craigie. *TLS*, 9 March 1946, p. 112.

Craigie was the British Ambassador to Japan from 1937 until the outbreak of war with the United States and Britain. Blunden finds in his recollection of the years a 'steady and natural excellence', for the work 'does not reduce the exceedingly varied life of Japan to one black and cruel meaning'.

- 5 4. Foreword to *One Hundred Poems (Hyakunin isshu)*, translated by Kenneth Yasuda. Tokyo: Kamakura bunka, 1948.

Blunden writes in this brief note that he can only repeat ideas set forth by Fletcher in remarks about an earlier volume by Yasuda (see *BH17*), and therefore offers general praise of haiku and of Yasuda's successes in 'reviv[ing]' the form for 'a new age and another tongue'.

- 5 5. *Two Lectures on English Literature*. Osaka: Osaka kyôiku tôsho, 1948.

Includes Japanese translation of two Blunden lectures, along with four occasional poems.

a. OSAKA IN RECONSTRUCTION. Four rhymed quatrains recall the Osaka of the days of John Saris (see 63), and that the city has seen more misery than most, but close with the prediction that as it has in the past been great it will be so again.

b. THE TOURIST (NEAR KOMORO). The tourist of the title is the speaker, who surveys a pastoral scene from his 'perch' on a 'templed height'.

c. VOICES IN TOKYO. The 'voices' of the title include those of the 'stentorian crow', 'busy cicada', and 'fearless bullfrog'. According to Kirkpatrick (187, C2445) the poem appeared first in †*Study of English (Eigo kenkyû)* in October 1948; reprinted in 59 and 128; Blunden reads the poem in the sound recording †*Gems from English Poetry* (Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1960).

d. WILLIAM ADAMS AT ITO. Praise for 'that man / Who first united England and Japan' (see 118). Reprinted in 118, and, under the title TO THE CITIZENS OF ITO, in 76, 165 and 167, the last of which is from an earlier and slightly different version.

- 5 6. [Blunden]. 'Phoenix and Rising Sun'. Review of *New Paths for Japan*, by Harold Wakefield. *TLS*, 2 October 1948, p. 550.

Blunden sympathises with the 'highly cultivated and generous personalities' of Japanese who were 'driven into solitude' by the war, and who have a renewed hope, but feel an acute sense of being out of touch with new movements in art, literature,

and music. The review would have been submitted to *TLS* from Tokyo during Blunden's second stay in Japan.

57. [Blunden]. 'Japanese Reflections'. Review of *Mirror for Americans: Japan*, by Helen Mears, and *Via Tokyo*, by Christmas Humphries. *TLS*, 25 December 1948, p. 723.

A favourable review of both works that turns attention to the history of Japan. Blunden argues that 'no action in modern history can have been of much greater consequence than that of July 8, 1853', when Perry 'anchored his warships in the Bay of Yedo'.

58. MATSUSHIMA. [Tokyo: privately printed], 1948.

Blunden's Christmas card for 1948 (see also 3, 65, and 67) contains this verse celebration of Matsushima, printed between illustrations of the islands. A Japanese translation by Shiratori Seigo appeared in a brochure of the Tourist Society of Matsushima in 1955, and the poem and Shiratori's translation of it are engraved on a five-foot stone tablet on a hilltop overlooking Matsushima (see *160ay-az*). Other Blunden verses are engraved on tablets on each of Japan's main islands (see also 118 and 136). This work is reprinted in 68, 84, 113, and 165.

59. *After the Bombing and Other Short Poems*. London: Macmillan, 1949. Reprint, Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries, 1971.

Reprints VOICES IN TOKYO (55c). Along with this work and the poem noted below, Saitô (185f) counts FROM THE FLYING BOAT among Blunden's 'Japan poems', but nothing in it specifically marks the setting or subject as Japan.

a. TO THE NEW JAPAN. Hopeful lines about Japan after the war, urging the calling forth of a 'spirit' that will once again bring happiness and prosperity to the land where the 'far-born' may 'learn calm light'. Kirkpatrick (187) suggests that the poem was originally titled WALKING IN TOKYO, 1948, but does not provide publication details. Reprinted in 162 and 165.

60. A SONG FOR KWANSEI. In *Sixtieth Anniversary: Kwansei Gakuin University*. Nishinomiya: Kwansei gakuin daigaku, 1949.

One of two laudatory college songs by Blunden that is still solemnly sung in Japan today (see also 72). Reprinted in 160.

61. †TO JAPANESE STUDENTS: A SONNET. *New Age*, 1 January 1949, p. 9.

Kirkpatrick (187) C2458; according to Kirkpatrick, reprinted in 68.

62. †'Japanese Culture, 1948: An Imaginary Conversation'. *World News in Current English*, 1 January 1949, pp. 4-5.

Kirkpatrick (187) C2460.

63. [Blunden]. 'Japanese Journey'. Review of *The First Voyage of the English in Japan*,

by John Saris, edited by Takanobu Ôtsuka. *TLS*, 20 May 1949, p. 327.

Saris (ca. 1580-1646), Captain of the British East India Company ship *Clove*, arrived in Japan on 11 June 1613, and with the help of William Adams obtained permission to establish an English factory at Hirado. Blunden traces the history of Saris's 1613 manuscript about his journey to Japan and finds Ôtsuka's edition skilful and sound.

64. 'And Japanese Scenery?' *Fujin no tomo* (see 94), July 1949, pp. 12-14.

Notes about description of landscape in general and Blunden's love of Japanese landscape in particular. He has been 'taught a little by the artists of Japan', and feels a special affection for particular scenes frequently depicted in Japanese painting and engraving.

65. FROM THE JAPANESE INN WINDOW. Tokyo: privately printed, 1949.

Like SAKURAJIMA (67), a poem printed as a Christmas card from the Blundens in Tokyo in 1949 (and see also 3 and 58). Describes the scene from the window of the title, in Fukuoka, after a fierce snowfall. Reprinted in 68 as THE INN WINDOW, FUKUOKA, and 70, and 113 as THE EARLY YEAR, FUKUOKA. Appears also in Blunden's hand in holograph facsimile in Benkovitz (188).

66. MOJI ON THE SEA. In *The Abstract from the History of Moji*. Moji, Kyushu: Moji City Hall, 1949.

Reassuring lines about Moji's 'reawakening' from the ashes of war, dated 20 May 1949. Reprinted in 70.

67. SAKURAJIMA, A VOLCANO. Tokyo: privately printed, 1949.

A sonnet in which the speaker asserts that 'were [his] home here' in Japan his 'imagination's mark' would be the peaks of Sakurajima, an active volcanic island in Kagoshima Bay. Printed 'with greetings from Claire and Edmund Blunden, Tokyo' as a Christmas card (see also 3, 58, and 65). Reprinted in 70 and 76; appeared under the title THE VOLCANO in the *Spectator* of 6 January 1950.

68. † *Eastward: A Selection of Verses Original and Translated*, edited by Tamotsu Sone, Yoshitaka Sakai, and others. Tokyo: privately printed, 1950.

According to Kirkpatrick (187, A97), a limited edition of 250 designed by Jugaku Bunshô (scholar of English literature, 1900-92) and signed and numbered by Blunden. The Houghton Library at Harvard owns a copy, but none is available through library loan services in Britain, the United States, or Japan, and the work is not held at the National Diet Library of Japan. According to Kirkpatrick, reprints MATSUSHIMA (58), TO JAPANESE STUDENTS (61), and THE INN WINDOW, FUKUOKA (formerly FROM THE JAPANESE INN WINDOW, 65), and includes among other occasional poems FIRST VISIT TO YASHIMA (see 118), MOMENTS—IN A PARK

IN KYOTO (see 84), THE LAWN . . . AT A HOUSE IN TOKYO; A WOODLAND HOLIDAY, KARUIZAWA, and A HOUSE IN USHIGOME.

69. *Edmund Blunden: A Selection of his Poetry and Prose*. Edited by Kenneth Hopkins.

London: Hart-Davis, 1950. Reprint, Freeport, N. Y.: Books for Libraries, 1970. Reprints 'A Tokyo Secret' (13), THE AUTHOR'S LAST WORDS TO HIS STUDENTS (18d), 'Winter Comes to Tokyo' (42a), and 'Line Upon Line' (42b).

70. *Records of Friendship: Occasional and Epistolary Poems Written During Visits to*

Kyushu. Compiled and edited by T. Nakayama. Fukuoka: Kyushu UP, 1950.

Blunden writes in a prologue that he does not greatly regret the fact that in English 'we have hardly . . . a verse form which might suit all the instances of social and friendly addresses', but that in his visits to Kyushu with Nakayama those friends he met often 'urged [him] to leave with them some poetical souvenir'. That he was always willing and able to comply has lastingly endeared him to the Japanese, and in fact marks the greatest similarity between Blunden as poet and the classical verse tradition of Japan. Occasional verse may not be particularly highly-regarded in the English tradition—though Blunden notes here examples in Shelley, Coleridge, Lamb, Tennyson and others—but in Japan the spontaneous poem about a newly-met landscape is conventional, as Blunden notes in his '[fancy] . . . that Bashô writes them most graciously, as he journeys'. In his many Japanese '*impromptus*', then, largely collected in this volume, 71, and 160, Blunden adopts a poetic stance well-honoured in Japan. He admits that 'these expressions of feeling do not usually challenge the summits of poetry', but one may hardly fault the graciousness and willing acceptance of a role that many would find impossible to fulfil. The work was printed in an edition of 200. Reprints FROM THE JAPANESE INN WINDOW (65), MOJI ON THE SEA (66), and SAKURAJIMA (67). Dates noted are in 1949.

a. TO CLAIRE. Loving lines to Blunden's wife about an upcoming journey to Kyushu. Margi-chan (l. 14): reference to the Blundens' daughter, Margaret; 'chan' is an affectionate Japanese suffix used when referring to children.

b. TO A WALTONIAN IN KYUSHU. The 'Waltonian' according to a note is T. Nakayama. The poem speculates about what the speaker and the 'Waltonian' might do had they been born centuries past and 'could have passed a month or so / With Walton' himself. Dated 16 February.

c. A MODEST SCHOLAR. In 'seventeenth-century measure' wishes the scholar Maekawa Shunichi 'health and leisure'.

d. ON A FLY-LEAF OF CHAUCER'S *WYF OF BATHE*. A quatrain originally written 'in T. Nakayama's book, with best wishes and remembrances', 12 February.

e TO MRS HIRAI OF KIKUSUI HOTEL. Assures Mrs. Hirai that ‘should we wander hence the whole world round, / This house will be among our brightest places’, 16 February.

f. TO KIKUE-SAN. Expression of thanks to the host of the Kikusui Hotel in Fukuoka, 16 February.

g. A SCHOLAR. Warm good wishes to Shinomiya Kenichi, written at the Kikusui Hotel, Fukuoka, 16 February.

h. EVENING ON THE RIVER. Lines about Japanese fishermen, for Shinomiya Kenichi, Kikusui Hotel, Fukuoka, 8 October.

i. NATURE REBELS. A ‘memento’ about a storm, to Mori Katsuhiko, Fukuoka, 8 October.

j. LECTURING. The speaker hopes in his lecture to ‘give [the] students that for which they [yearn]’; dedicated to the President of Saga University, Hisamatsu Nishi, 10 October.

k. THE DEAN. A friendly couplet to Dean Shimaji Takeo of Saga University, 10 October.

l. AND STILL, THE DEAN. A quatrain for a second Saga University Dean, Y. Uchida, 10 October.

m. RAILWAY JOURNEY. Hopeful lines set in motion by the journey of the title, dedicated to Matsua Kaizô, Saga, 9 October.

n. SAGA MEMORY. Kind words for a Miss Tomioka, 9 October. A note by Claire Blunden remarks about the beautiful collection of china at Dr. Tomioka’s home.

o. A SIGNATURE: A. MIZUNOE, SEPTEMBER 13, 1934. Apparently written in response to seeing Mizunoe’s signature—perhaps on a letter—for the first time in fifteen years, Saga, 9 October.

p. NAGASAKI OLD AND NEW. Brief lines in praise of ‘the gate of old Japan, where her modern life began’, for Gotô Takeshi, 12 October.

q. IN NAGASAKI HARBOUR. The speaker ‘felt wholly quiet and content’ on an outing in the harbour, where his companion ‘talked of things gone by’. To Itô Yutarô, 12 October.

r. ENGLISH STUDIES. Remembrances of an evening in which the speaker enjoyed his companion’s ‘words and learning’ and ‘command / Of the finer thought of Shakespeare’s land’. To Norita Rikita, 12 October.

s. THE TEACHER. Warm good wishes to Ueda Katsu, 12 October.

t. THE ART STUDENT’S OTHER CAREER. A quatrain for Kiya Ikuhiro, ‘with best thanks for his portrait of Edmund Blunden’, 12 October. The ‘other career’ is physician: an editor’s note identifies the addressee as a Nagasaki High School

student who had presented Blunden with a sketch he had done during the lecture; when Blunden questioned him about his future plans he said he would become a doctor.

u. A SABBATH. A 'memento' for S. Totoki, 16 October, about a visit to a cemetery and garden that an editor's note identifies as the Hosokawa Garden in Kumamoto.

v. SYMPOSIUM. Recollections of the members of the symposium lead the speaker to perceive 'the same / Good world we used to know'. For Matsuyama Bunji, Miyazaki, 22 October.

w. THE SOLDIER'S BURDEN. To Kojima Nobuyuki, Miyazaki, 22 October, who according to internal evidence in the poem bore with him throughout the war a collection of British poetry, which according to the speaker 'lessened . . . / The weight of that sad time'. An editor's note says the poem was written in a copy of Palgrave's *Golden Treasury*.

x. RINKÔTEI. A bidding adieu and well wishing to 'good friends'. An editor's note identifies Rinkôtei as the hotel in Miyazaki at which the Blundens stayed.

y. TO CHIEKO-SAN. A quatrain for the mistress of the Rinkôtei Hotel, who according to an editor's note showed the Blundens 'many of the beautiful and uncommon treasures which the [hotel] preserves from the Japan of the daimyô age'.

z. THE AUTUMN MOMENT. A 'fragment of farewell' for Morioka Sakae, 25 October.

aa. AT THE DEPARTURE FROM KYUSHU. Four stanzas in praise of Kyushu and the 'old friend' the speaker leaves behind there, 'tend[ing] well the hopes of new Japan', for Nakayama, 25 October. An editor's note identifies the place of composition as the Kamenoi Hotel in Beppu, the poem written 'within an hour of the ship's leaving for Kobe'.

71. *A Wanderer in Japan: Sketches and Reflections in Prose and Verse*. Tokyo: Asahi shimbunsha, 1950. Reprint, 1951.

A collection of brief occasional pieces written during Blunden's second stay in Japan. See also 70.

a. 'Arrival'. Describes Blunden's second arrival in Japan, aboard a troop ship repatriating Japanese prisoners of war from Hong Kong.

b. 'Agricultural Japan'. Notes about the beauty of the landscape seen from the window of a train on a journey from Kure to Tokyo.

c. 'English Studies: A Paradox'. Paraphrases a lecture Blunden gave to the Asiatic Society of Tokyo soon after arriving in the city. The 'paradox' is that

English studies 'have not implanted [English] literature in the Japanese mind so deeply as [Blunden] once thought'. Includes reference to Hearn and Saitô Takeshi.

d. 'Among the Ruins'. Blunden notes that his first arrival in Tokyo followed shortly upon the Great Kanto Earthquake, and that now, once again, he 'is coming to a desolated and incinerated city', which he describes in the most striking prose of the collection. Includes mention of the loss of Sone Tamotsu's great Browning library in the bombing (see 179d).

e. 'Points of Progress'. Reflections on 'the present and future of Japan', with focus on hope for the revitalising energy of 'the farm and the factory'.

f. 'Landscape and Temperament'. Blunden finds a relationship between the beauty of the Japanese landscape and the nature of the Japanese character. The 'comparative dearth of a clear philosophy and natural history' in Japan, Blunden believes, might be accounted for by the fact that the charm of the landscape has been 'too great' and too much appreciated to allow time for their development.

g. SUMMER STORM. Blunden wrote several poems in description of violent storms in England and Japan (compare 14a). Here travellers are caught on a journey by 'the rage / Of nature' in 'the wan-hued tempest world'. Reprinted as SUMMER STORM IN JAPANESE HILLS in 144, 157, 163, and 168.

h. 'In Passing: Tokyo in 1948'. Hopeful words about the re-emergence of the city in the aftermath of war.

i. 'Culture: A Little Dialogue'. Inconclusive comments about Japanese music and painting set in the form of a series of questions and answers.

j. 'The Sea Speaking'. Well-wrought prose description of a Japanese seascape.

k. AMONG THE HILLS. Twelve lines about a cottage, with no connection to Japan beyond the context.

l. 'Stranger in Asahigawa'. Description of Blunden's reception in Asahigawa when he arrived for a lecture, dated 18 July 1949.

m. 'Sounkyo'. Pastoral description of a Japanese landscape, dated 20 July 1949.

n. 'Far Away and Long Ago'. In description of the natural beauty of Hokkaido.

o. 'Daydream in Hokkaido'. More pastoral description of Hokkaido, with comparisons to landscapes in England. See 105 for Blunden's more remarkable account, in verse, of these similarities and differences.

p. AINU CHILD. Describes a Hokkaido scene and the children whose eyes catch and hold the attention of the woman travelling with the speaker.

q. 'Treaty Port'. Blunden records his favourable first impressions of Nagasaki.

r. 'John Saris's Journal'. Brief notes about Saris (see 63).

s. 'The Japanese Student, 1949'. Blunden notes the 'many thousands' of students he has met in his recent lecture tour, and offers them well-meaning advice about hard work and enterprise.

t. THE TEMPLE. The speaker admires the art of Japanese temples, and notes that though such 'wonder is a great thing, and in these temples thrives', the 'other wonder' of the 'the troops of children hurrying on the adventure of their lives' is what most 'seize[s his] heart'.

u. 'Pictures in the Wind'. Blunden muses about solitude in a Tokyo setting, dated 10 February 1950.

v. 'Tokyo Seclusion'. Blunden's description of the premises around the lodgings he shares with his family at the British Embassy in central Tokyo.

w. 'A Party at the Palace'. Describes the Showa Emperor's 'New Year's Poetry Party' of 1950, at which Blunden was a guest.

x. 'Art Gallery'. In praise of the Museum of Modern Art at Kurashiki.

y. 'Some of the Wonders'. Notes about the 'strangest or most curious sights' Blunden has encountered in Japan, the warm-water fish pools at Itô, the shopping streets of Beppu, and others, including Sakurajima (see 67).

z. 'Japanese Food'. In praise of Japanese cuisine.

aa. "'Judgements'". Musings about Japan in the form of a letter, to 'Z'. Includes reference to Hiroshige and Utamaro.

72. COLLEGE SONG, FOR TOKYO JOSHI DAIGAKU. Tokyo: Tokyo joshidaigaku, 1950.

An inspirational work adopted as the official 'college song' of Tokyo Women's Christian College, where Blunden's friend Saitô was President, with a musical score arranged by K. Kurosawa from a seventeenth century English tune. Reprinted under the title FOR TOKYO JOSHI DAIGAKU: A HYMN, in 93, 160, 165, and various publications of the college. Blunden and his family stayed at a residence on the college grounds in Iogi, Tokyo, during visits to Japan in 1960 and 1963. See also 60.

73. [Blunden]. 'The New Japan'. Review of *Popcorn on the Ginza*, by L. Crockett. *TLS*, 6 January 1950, p. 11.

Among the problems Blunden finds with Crockett and 'other genial notebook-fillers in Japan' is that they 'seem hardly aware [either] of the antiquity of their undertaking' or of previous English-language studies of the country, for 'that such men as . . . [Basil Hall] Chamberlain [see D5] and . . . Nitobe [Inazô, see A22] ever penned a line about things Japanese apparently escapes her'.

74. NEW YEAR: OLD JAPAN. *Spectator* 184 (February 1950): 210.

Describes boats along the shore, with details that mark the season as *shôgatsu*, the New Year.

75. [Blunden]. 'Japanese Poetry'. Review of *Haiku*, vol. 1 and *Senryu: Japanese Satirical Verse*, translated by R. H. Blyth, and *Songs for Children Sung in Japan*, by Y. Uehara. *TLS*, 3 March 1950, p. 138.

Blunden writes that Blyth 'knows the Far East in life, art and letters in a way attainable by few'. His translations and explanations of haiku are both 'thoughtful' and 'truthful', and the volume of *senryû* 'at once stands as an original authority'. Uehara's work receives passing praise. Includes reference to the three haikai poets often accounted the greatest in the tradition, Bashô, Buson, and Issa.

76. Edmund Blunden Number. *Eigo seinen* 96/4 (April 1950).

Reprints TO THE CITIZENS OF ITO (55d), FROM THE JAPANESE INN WINDOW (65), and SAKURAJIMA (67).

a. FLOWERS OF THE ROCK. Flowers thriving on a rock inspire the observation that 'the seeds / Of thought' and 'of flowering fancy too' have 'found in many a breast of stone / . . . / Their laughing livelihood'. Reprinted in 144, and with slight emendation in 160, a version dated 16 January 1950 that Okada (191) believes is the original. That version includes a dedication to Torao Ueda, who had been Blunden's student at Tokyo Imperial University in the twenties and by the time the poem was composed was the director of the publishing house Kenkyusha.

b. HERE GATHERED IN THIS KINDLY TOWN. Brief occasional verse written with best wishes for a Mr. and Mrs. Uchida of Itô, 8 July 1948.

77. BOOKS. *Kansai University Bulletin*, 15 May 1950, n.p.

Occasional verse in praise of the pleasures of books. Reprinted in 113 and 160. According to a note in the latter the poem was written 'for a bookshop in Osaka', though the note also places the date of composition as 'probably . . . 1959'.

78. 'MacArthur's Japan' and 'Japanese Questions'. Reviews of *Kakemono: A Sketch Book of Post-War Japan*, by Honor Tracy. *Observer*, 25 June 1950, p. 7; *TLS*, 30 June 1950, p. 402;

Two reviews of the same work, the second published anonymously. In both works Blunden questions Tracy's pessimistic view of the Occupation, though in the *Observer* he expresses doubts about what might become of 'certain grand and favourite plans . . . for creating a Japan in the American image'. In *TLS* he expresses relief that Tracy's study is not 'another bright album of festivals, art treasures, [and] thatched farmhouses'. The *Observer* review includes reference to Hearn.

79. TOKYO LAWN. *English Poetry*, July 1950, p. 147.

Light verse comparing a starling on a 'bleached brown depressing stretch / of Tokyo lawn' with another remembered on the turf at Lord's. Reprinted in *144*.

80. 'To Praise Kenkyusha'. *Kenkyûsha geppô*, 20 July 1950, p. 2.

Brief appreciation of the Tokyo publishing house with which Blunden maintained a long relationship, through friendships with Kubota Masatsugu, for many years editor of Kenkyusha's *Studies in English*, and Torao Ueda, in the twenties Blunden's student at Tokyo Imperial University and by the fifties the director of Kenkyusha.

81. [Blunden]. 'England and Japan'. Review of *Broken Thread*, by F. S. Piggott. *TLS*, 21 July 1950, p. 448.

Praise for the autobiography of this British Major-General with lifelong personal and professional connections to Japan.

82. †'Japan Dreams of a Happy Future'. *News Chronicle*, 29 July 1950, p. 2.

Kirkpatrick (187) C2539.

83. VOICE OF AUTUMN: A THEME FOR A DANCE, OFFERED WITH ADMIRATION TO TAMAMI GOJO. *Shûkan asahi*, 5 Aug, 1950, pp. 48-9.

A series of triplets in which the speaker is the autumn itself. The reference in the subtitle to the ballet dancer Gojô is the only direct connection to a Japanese subject. According to Kirkpatrick (187) the work appeared later in a ballet programme and in a journal in Hong Kong under the heading 'Patterns for a Japanese Ballet'. A companion piece, also dedicated to Gojô, is *112*. Reprinted in *144*.

84. 'Some Short Poems on Japanese Subjects'. *Shikai: Bulletin of the Japan Poet's Club* 1 (October 1950): 1.

Reprints MATSUSHIMA (58) and includes IN A PARK IN KYOTO (see 68), occasional verse about the park of the title; the latter is reprinted in *113* and appears in holographic facsimile in Blunden's hand in Benkovitz (188), who suggests that the work may be Blunden's transcription of verses by Saitô Takeshi.

85. [Blunden]. 'The Westernization of Japan'. Review of *The Western World and Japan*, by George Sansom. *TLS*, 27 October 1950, p. 671.

Blunden writes that no one 'in Japan or out can be ranked with more assurance than . . . Sansom' as an expert on the history of relations between Japan and the West, and offers a summary of central premises in his classic work. Contains passing reference to Harunobu.

86. THE KING'S ARMS HOTEL. Kobe: King's Arms Hotel, 1951.

Printed in the brochure of this Kobe landmark, where 'Our cordial host bids every man / Take his best ease, in such an inn / As Shakespeare's feet would speed to

win'. Reprinted as THE KING'S ARMS, KOBE in 160, which includes a note identifying the occasion of the poem as 'the opening of the first English Tavern in the Far East'.

87. Blunden to the International P.E.N. Society, 1951. Quoted in 'Japan and Western Literatures', n.a., *International P.E.N. Bulletin of Selected Books* 1 (May 1951): 4.

The work describes and agrees with Blunden's 'opinion' expressed in a recent letter that in Japan 'English literature is an established subject'.

88. JAPANESE GLIMPSES. *Sunday Times*, 5 August 1951, p. 4.

Three quatrains with nothing beyond the title demonstrably connected to Japan. Reprinted as THREEFOLD SCREEN in 144.

89. [Blunden]. 'The Far East'. *TLS*, 24 August 1951, p. xlvii.

Largely a discussion of 'the place of English literature in Japanese life' and education. Includes passing reference to Hearn and Noguchi Yonejirō (*D15*), and to the work of Jugaku Bunshō (see also 68) and Saitō.

90. [Blunden]. 'Christianity in Japan'. Review of *Christian Century in Japan, 1549-1650*, by C. R. Boxer. *TLS*, 14 September 1951, p. 585.

Blunden finds Boxer's account 'masterly' and offers his own observations about the persecution of Christians and expulsion of foreigners in Japan in the seventeenth century, which he believes 'must be thoughtfully reconsidered in connexion with the latest phases of Japanese history'. Includes knowledgeable reference to Oda Nobunaga, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and Tokugawa Ieyasu.

91. [Blunden]. 'Japanese History'. Review of *Japan in World History*, by George Sansom, and *The Occupation of Japan*, by Robert Fearey. *TLS*, 21 December 1951, p. 815.

Often Blunden's writing in the early post-war period insists upon the validity of Japanese society and culture independent of European or American definition. Here he begins with the proposition that 'at times . . . the Western reader of Japanese history may forget that the Japanese have their own historians'. Sansom's work is important in part for its knowledge of Japanese scholarship and its 'lines of speculation' about Japanese history that do not condescend to the Japanese, who Blunden believes do not need further Western 'advice', for if 'any country . . . has received more political advice than Japan, we do not know it'. Fearey's work, though 'making no claim to eloquence, and containing no glimpses of the actual life of the Japanese', remains a 'useful handbook'. Includes reference to Ernest Satow, Oda Nobunaga, and Toyotomi Hideyoshi.

92. Foreword to *Impressions of Japan and Other Essays*, by G. S. Fraser. Tokyo: Asahi shimbunsha, 1952.

In April 1950 Fraser replaced Blunden as cultural attaché of the United Kingdom Liaison Mission in Tokyo, but suffered a breakdown and had returned to England by August 1951. Blunden's foreword here, to the only collection of Fraser's writing about Japan, is reserved, focusing on Fraser's 'friendship and hospitality' while he was in the country.

93. 'Speech at the Inauguration of Takeshi Saitô as President of Tokyo Joshi Daigaku, 6 November 1948'. In *Gakuen zuisô: Speeches and Essays on Campus Life*, by Saitô. Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1952.

Fulsome praise for Saitô. Reprints FOR TOKYO JOSHI DAIGAKU: A HYMN (formerly COLLEGE SONG, FOR TOKYO JOSHI DAIGAKU, 72).

94. TO MR AND MRS HANI. In *Jiyû gakuen*. Tokyo: Jiyû gakuin, 1952.

Brief occasional verse in praise of Hani Motoko (1873-1957) and Hani Yoshikazu (1880-1955), founders and for more than thirty years directors of the Jiyû gakuen, the 'Freedom School', and publishers of *Fujin no tomo*, women's friend, the oldest women's magazine in Japan, begun in 1903 and dedicated since that year to the education and independence of Japanese women. See also 95, 134, 160av, and 165a. Reprinted in 160.

95. 'Japan After the Occupation'. *World Review* NS 36 (February 1952): 9-12.

Blunden's sympathetic look to Japan's future finds it unlikely that the Occupation will have brought sudden change. 'Revival rather than new light is the truth' of the Occupation, for 'it was not a barren territory' into which the occupiers came, 'but one which had been abundantly filled once, and under stress . . . had gone desolate and ragged'. Includes passing reference to Hani Motoko (see 94).

96. [Blunden]. Review of *Bulletin of the Japan Society of London* 1/6. *TLS*, 4 April 1952, p. 242.

Praise for a special issue of the *Bulletin* published in celebration of the Diamond Jubilee of the Japan Society.

97. [Blunden]. Review of *Japan*, edited by Hugh Borton. *TLS*, 23 May 1952, p. 351.

A brief notice of the publication of Borton's work; Blunden singles out for praise a chapter by Sansom.

98. [Blunden]. Review of *The Left Wing in Japanese Politics*, by Evelyn Colbert. *TLS*, 13 June 1952, p. 395.

A two-sentence notice about Colbert's 'historical and statistical account of the Communist movement in Japan'.

99. 'In Old Japan'. Review of *Japanese Discovery of Europe*, by Donald Keene. *Time and Tide*, 21 June 1952, pp. 685-86.

Blunden finds Keene's work about Japanese interest in Europe in the eighteenth century 'more than a gathering of exceptional and picturesque facts and speculations'.

100. [Blunden]. 'Japanese Classic'. Review of *Tale of Genji*, by Murasaki Shikibu, translated by Arthur Waley (D26c). *TLS*, 8 August 1952, p. 513.

Blunden's penchant for comparison between Japan and England is evident here in his assertion that 'in Japanese literature [*Genji*] is in . . . a comparable position to that held by the *Canterbury Tales* in English poetry'. Murasaki Shikibu is a 'novelist of undying freshness in observation, treatment and expression', and Waley's translation, reissued in 1952, 'stands as one of the principal heights in the view of Western re-creations of Eastern genius'.

101. [Blunden]. 'Japanese Print'. *TLS*, 29 August 1952, p. xlviii.

A survey of modern Japanese writers that includes discussion of the novelists Akutagawa Ryūnosuke (1892-1927), Dazai Osamu (1909-48), Mishima Yukio (1925-70), Mori Ōgai (1862-1922), Shimazaki Tōson (1872-1943, see also 127), Natsume Sōseki, and others.

102. [Blunden]. 'A Family History'. Review of *Four Generations in China, Japan, and Korea*, by A. C. Hyde Lay. *TLS*, 17 October 1952, p. 682.

Blunden finds Hyde Lay's work a 'refreshment and encouragement' in its evidence that 'peaceful intercourse and cooperation of East and West' is possible.

103. [Blunden]. Review of *The Faber Gallery of Oriental Art*. *TLS*, 2 January 1953, p. 14.

Includes a brief notice about Wilfrid Blunt's *Japanese Colour Prints from Harunobu to Utamaro* (see also 119).

104. [Blunden]. 'Borrowed Passages'. Review of *The Kenkyusha Dictionary of English Quotations*, edited by Sanki Ichikawa, Masami Nishikawa, and Mamoru Shimizu. *TLS*, 13 February 1953, p. 106.

Blunden finds the volume praiseworthy and notes the 'immense knowledge' of Ichikawa, who he believes is 'one of the most eminent living philologists'.

105. IN HOKKAIDO: A LETTER IN VERSE, AND IN THE ROMANTIC MANNER. *Poetry Review* 44 (January-March 1953): 260-62.

Blunden's longest poem with a Japanese subject is among his most striking on any subject. The 108 lines in blank verse in some ways summarises his poetic response to Japan and in other ways extends it. The 'letter' is addressed to the 'lover of solitude and those wild tracks / Which constantly allure time's wanderers / To deep and singular peace'. On one level, like so much of Blunden's earlier work, the poem responds sympathetically to natural landscape, here in Hokkaido, which to

the Japanese even today represents wild and unrestrained nature, and which here is portrayed as wild indeed. As in Blunden's earlier work on Japan, the speaker is reminded of the natural beauties of a landscape left behind, but here for the first time in writing about Japan Blunden is reminded not of pastoral England but of another European landscape he knew well as a young man. Having seen 'flowers that elsewhere might be meadow-sweet, / And high half-thistle on whose purple tower / Streaked butterflies were landing', as 'Deep the road / Worked through this chaos green', he

recalled

Green byways of a summer dead, and one—
 War was upon that way in northern France,
 Between the halted railroad and the wood;
 War met the wayfarer, who still would fancy
 That sanctuary held in that graceful wood,
 That sacrificial grove.

Though later in the poem the speaker is reminded of England, in this case Dovedale in the Pennines, where 'perhaps / This instant such a sky roofs such a valley', here, unlike earlier poems, he longs for the comfort and understanding of that which has been left behind, and the Japanese landscape is described in language more Gothic than pastoral: 'Dovedale's song / Is sweeter. From these vaster stones unwondering / We should hear iron shrieks of unnamed birds, / Whose shadows rushing by might chill the blood'. This tone and diction—the 'in the Romantic Manner' of the title—is where the poem departs from Blunden's earlier work, about Japan or any other subject. In verse as controlled as any he wrote, Blunden in response to the Hokkaido landscape finds a diction and tone more reminiscent of Hearn than of a younger Blunden, and adds to this a metaphoric depth unseen in his earlier work on Japan, as in closing lines, where after striking description of the magnitudes of natural Hokkaido the speaker turns to larger matters yet: 'Westward what trinity of peaks ascends and makes / These precipices its toys? what unguessed range / Of forest, furred and badged with sacred snow?' One cannot say with certainty that the tone comes from the legends of Japan or the popularising of them in English by Hearn and others, nor even that the closing images derive from Japanese sources, the popular Jōdoshinshū Buddhism that looks westward for paradise, the countless references to sacred mountains in literature from the earliest times, but from wherever the tone and depth of imagery arise, their application here marks a late turning point in Blunden's response to Japan, and a significant late development in his poetry as viewed as a whole. Reprinted in 144.

106. PRINCE AKIHITO POEM READ: SIX VERSES BY MR. E. BLUNDEN. *Daily Telegraph*, 5 May 1953, p. 8.

Includes six laudatory quatrains written by Blunden on the occasion of Crown Prince Akihito's attendance at the coronation of Elizabeth II.

107. [Blunden]. Review of *Japanese Literature*, by Donald Keene. *TLS*, 17 July 1953, p. 466.

Brief description of Keene's classic study.

108. 'Japanese Citizens', 'Japanese Outlook', and 'Interpreters of Japan'. Reviews of *Five Gentlemen of Japan*, by Frank Gibney, and *Daughter of the Pacific*, by Yôko Matsuoka. *National and English Review* 141 (August 1953): 116-17; *Spectator* 191 (August 1953): 1571; *TLS*, 11 September 1953, p. 578.

Blunden reviewed both works twice, Gibney in *National and English Review*, Matsuoka in *Spectator*, and both, anonymously, in *TLS*. In the *National and English Review* he finds Gibney's study an 'excellent interpretation of Japan' and offers general praise for the Occupation, for 'whatever its deficiencies and . . . vices . . . its benevolence [has been] great'. In the *Spectator* he offers kind words for Matsuoka's autobiography and notes that formerly European and particularly English 'example and influence' superseded American influence in Japan, but that a 'rapid change' in this matter 'has occurred and is in progress'. In *TLS* he praises both works and suggests that 'unhappy memories' of the war continue to 'darken opinions' about Japan in England, but Gibney, 'like Americans all round', has 'passed beyond the stage of exasperation over the crimes of that desperate and distorted season'.

109. 'Tokyo'. *This is Japan*, January 1954, p. 115.

Brief description of the grounds of the Imperial Palace, set beneath a photograph of one of the gates.

110. Trans. EIGHT JAPANESE POEMS. *Encounter*, February 1954, p. 42.

Only twice did Blunden publish translations from the Japanese, here and in 142. A brief introduction notes that his aim is to introduce haiku to 'new readers' and recommends Blyth's (misprinted 'Alyth's') *Haiku* for further examples. Blunden's versions of work by Bashô, Buson, Issa, Shiki, and others are rhymed, owe a considerable debt to works by Miyamori (see D27) that Blunden had reviewed eighteen and twenty-one years earlier (see 39 and 47), and even in 1954 must have appeared dated to readers acquainted either with Japanese itself or with contemporary English translations. Blunden's assertion that the originals are from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is not entirely correct: Shiki was born in 1867 and lived into the twentieth century.

- 1 1 1. †Blunden to the Editor. *Japan News*, 10 April 1954, p. 1.
Kirkpatrick (187) C3110: a 'letter on contemporary Japan'.
- 1 1 2. FOR A SPRING DANCE BY TAMAMI GOJO. *Evening News* (Tokyo), 8 November 1954, n.p.
A second seasonal poem inspired by the ballet dancer Gojô Tamami (see also 83).
Reprinted as VOICE OF SPRING in 144.
- 1 1 3. 'Some Short Poems on Japanese Subjects'. In *Contemporary Verse: An Anthology*.
Tokyo: Japan Poets' Club, 1955.
Reprints MATSUSHIMA (58), THE EARLY YEAR, FUKUOKA (formerly FROM THE
JAPANESE INN WINDOW, 65), BOOKS (77), and IN A PARK AT KYOTO (84).
a. AT HARIHAN. The title is obscure. Six pastoral lines that according to
Kirkpatrick (187) first appeared in †*Nippon Times*, 17 January 1950. Reprinted in
160.
- 1 1 4. 'Returning to Hôsei University'. *Hôsei* (Tokyo), 1 May 1955, p. 47.
Praise for the Tokyo university of the title and recollections of earlier friendship
there, written during a lecture stop on Blunden's third sojourn to Japan.
- 1 1 5. '10 Years of Renaissance'. *Mainichi*, 16 August 1955, p. 8.
Blunden describes and commends the recovery of Hiroshima, written in
commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the atomic bombing.
- 1 1 6. 'How Should I Forget'. *Japan Quarterly* 2 (July-September 1955): 308-12.
Blunden recalls his friend Saitô Takeshi and early memories of Japan, to 'begin to
clarify . . . what it means to have lived, however imperfectly', in the country. His
decision to accept the professorship at Tokyo Imperial University has influenced
all his 'doings and thinkings since', and Japan itself has been among the 'chief
influences' in his life.
- 1 1 7. 'Today—But Yesterday'. *This is Japan*, October 1955, pp. 67-68.
Traces what has disappeared and what has not of the Japan Blunden first saw
thirty years earlier. Includes reference to Chamberlain (D5) and to *chadô*, the 'way
of tea'.
- 1 1 8. Foreword to *The First Englishman in Japan: The Story of Will Adams*, by P. G.
Rogers. London: Harvill, 1956.
Blunden praises Adams's achievements, speculates about his character, and as in
so many early Blunden poems notes similarities between Britain and Japan: 'The
dockyard [in Japan] which Adams used and which it is possible to locate must have
been much the same as boat-builders can still be content with round the coasts of
Britain', and 'no doubt the shipwrights were sometimes encouraged with jokes and
anecdotes revived by [Adams] from old times on the shore at Gillingham'. Reprints

WILLIAM ADAMS AT ITŌ (55*d*) and includes FIRST VISIT TO YASHIMA (see 68), occasional verse in praise of Yashima, a pine-covered plateau overlooking the Inland Sea, site of historic battles between the Minamoto and the Taira (see BK21*a*). The poem and an account in Japanese of Blunden's visit is inscribed on a stone monument at the site.

119. Review of *Japanese Masters of the Colour Print*, by J. Hillier; *Japanese Colour Prints from Harunobu to Utamaro*, by Wilfrid Blunt; *Pageant of Japanese Art: Painting 2*, vol. 2, edited by the Tokyo National Museum; *A Story of Ukiyoe and Utamaro*, by Ichitarō Kondō; and *Japanese Folk Tales*, by Kunio Yanagita. *Journal of Oriental Studies* 2 (1955 [i.e., January 1956]): 371-73, 385-87.

Blunden offers his own brief appreciation of ukiyoe and general praise for all the works under review. Hillier's study in particular is 'as gracious a view' of the Japanese print as Blunden has 'found in book form'. Includes reference to Hiroshige, Hokusai, Sharaku, and Toyokuni. See also 103.

120. 'Towards a New Understanding of Japanese Culture'. *Nishinippon shimbun*, 3 January 1956, p. 8.

Blunden predicts that Japan will be successful and gain the respect of the world in the post-occupation years.

121. [Blunden]. 'Poems of the New Japan'. Review of *Bread Rather than Blossoms*, by D. J. Enright (see CA14*b*). *TLS*, 22 June 1956, p. 378.

Enright's work is 'probably the most urgently written and the fullest collection of poems on Japanese subjects that has appeared from the pen of any writer', Blunden writes, and even if it contained no 'poetic beauties' it 'would yet be memorable as a record of the phenomena of the ancient Eastern nation after its unimagined cleavage'. Though Enright 'does not spare the traditional writers of Japan, nor the scholars, nor even the dreamers of aesthetic dreams', his work will be valued more for its 'sympathy' than for its 'indignation'.

122. JAPANESE INN. *Tattler*, 4 July 1956, p. 21.

A visit to a tea-house in the mountains and a night spent nearby inspired no verse, because the poetry was in the place itself, and the 'springs insisted nightlong / On telling us the magic of the mountain'. Blank verse, which undercuts Okada's claim (in 191) that the poem is written 'with the style' of 'Japanese poets'. Reprinted as TEA HOUSE in 144, 157, and 163.

123. 'Teaching English in Japan: Students' Penchant for Poetry'. *Times Educational Supplement*, 10 August 1956, p. 1021.

Reveals again the depth of Blunden's respect for the seriousness and courtesy of Japanese students (see especially 18*d*). Here he notes in particular his perception

of their love of English literature and enthusiasm for writing English poetry. Includes reference to Hearn and to Enright (see *CA14b*).

124. ARRIVAL AT A RIVER, IN JAPAN. *English* 11/62 (Summer 1956): 53.

A pastoral less rigidly structured than earlier Blunden poems with Japanese subjects. Reprinted in *144*.

125. *Poems of Many Years*. London: Collins, 1957.

Reprints A 'FIRST IMPRESSION' (*1a*), THE VISITOR (*26*), THE QUICK AND THE DEAD (*18a*), THE INVIOLEATE (*18b*), THE AUTHOR'S LAST WORDS TO HIS STUDENTS (*18d*), and THE COTTAGE AT CHIGASAKI (*40*).

126. [Blunden]. 'Seen From Japan'. Review of *Faulkner at Nagano*, edited by Robert Jelliffe. *TLS*, 1 February 1957, p. 66.

A brief and bemused account of Jelliffe's volume based on Faulkner's brief visit to Japan.

127. [Blunden]. 'A Japanese Garland'. Review of *Modern Japanese Literature*, by Donald Keene. *TLS*, 3 May 1957, p. 274.

Blunden finds Keene's anthology 'impressive', but laments that it does not include a section on literary and art criticism, which 'has been fully, often gaily, cultivated by numerous men of learning' in Japan. Also Blunden is troubled by Keene's suggestion that Japanese writing in English is 'mere imitation', and cites particularly Noguchi (see *D15*) as an example of 'this active tradition'. Includes reference to the work of Natsume Sôseki and Shimazaki Tôson (see also *101*).

128. 'Japanese Modernists'. Review of *The Poetry of Living Japan*, translated by D. J. Enright and Takamichi Ninomiya (see *CA14b*). *Adam International Review*, September 1957, pp. 3-4.

Blunden finds the anthology 'clear and unaffected'. A reprint of VOICES IN TOKYO (*55c*) follows the review.

129. FOR THE EDUCATION INSTITUTE OF AICHI PREFECTURE. In *Aichiken kyôiku bunka kenkyûshô* (Aichi Prefecture Education and Culture Institute). Nagoya: Asai, 1958.

As in so many of Blunden's post-war occasional poems, the speaker refers to the dark days of the war, notes the present hopeful time, and looks forward to a brighter day. Composed in January 1949 according to a note accompanying a reprint in *160*; reprinted also in *164*.

130. Review of *Modern English Studies: In Honour of Professor Rintarô Fukuhara*;

Where Two Cultures Meet, by Junesay Iddittie; *Hokusai*, by Ichitarô Kondô, and *Hokusai: Paintings, Drawings, and Woodcuts*, by J. Hillier. *Journal of Oriental Studies* 3 (1956 [i.e., January 1958]): 147-48, 362-63.

Fukuhara ‘well . . . merits the tribute conveyed in so copious and . . . thoughtful a volume’; Iddittie observes the ‘symptoms’ of mutual influence between Japan and the United States; Kondô ‘succeeds in showing . . . not only the force but the range’ of Hokusai; and Hillier’s ‘general portrait’ of that artist is ‘wise and humane’. Regarding Blunden’s own view of Hokusai, he finds his ‘depth of genius and shaping spirit of imagination’ more profound than those of Hiroshige, and returns to an old habit of finding comparisons between England and Japan (see 3, 12, 26, 42a, and 71o, for example) in noting that ‘there was something of . . . Turner, [and] . . . Cruikshank in him’.

131. ‘Japan’s Cultural Traditions’. *Geographical Magazine* 31 (October 1958): 277-89. An illustrated overview of Japan’s cultural traditions, according to an editorial note intended to provide ‘a background for understanding Japan today’. Includes notes about *bugaku* (classical dance dating to the Nara period, 712-793) bunraku, bushido, *chadô* (the ‘way of tea’), the Gion and Hina festivals, Japanese food, kabuki, the tale of the Forty-Seven Ronin (the *Chûshingura*), the nô, Shintô, sumie, and sumo. In his reference to the ‘greatest Japanese philologist’ who is also a calligrapher, Blunden would have had in mind Ichikawa Sanki.
132. ‘The New Professor’. *Today’s Japan* 3 (October 1958): 9-10. Blunden recalls images of Japan from his childhood and his earliest days at Tokyo Imperial University. Includes recollections of Ichikawa and Saitô.
133. ‘Lafcadio Hearn, Teacher’. *Today’s Japan* 4 (January 1959): 63-65. In earlier years Blunden was not always forgiving of Hearn (see especially 20 and 36), but this outline of his life in Japan is generally admiring, focusing particularly on his ‘gift’ as a teacher of English literature.
134. ‘Mrs Hani was Prometheus’. *Gakuen shimbun*, 25 January 1959, p. 2. A sketch in fulsome praise of Hani Motoko (see 94); quoted at length in 165a.
135. IN HONOR OF ROYAL COUPLE. *Japan Times*, 10 April 1959, p. 5. Lines in honour of the wedding of then Crown Prince Akihito and Shôda Michiko. The work appeared on the same day in *Student Times: The Japan Times Junior Weekly*. Reprinted in 160.
136. MR. COLLINS AT MIYAJIMA, 1959. *Asahi shimbun*, 30 June 1959, n.p. Stanzas ‘in the manner of’ an ode by William Collins (1721-59), describing Miyajima and longing for ‘shelter’ there. Had Collins been able to see Miyajima, a prefatory note informs, he ‘might have such feelings’ as the poem describes. After Blunden’s death the work was engraved on a black marble stone and placed by the steps leading to Hiramatsu Park on Miyajima, one of several such tributes to Blunden’s verse in Japan (see also 58 and 118). Reprinted in 160.

137. 'Fourth Visit: Or, Japan up-to-date'. *Albion*, 1 August 1959, pp. 9-11.

Blunden's fourth journey to Japan was for a three-week lecture tour in Tokyo and Fukuoka, largely in the company of Hiramatsu Mikio (see 185*b*). He recalls here details of the trip and these lead to memories of years past, particularly of a day thirty-five years earlier when Saitô Takeshi saw him off from London on the *Hakone Maru*, and another six weeks later when he first met Ichikawa Sanki at Tokyo Station. These friends have been with him 'again and again' in 'these latest lectures and reunions'. The work closes with words about those of the 'rising generation' in Japan, who by their politeness and eager acceptance of his lectures have made Blunden feel that his 'earliest picture' of the country was correct. The work was composed at a traditional inn on Lake Chûzenji. Blunden writes that he is grateful for the tatami but laments the lack of a *tokonoma*. Hiramatsu recalls details of the afternoon in 185*b*. Reprinted in 165.

138. 'A Return to Japan'. *Japan Quarterly* 6 (October-December 1959): 490-94.

Reminiscences of Blunden's first years in Japan—which he writes taught him more than he was able to teach his 'excellent students'—and of his recent lecture tour (see 137). Includes reference to Basil Hall Chamberlain (see D5), Natsume Sôseki, and Toyotomi Hideyoshi.

139. AT TSURUYA IN KOBE. In *Sone* (179*d*), 1960, p. 58.

Occasional verse that recalls Japanese friends Kosai, Kashiwagura, and Sone. According to Sone, the poem was written on the day Blunden departed Japan at the end of his first stay, 14 July 1927, inscribed in pencil in Sone's copy of *Poets and Poetry of the Century*, as the Japanese companions and Ralph Hodgson prepared to see Blunden off at the harbour at Kobe.

140. IT SHALL BE WRITTEN. In *Season's Greetings*. Tokyo: International House of Japan, 1960.

Eight lines about a house in which all who come found a 'natural unity', printed inside a Christmas card from the International House of Japan. Kirkpatrick (187) suggests that the use of the poem in this way was not authorised by Blunden. A reprint in 160 includes an editor's note saying the lines were written for Matsumoto Shigeharu, director of the International House in 1960.

141. 'Still Things Japanese'. Review of *Meeting with Japan*, by Fosco Maraini. *Eastern Horizon*, July 1960, pp. 57-58.

Blunden finds the 'spirit' of Maraini's work 'noble and poetical', but notes that 'unveiling Japan is one of the world's arts and industries', and that 'the trite theme that the Japanese are so different from the rest of mankind as to be an

everlasting mystery has never overwhelmed my recollections of ordinary life among them’.

142. Trans. ON BLOOD TRANSFUSION. In *Two Japanese Songs of Blood Transfusion*.

Tokyo: International Society of Blood Transfusion, 1960.

Blunden’s version of two tanka in praise of blood transfusion, written by Empress Nagako and included in a pamphlet designed to heighten public awareness of the need for blood donors. Reprinted as TRANSLATED FROM THE JAPANESE OF H. M. EMPRESS NAGAKO in 160, which dates the work 5 September 1960. See 110 for Blunden’s only other published translations from the Japanese.

143. JAPAN BEAUTIFUL. *Chûgoku shimbun*, 3 March 1961, p. 9.

Praises the natural beauty of Japan, from ‘Fuji’s lordship’ to the ‘strange northern lakes’, ‘temples too sublime / for sketches’, and so on. Includes a probable reference to the Ainu in lines 15 and 16. Reprinted in 144 and 165.

144. *A Hong Kong House: Poems 1951-1961*. London: Collins, 1962.

A sequence running from page 20 to 37 is the most important late collection of Blunden poems on Japan. Other works (most notably 70, 71, and 160) collect Blunden’s occasional verse written in the country, but the poems here are serious confrontations both with Japan and with Blunden’s own poetics, the first collection about which this may be said since publication of *Poems of Edmund Blunden* (30) in 1930. Along with works noted below, reprints SUMMER STORM (71g), FLOWERS OF THE ROCK (76a), TOKYO LAWN (79), VOICE OF AUTUMN (83), THREEFOLD SCREEN (formerly JAPANESE GLIMPSES, 88), IN HOKKAIDO (105), VOICE OF SPRING (formerly FOR A SPRING DANCE BY TAMAMI GOJO, 112), TEA HOUSE (formerly JAPANESE INN, 122), ARRIVAL AT A RIVER IN JAPAN (124), and JAPAN BEAUTIFUL (143). See also 181.

a. THE STONE GARDEN (KYOTO). The ‘commotion’ of the modern world is contrasted with the quiet and calm of the dry landscape garden of the title, where the speaker pauses, to ‘see the soul which knows no wild extremes’. Reprinted in 157, 165, and 168.

b. VOICE OF KYOTO. An unrestrained appreciation of Kyoto that contrasts the ‘inner tranquillity’ of the ‘blossom crowned’ old capital with the ‘many voices and contrarities’ of ‘time’s current’. Reprinted in 157 and 165.

c. JAPAN REVIVED. The Occupation is not named, but the poem is dated 1953 and Japan is a ‘new lit ship . . . about to leave the moorings’. The speaker wishes ‘fair winds [to] attend her and her brave company’.

d. NEARING YOKOHAMA. The speaker, ‘the greyest of the grey’, approaching Yokohama by ship, anticipates his arrival and remembers days in Japan ‘more than

half a long life-span ago'. Blunden arrived in Yokohama aboard the French ship *Viet-Nam* on 15 August 1960, the date of this poem, to begin his fifth sojourn in the country. Reprinted in 165.

e. PINE-TREES. As in so many of Blunden's early poems, a speaker calls to mind similarities between the natural landscapes of England and Japan, and as in so many of these later poems, scenes are lovingly recalled after the passing of many years. Here, late at night, images of the pines of Surrey and of an unnamed Japanese temple come to him, 'music and breath of the branches / In some strange manner pass', and he is comforted by thoughts of 'the wisdom / of sunshine, and outings of fathers and mothers and children / Whose fancies perhaps can build / Far shrines under English pines'.

145. [Blunden]. 'Courtly Taste'. Review of *Japanese Court Poetry*, by Robert Brower and Earl Miner. *TLS*, 5 October 1962, p. 778.

Blunden finds Brower and Miner's work 'earnest' and commends the skill with which they 'expound . . . [the] subtlety and complexity' of the 'seeming miniatures' of the classical Japanese court. Includes reference to Aston's remarks on the subject in his *Anthology of Japanese Literature* (see D13).

146. 'The Spirit of Japan'. Review of *Japan: A Short Cultural History*, by George Sansom (see D22), and *Two Minutes to Noon*, by Noel F. Busch. *Asia Magazine*, 16 December 1962, p. 18.

Blunden finds that Sansom's survey of Japanese history and Busch's account of the Great Kanto Earthquake 'have in common the fact that each author . . . knows his subject better than any other non-Japanese writer'.

147. [Blunden]. 'On From Hiroshima'. Review of *Mother and Son*, by Isoko and Ichirō Hatano. *TLS*, 18 January 1963, p. 38.

Brief notes about the wartime correspondence between a Japanese psychologist and her son, in part about the atomic bombing of Hiroshima.

148. Review of *Thought and Behaviour in Modern Japanese Politics*, by Masao Maruyama, edited by Ivan Morris. *Eastern Horizon*, February 1964, p. 65.

Maruyama from his position at Tokyo Imperial University wrote anti-establishment studies of the relationship between ideology and government that helped shape post-war Japanese political thought. Blunden finds that the appearance of his 'well-known and far-reaching essays . . . is itself proof that Japan's political maturity is . . . attained'.

149. [Blunden]. 'Legends from Japan'. Review of *Folktales of Japan*, edited by Keigo Seki. *TLS*, 20 February 1964, p. 151.

Seki's volume would better benefit Western readers, Blunden believes, if it were illustrated, with ukiyoe by Hiroshige for example. Blunden's own comments about Japanese folklore are knowledgeable, and include reference to Mitford's *Tales* (see *D4*) and related writing by Hearn (see *D9a*).

150. [Blunden]. 'Japan Meets Europe'. Review of *The Japanese Enlightenment: A Study of the Writings of Fukuzawa Yukichi*, by Carmen Blacker. *TLS*, 16 April 1964, p. 309.

Fukuzawa (1835-1901), author, educator, and founder of Keio University, was an important proponent of modernisation both before and after the Meiji Restoration of 1868. Blunden finds Blacker's volume 'distinguished' and believes that Fukuzawa's work demonstrates that the 'opening' of Japan was not altogether the result of outside pressure, for he and other 'independent thinkers and prophets among the Japanese themselves' were 'observant of the changes that would have to come over their extraordinary community'.

151. 'Translating Saikaku'. Review of *The Life of an Amorous Man*, by Ihara Saikaku. *Eastern Horizon*, May 1964, p. 59.

Blunden outlines Saikaku's career and suggests that his sense of 'detail and realism' is not well served in this translation.

152. [Blunden]. 'Nippophil'. Review of *Fenollosa*, by Lawrence Chisolm, and *The Chinese Written Character as a Medium for Poetry*, by Ernest Fenollosa. *TLS*, 6 August 1964, p. 701.

Chisolm's biography is 'careful' and 'quiet', though Blunden believes that Fenollosa belongs more in the 'romantic' tradition of Hearn than the work allows. *The Chinese Written Character* was first published in 1919, not, as Blunden writes, 1936 (see *BK32*). Includes passing reference to *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art* (*D10c*).

153. [Blunden]. Review of *Basic Japanese for College Students*, by Tamako Niwa and Mayako Matsuda. *TLS*, 8 October 1964, p. 925.

Brief notes about Niwa and Matsuda's textbook.

154. PROLOGUE TO *TAMING OF THE SHREW*. In *The Mad Masters*. Tokyo: International Christian University, 1965.

A verse prologue to the play, included in the programme for the 'Mad Masters' of International Christian University production of *The Taming of the Shrew*, directed by Alec Hardie (see *178*) at Koseinenkin kaikan on 27 May 1965. Reprinted in *160*.

155. WRITTEN IN THE WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN COLLEGE, TOKYO. In *Eleven Poems*. Cambridge: Golden Head, 1965.

The speaker sees three ‘Young girls of new Japan’ from his window as they talk, ‘Achieving . . . calm threefold grace together’, and speculates hopefully about the world they will inhabit in the future. A note identifies the place and date of composition as Reischauer House, on the campus of Tokyo Women’s Christian College, 13 August 1963. A version of the poem in 160 is identified in an editorial note there as the first draft.

156. Review of *Modern Japanese Novels and the West*, by Donald Keene; *Modern Japanese Stories*, edited by Ivan Morris; *Folk Legends of Japan*, by Richard Dorson; and *The Road to Inamura*, by Lewis Bush. *Journal of Oriental Studies* 5 (1959-60 [i.e., March 1965]): 252-53.

Blunden begins with reference to Aston’s ‘remarkable’ *History of Japanese Literature* (see D13), then moves to the works under review, praising Keene, Dorson—a ‘follower’ of Hearn though ‘far more deeply informed’—and the ‘vigorous variety’ of modern Japanese fiction as demonstrated in recent translations by Morris, Edward Seidensticker, and others. It is Bush, however, for whom Blunden reserves highest regard, and who Blunden believes is ‘better acquainted with ordinary life in Japan . . . than any other Western writer’.

157. *A Selection of the Shorter Poems*. Long Melford: White, 1966.
A section entitled ‘The Orient’ reprints THE COTTAGE AT CHIGASAKI (40), SUMMER STORM IN JAPANESE HILLS (formerly SUMMER STORM, 71g), THE TEA HOUSE (formerly JAPANESE INN, 122), THE STONE GARDEN (144a), and VOICE OF KYOTO (144b).

158. Interview. By John Press. 3 September 1964. In *The Poet Speaks*. Edited by Peter Orr. London: Routledge and Paul, 1966.

In response to an inquiry about the effects of ‘long spells overseas’ on his poetry, Blunden notes that living in Japan affected everything from his handwriting to his ‘manner’ and ‘style of . . . thought’. The result in his poetry, he believes, is that it ‘cut[s] the corners a little finer’ than it otherwise might have.

159. †‘Englishman of Japan’. Review of *Collected Writings of Sanki Ichikawa*. *Western Mail*, 5 November 1966, p. 6.

Kirkpatrick (187) C3358; the Library of Congress microfilm of *Western Mail* for November-December 1966 inexplicably omits the issue for 5 November

160. *Poems on Japan: Hitherto Uncollected and Mostly Unprinted*. Compiled and edited by Takeshi Saitô. Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1967.

Another sizeable volume of Blunden’s occasional verse on Japanese subjects (see also, especially, 70 and 71), published in May in commemoration of his seventieth birthday, in an edition of 150. 50 were presented to Blunden, 100 reserved for

distribution in Japan. A trade edition of 500 followed in June. An editorial note says the poems are compiled by an 'admirer' of Blunden (Saitô) who 'is proud of their friendship of more than forty years' standing'. Reprints A SONG FOR KWANSEI (60), FOR TOKYO JOSHI DAIGAKU: A HYMN (formerly COLLEGE SONG, FOR TOKYO JOSHI DAIGAKU, 72), FLOWERS OF THE ROCK (76a), BOOKS (77), THE KING'S ARMS, KOBE (formerly THE KING'S ARMS HOTEL, 86), TO MR AND MRS HANI (94), AT HARIHAN (113), IN HONOUR OF THE ROYAL COUPLE (135), FOR THE EDUCATION INSTITUTE OF AICHI PREFECTURE (129), MR. COLLINS AT MIYAJIMA (136), IT SHALL BE WRITTEN (140), TRANSLATED FROM THE JAPANESE OF H. M. EMPRESS NAGAKO (formerly ON BLOOD TRANSFUSION, 142), PROLOGUE TO *TAMING OF THE SHREW* (154), and WRITTEN IN THE WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN COLLEGE (155). See also 183.

a. UP, UP!. Sixteen lines about Japan's hopes in Rugby, according to an editorial note written for Kayama Shigeru, author of a Japanese-language study of the sport.

b. TORAO TAKETOMO. Six lines in appreciation of Taketomo (see A 8, and *i* below), 12 December 1924.

c. THE SAME DIVINITY THAT GNARLS. A quatrain that according to a note was inscribed on the flyleaf of a book owned by Saitô.

d. THE WAY WAS LONG, THE CHURCH WAS COLD. A quatrain about Saitô's attendance at a church service in England; an editorial note identifies the speaker and two companions as 'three sometime luminaries of the Parish Church, Stansfield, Suffolk'. Dated 1925.

e. TO SEE MY SCRIBBLED PAGES THUS ENSHRINED. Six lines that according to a note Blunden inscribed on an offprint of article he had written in 1931 and presented to Saitô, who had it 'bound in morocco and paper'. Takeshi (l. 6): Saitô. Dated 29 March 1948.

f. THREE POEMS FOR NAKAMURA YUKICHI. Nakamura was a librarian at the City Library of Osaka and for many years a friend of Blunden (see also *ab*, *ap*, and *aw* below). This work is an inscription and three poems that according to a note were written by Blunden in Nakamura's copy of the Blunden issue of *The Augustan Books of Modern Poetry* (see 1), 26 April 1948, 30 March 1955, 15 June 1959, and 3 September 1960. All are brief lines about the blessings of friendship renewed.

g. TO JŌJUN DEGUCHI. A quatrain thanking Deguchi for an unnamed kindness, 28 April 1948.

h. SHINDO-SAN. A quatrain that like several of Blunden's occasional poems speaks of the 'new' Japan moving forward from the devastations of the war, 28 April 1948.

i. HERE BUNYAN FINDS A HOME, A HOUSE OF LEARNING. Lines playing on the idea that John Bunyan would have been surprised to find that his work had travelled so far as Japan. A note identifies the place of composition as the home of Taketomo Torao (see also *b* above) near Kobe, 18 May 1948.

j. ANOTHER WAR HAS THUNDERED THROUGH THOSE PLAINS. 'And many graves besides my old friends' graves / Are waiting now for dark November rains'. For Y. Abe. Written, according to a note, on the flyleaf of a Japanese edition of *Undertones of War* (19), 30 September 1948.

k. IN ZUIGANJI TEMPLE. Brief lines about the tranquillity of the temple, an opulent Rinzaï monastery in Matsushima, and a traveller who finds 'deep rest' there, dated 5 October 1948.

l. TAKAMATSU COUNTRYSIDE. A quatrain in praise of the Shikoku landscape, written according to a note for Hôki Kanji after Blunden's lecture at Takamatsu.

m. RETURN TO JAPAN. Closing lines fairly summarise Blunden's post-war reaction to the Japan to which he has returned: 'Then let me pray for grace, / Now in Japan / To see each place / With open eye; to scan // The sweet recaptured scene, / The field and farm, / . . . smiling and serene'. For Sarashina Genzô, 'a memento of [a] happy evening at Sapporo', Autumn 1948.

n. TO KOICHI NAKANE. The yew tree standing beside an 'eastern house' has seen its 'quiet age' suffer 'from a desperate rage', but in the 'kind house all's as before', and 'as the dark red-berried yew / Unites the vanished with the new, // So our good Host's warm welcome mends / All defects, and makes perfect friends', 18 September 1948.

o. GOING TO A LECTURE. The 'lecture' is the 'chant[ing]' of small birds in a pastoral scene. For S. Kashiwagura, Sapporo, 20 September 1948.

p. FOR A WATER-COLOUR BY Y. NOGUCHI. Seven lines in description of the painting of the title, 23 September 1948. Noguchi (see *D15*) had died the previous year.

q. AMONG THE LAKES THE PAINTER FINDS HIS BLISS. A quatrain for S. Uenoyama, 'with admiration', September 1948.

r. SO HAVE YOU LIVED, THAT FINER LIFE MAY BE. A quatrain for a Mr. Kan, 'with . . . best thanks for his interest in a visitor to Sapporo', September 1948.

s. THIS IS A SCENE THAT FROM MY EARLY YEARS. A quatrain for 'Mr. Nosei, with gratitude for his painting of a corner of Sapporo', September 1948.

- t. FOR THE ENGLISH GROUP IN ASAHIGAWA. Lines in praise of Shakespeare, 21 July 1949.
- u. FORGET THE WINTER'S TOOTH; THE MERRY FLAMES LEAP. Three occasional lines for H. Momose, 28 December 1949.
- v. A GLIMPSE. Brief description of a quiet courtyard, for Tomomura Kichinosuke, Curator of the Kurashiki Folkcrafts Museum, 25 February 1950.
- w. OUTSIDE, THE NIGHT, THE LAMPS OF DISTANT FARMS. Six lines of friendship to Nose Toshi, Okayama, 24 February 1950.
- x. TO T. KITAMURA. Lines to a friend who 'encouraged' by Blunden had studied English literature as a young man, 25 February 1950.
- y. GATE TO POETRY. Lines 'To Arata Mitsuoka on his Anthology', from internal evidence an anthology of poetry, 25 February 1950. See also *aj* below.
- z. THERE MAY BE NIGHTS TO COME WHEN I SHALL NEED. A triplet that according to a note was inscribed in a book owned by Fukuhara Rintarô following his introduction of Blunden at a lecture, 12 March 1950.
- aa. FOR TAKESHI AND FUMIKO. Eight lines rejoicing in the 'young gay-souled company' of the couple of the title, Osaka, 31 March 1955.
- ab. FOR YUKICHI NAKAMURA. Nakamura (see *f* above) has quoted Shelley, and Blunden believes that were that poet alive 'He must have hastened to Japan / And sung the country's praise', 3 April 1955.
- ac. THE CHILDREN CANNOT STAY. Five lines for K. Ôtsuka, Vice-Governor of Osaka, 3 April 1955.
- ad. HOW SOON THESE LITTLE GIRLS RUN ROUND THE LOVELY LAKE. A couplet for 'Yanagisawa-san', 3 April 1955.
- ae. A THOUGHT OF H.I.H. PRINCE CHICHIBU. Lines in memory of the Showa Emperor's younger brother, who had studied at Oxford. Chichibu no Miya Yasuhito (1902-53) was the second son of the Taishô Emperor, who during the 1930s was widely believed to be sympathetic to extremist factions in the Imperial Army. The references to athletic events in the poem allude to his post-war role as head of various athletic organisations. Dated 1956.
- af. ON A PICTURE OF H.I.H. PRINCE CHICHIBU. More honorific lines about Chichibu no Miya Yasuhito (see *ae*), to Princess Chichibu with the 'affectionate respects' of Blunden and his wife, Claire, 17 June 1956.
- ag. MANY WORDS MAY NEVER FIND. Six lines that 'convey / our heart to you the Japanese way', for Mutô Katsuo, June 1956.

ah. ON A RAINY JUNE MORNING. The students at Shōwa Women's College have heard the speaker lecture, but he wishes he could hear their voices to learn of the 'visions / Of youth', 11 June 1959.

aj. A. MITSUOKA'S VERSE SHOULD BE. A poem has been called for at a 'celebration' and the speaker believes it should be Mitsuoka's lines 'here written', but Mitsuoka has deferred to Blunden, 18 June 1959. See also *y* above.

ak. IF ROBERT BURNS WERE IN JAPAN. A quatrain apparently written at an event sponsored by the Suntory brewery, which the speaker assures would be praised by Burns if he were able, Osaka, 14 June 1959.

al. EVEN MANY YEARS HAVE NOW BECOME STILL MORE. A quatrain about the passing of time, originally inscribed in Saitō's copy of *Poems of Many Years (125)*, 22 June 1959.

am. JUNE 1959, TO THE ENGLISH DEPARTMENT OF HIROSHIMA UNIVERSITY. Seven lines about the rewards of studying literature.

an. MICHIO MASUI. Brief lines about the pursuit of 'high romance' after she has 'desert[ed] the paths of men', 19 June 1959. Masui was a Chaucer scholar at Hiroshima and a close friend of Blunden.

ao. FOR YOSHITAKA SAKAI. A quatrain for one of several students Blunden taught at the Imperial University in the twenties who went on to become a major figure in Japanese English literary studies, 29 June 1959. See also *179e*.

ap. YOURS IS THE MODERN CASTLE OF OSAKA. The 'modern castle' of the title is a library, where a 'you' is 'lord of many regiments'. For Nakamura (see *f* above), September 1960.

aq. A SMALL OFFERING. The speaker notes that at Hōryūji 'all the world agrees / Are many glories', but suggests that the 'truest' of them all are 'those . . . who serve the temple night and day'. For 'the Very Rev. Mr Kentyu [Kenryū?]', 6 September 1960.

ar. CAPTAINCY. Lines in praise of Osaka, for Sato Gisen, Governor of the prefecture, 6 September 1960.

as. OTANI WOMEN'S COLLEGE. Two quatrains of encouragement for the students of the college of the title, 9 September 1960.

at. THE SEA HATH ITS PEARLS. Lines translated from a Latin triplet by Heinrich Heine, which Blunden's note reports are 'written for a poet of Japan, Chiaki Ishii (see also *au*), by one who has enjoyed his perfect liberality'. An editor's note adds that the lines were 'translated just before [Blunden's] embarkation, at Yokohama, 16 September 1963'.

au. WHAT RARITIES YOU SET BEFORE US. Six lines in praise of the work of Ishii Chiaki (see also *at*), 7 August 1963.

av. KEIKO COMMANDED, AND WE MET. A jingle about a symposium in which 'Truth and Beauty seemed to rule', to Keiko Hani 'and friends of *Fujin no Tomo* in thanks for [the] Symposium of 10 August 1963'. Hani Keiko (b. 1908) succeeded her mother, Hani Motoko, as principal of the Jiyû gakuen. See notes about *Fujin no tomo*, Hani Motoko, and the Jiyû gakuin at 94.

aw. TO YUKICHI NAKAMURA (see *f* above). Eight lines about friendship, 27 August 1963.

ax. AS MY KIND PROLOGUE YESTERDAY. Lines of gratitude for J. Kurimoto, who apparently had introduced Blunden's lecture the previous day. Osaka, 27 August 1963.

ay. TO MR ITÔ, MAYOR OF MATSUSHIMA. The poem notes the 'Many . . . poems offered through the years' to the 'much-loved city', and describes the dedication of stone tablets with verses by Blunden and Shiratori Seigo on a hilltop overlooking the 'sacred wood', 29 August 1963.

az. SEIGO SHIRATORI AT MATSUSHIMA. Lines to Shiratori about the stone tablets with their 'eulogies together set' at Matsushima (see 58), 29 August 1963.

ba. THE SUMMER JOURNEY. The longest poem in the collection recalls Blunden's 1963 journey to Japan, when 'long delightful days at last / Were merging with the distant past'.

bb. HERE IS CHARLES LAMB'S FIRST CHURCH. A quatrain for Blunden's former student Hijikata Tatsuzô, about Hijikata's sketch of the Temple Church in London. Dated 9 August 1965.

161. [Blunden]. 'Eastern Aesthetics'. Review of *Legend in Japanese Art*, by Henri Joly, and *Brushwork of the Far East: Sumie Techniques*, by Sademi Yamada. *TLS*, 16 November 1967, p. 1079.

Blunden's last *TLS* review of a work about Japan finds Joly's work, first published in 1908, 'a masterpiece of its kind', and offers words of praise for Yamada, 'not only a leading professor of art but an artist fortunate in vision'.

162. *The Midnight Skaters: Poems for Young Readers Chosen and Introduced by C. Day Lewis*. London: Bodley Head, 1968.

A 'Far East' sections reprints FAR EAST (3), A JAPANESE EVENING (30a), and TO THE NEW JAPAN (59a).

163. *A Selection from the Poems*. Long Melford: Restoration Fund [for the Great Church of the Holy Trinity], 1969.

Reprints THE COTTAGE AT CHIGASAKI (40), SUMMER STORM IN JAPANESE HILLS (71g), and TEA HOUSE (formerly JAPANESE INN, 122).

164. †Miscellaneous. In *Nippon no asu yobu chikara* (The power that calls Japan's tomorrow). N.p.: Shakai kyôiku kyôkai, 1969.

Reprints FOR THE EDUCATION INSTITUTE OF AICHI PREFECTURE (129). According to Kirkpatrick (187, B283.1) the work also includes IN GORO KATAYAMA'S PAGE, a 'Message for the Young Japanese', and a 'Message for Old Pupils in Japan', but these are not in the edition held at the National Diet Library of Japan.

165. *Edmund Blunden: A Tribute From Japan*. Edited by Masao Hirai and Peter Milward. Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1974.

An 'Edmund Blunden on Japan' section includes the new work noted below and reprints THE DAIMYO'S POND (1b), BUILDING THE LIBRARY, TOKYO UNIVERSITY (15), THE AUTHOR'S LAST WORDS TO HIS STUDENTS (18d), LOOKING EASTWARD (formerly A SONG, 45), IN THE MARGIN (48), TO THE CITIZENS OF ITÔ (formerly WILLIAM ADAMS AT ITÔ, 55d), MATSUSHIMA (58), TO THE NEW JAPAN (BD59a), 'Fourth Visit' (137), JAPAN BEAUTIFUL (143), THE STONE GARDEN (144a), VOICE OF KYOTO (144b), NEARING YOKOHAMA (144d), and FOR TOKYO JOSHI DAIGAKU (formerly COLLEGE SONG, 72). See also 185.

a. Fragments from lectures at Jiyû gakuen (see 94). In "Abeunt Studia in Mores", by Keiko Hani. Hani's fond remembrance of Blunden's visits to Jiyû gakuen includes long passages quoted from his lectures there, including 'Mrs Hani was Prometheus' (134) and others that either were not printed or are not traceable. Of particular interest is a 1963 lecture quoted at length in which Blunden recalls his first meeting with Saitô, noting that it was Saitô who was responsible both for his appointment at Tokyo and Hodgson's at Sendai. During Blunden's first stay in what was to become his 'second country' he 'found loyalty of a particular kind, kindness that never stopped, and knew neither difficulty nor disappointment' (though see 166 for evidence to the contrary). Following are notes about his second stay in Japan, which in spite of the devastation of the war was full of 'extraordinary good fortune'.

b. 'THE LAST OF THE FANCY!' IN SENDAI! Quoted in Bush (185c). Lines Blunden inscribed in a book presented to Bush 'after a session of Guinness and Ralph Hodgson' before Bush departed England for Japan in 1946. The lines are obscure without knowledge of the particular details of Hodgson's life noted in Bush's recollection.

c. 'A Fifth Visit to Japan'. An account written approaching Kobe by ship in the summer of 1960. Blunden is pleased that he will once again see the country of his

‘devotion’, and once again is ‘ready to look at people and things with the wish to learn’. Includes recollections of his first sojourns to Japan, of Saitô and Ichikawa, and of days when ukiyoe by Hiroshige and Tsunoda Kunisada (1786-1864) were more affordable. The ‘cheerful little hotel’ at which Blunden stayed in the twenties would be a reference to the Kikufuji (see, and compare, 166j). The essay closes with Blunden’s happy expectations of rejoining old friends.

d. ‘Seeing More of Japan’. Recollections of places visited on Blunden’s sixth Japanese sojourn, in the autumn of 1963, including Tokyo University, where he was ‘enchanted to find the stately Akamon [Red Gate] and the Daimyo’s Pond [see 1b] still awaiting posterity’. First publication of the essay was in Japanese translation by Hiramatsu (see 185b) in the *Yomiuri shimbun*, 17 and 18 September 1963.

166. To Richard Cobden-Sanderson and Cyril Beaumont, 1924-27. Quoted in Benkovitz (188), 1980.

Blunden’s letters to friends and publishers Cobden-Sanderson and Beaumont written during his first stay in Tokyo reveal more than anything his unhappiness in the city, in marked contrast to his published accounts of the same period (see, for example, 18d, 132, 138, and 165c). In addition to letters noted, Benkovitz quotes from or summarises several others written from Tokyo or in passing reference to Blunden’s first stay there. The work includes as well a holograph facsimile in Blunden’s hand of a brief occasional poem, IN USHIGOME (see 1), which does not appear elsewhere. The letters and manuscripts noted are at the Library at the University of Iowa (see 171c).

a. To Cobden-Sanderson, 9 February 1924. Robert Nichols is leaving his post at Tokyo Imperial University, Blunden writes, and he has been asked to take it over. The salary is ‘fair’—it was in fact £900 per year—so he is ready to ‘[project himself] . . . into the bosom of the Japanese’. The invitation had come from Saitô; Blunden probably would not have known that the position had been turned down both by Laurence Binyon and T. E. Lawrence (see BC42).

b. To Beaumont, 2 March 1924. Soon after accepting the post in Tokyo Blunden had second thoughts. Here he writes of his coming ‘exile’ in Japan.

c. To Cobden-Sanderson, 14 July 1924. Blunden records his admiration for the ‘Rembrandtesque’ cottages and other features of the Japanese landscape observed during a recent excursion ‘into the hills & down by the sea’.

d. To Cobden-Sanderson, 15 August 1924. A minor earthquake has awakened Blunden, and he writes with disdain about a request from Cobden-Sanderson to write a ‘vivid description’ of Tokyo: ‘What, of paper lanterns, open drains, flower-like ladies, naked brown labourers, grins and stares perpetual, the Imperial Hotel

(about half a crown a minute), [and] the cinematograph theatre?' In spite of this, Blunden's poems describing Japan and his reaction to it began to appear in English journals two months later (see 1).

e. To Cobden-Sanderson, 6 September 1924. Includes Blunden's first mention in the published record of renewed efforts in Tokyo to complete the work that would become *Undertones of War* (19).

f. To Beaumont, 17 November 1924. In response to a suggestion from Beaumont that he produce a set of poems on Japan, Blunden writes that 'Japan as presented here in Tokyo is far from inspiring one to poetry—to blasphemy is the direction!' By 1928, however, Blunden's *Japanese Garland* (18) had appeared from Beaumont's press.

g. To Cobden-Sanderson, 3 April 1925. Blunden complains of the discomfort brought about by his 'Japanese experiment': he feels no 'striving' and no 'new orientation', and though he is 'support[ed]' by 'a few friends', 'the rest is not silence, but a useless uproar, signifying nothing'.

h. To Cobden-Sanderson, 5 May 1925. 'Can I go through day after day in my present ignorant fashion, observing nothing peculiar in Japanese custom, adding no weird word to my vocabulary?' Blunden asks, and then answers his own question in the affirmative.

i. To Cobden-Sanderson, 28 June 1925. Blunden's published accounts of his first years in Tokyo praise his colleague at the Imperial University (see, for example, 132 and 165c) and his students (see especially 18d and 138), but the letters of this period tell a different story. Here he laments that he has come to Japan at all, complains of the teaching conditions, and contends that his answers to questions put to him by colleagues and students do not really matter, because 'most of the J[apanese] don't believe an honest answer' and will 'stick to their own interpretation' regardless of what he says.

j. To Cobden-Sanderson, 1 November 1925. Blunden moved from 26 Kitoyamabushi-cho, Uchigome, to the Kikufuji Hotel in January 1925, where he entertained students (see 179e) and completed *Undertones of War* (19). This letter describes his new lodgings in sarcastic terms (compare to the 'cheerful little hotel' recalled five decades later, in 165c). The Kikufuji 'has its own special features', a staff 'constantly altered to suit the latest requirements (of the money-lender opposite), & the entrance has recently been enriched with a new set of lockers for the clogs of the guests; ping-pong may be indulged in downstairs, while, mingling with the mirth of the champions and their numerous advisers, the chimes of the two stately clocks fill the ear and suggest the time within half an

hour either way'; guests may supply their own oil stoves or otherwise face 'the possibility that they will be frozen', though the management 'is in touch with a garage stabling an admired motor hearse for the use of departing clients'. The Kikufuji was in fact more boarding house than hotel, a three-storey wooden building in a back alley of the Hongo main street, opposite the Akamon (red gate) of Tokyo Imperial University, for a time the home of both Blunden and Plomer, and during their stay there to various members of the bohemian literati of the city, novelists Hirotsu Kazuo (1891-1968, who lived in the room next to Blunden), Uno Kôji (1891-1961), Tanizaki Junichirô (1886-1965), and drama critic Miyake Shûtarô (b. 1892). In the twenties Uno Chiyo (1897-1996) was a waitress there before beginning her somewhat notorious literary career, and the building was frequented by novelist Akutagawa Ryûnosuke (1892-1927), playwright and later acquaintance of Yeats (see *BL124f*) Kikuchi Kan (1888-1948), and novelist and playwright Kume Masao (1891-1952). The Kikufuji was destroyed in the firebombing of Tokyo in March 1945.

k. To Cobden-Sanderson, 8 March 1927. Again Blunden complains of his life at the 'so-called University', which has no library 'worth the name' and students who are too polite to admit that they cannot understand him.

167. Poems. In Mizunoe (189), 1981.

Two previously unpublished occasional verses that Blunden wrote on a trip to Itô.

a. TO THE CITIZENS OF ITÔ. An earlier version of WILLIAM ADAMS AT ITÔ (55*d*), which Mizunoe notes is from a recently discovered autograph manuscript of 8 July 1948. Slight variations between this and the earlier-published version are noted.

b. HERE GATHERED IN THIS KINDLY TOWN. Praises the 'friendly house' of the speaker's hosts. Dedicated to 'Mr and Mrs Uchida', 8 July 1948.

168. *Selected Poems*. Edited by Robyn Marsack. Manchester: Carcanet, 1982. Reprint, 1993.

Reprints THE DAIMYO'S POND (1*b*), THE AUTHOR'S LAST WORDS TO HIS STUDENTS (18*d*), A JAPANESE EVENING (30*a*), THE COTTAGE AT CHIGASAKI (40), SUMMER STORM IN JAPANESE HILLS (71*g*), and THE STONE GARDEN (144*a*).

169. To Aki Hayashi, 1928-62. In Okada (191), 1988.

An annotated selection from more than 1,400 letters Blunden wrote to Hayashi, mainly of interest to this study for their evidence of the blooming and dying of a love affair, though many provide details of Blunden's life in Tokyo in the twenties. See pp. 109-110 for a summary of references to Saitô, and see also 170*i*.

170. Miscellaneous, 1924-62. Quoted in Webb (193), 1990.

a. Undated reminiscence (p. 143). Blunden writes that he is 'haunted by a sense of Japan', in 'her human expression', and cannot go for a walk in England 'without seeming to be in one moment or another in Japan as well'.

b. To Charles Blunden, 24 June 1924 *and* 21 June 1925 (p. 145). Blunden complains to his father about the monotony of his lectures at Tokyo; he feels as if the morning may come when he will abandon his classroom and 'catch any boat leaving Yokohama'.

c. To Philip Tomlinson, 18 December 1925 (pp. 145-46). Blunden's public pronouncements about his idyllic life at Tokyo Imperial University are undercut in many letters (see also those in *166*), but none more so than here, where his characteristic irony in writing of difficulties in Tokyo gives way to frustration and anger: 'I have no hand in the general direction of English Studies, the fixing of courses, the choice and arrangement of books and periodicals, the necessary apparatus—but damn them, if they don't want, I don't. Only the facts must be freely recognised': he is 'kept out of everything except giving lessons and occasionally a little donkey work' and few of his students are 'able and willing' to do proper work.

d. To Claire Blunden, 13 April 1940 (pp. 277-78). The world was hearing of Japanese aggression, but Blunden calls his wife's attention to another side of the national character: 'the Japanese poet is as sensitive as the Japanese war-monger is loud, and he writes with the shyness of a passing breeze'.

e. To Lancelot Blunden, 5 April *and* December 1948 (p. 278). Those who have commented on Blunden's second stay in Japan without fail note his unflinching energy (see especially *177*, *179a-b*, *183*, and *185*). In the April letter Blunden himself comments to his brother about the pace. His life is 'one infernal scramble', but he is reminded by a goldfish given his daughter that 'we all live endlessly hurrying about a small prison . . . emitting bubbles'. In December he noted that the 'occasions' at which he produced his occasional verses (see especially *70* and *160*) occasionally were less than enjoyable. Here they are 'all these silly parties, with their savage din and senseless dialoguing'.

f. To Tomlinson, 3 August 1949 (p. 278). Just as Blunden's private letters undercut his public proclamations about his first stay in Japan in the twenties, so this letter places his second sojourn in radically different light than his public persona would allow. He is 'tired of the endless "we Japanese" attitude' that 'turn[s] every subject round until once more the world is all Japanese'. He wonders if 'people like the Japanese' have a 'psychological necessity' to 'forever be muddling around' in hopes of 'painting [their culture] as a mystical supremacy'.

and though the Japanese have 'ingenious minds' they are 'not creative' and 'not reflective'. They 'copy' what they find 'useful' among those things 'the Western world has given', but 'never really comprehend' that the West 'gives as well as bargains'. Rather disingenuously Blunden assures Tomlinson that he is 'not disgruntled', and that his personal life in Tokyo is 'exceedingly gentle and honest', but he is surprised to find his earliest perception of Japan as a 'primitive society' 'still obtaining'. As if in second thought he follows these remarks with comments about the generous following his lectures receive, the Japanese 'regard for friendship', which is 'beyond praise', and laudatory words about Saitô, who Blunden insists 'knows all that I have said'.

g. STRANGE THAT THE ABSENCE OF BUT ONE (p. 303). A stanza in memory of Hayashi Aki (see 191), written in Blunden's diary on his first return to London after she had died there in 1962. Though her 'trudging' was 'once so burdensome' Blunden finds that her absence 'estrang[e] this so familiar town', and 'Her grumbling now (no great storm then) / Would make this corner live again'.

171. †Unpublished materials.

a. Edmund Blunden Papers. Henry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin. The largest collection of Blunden papers. Contains many letters and manuscripts from his years in Japan, including letters to Edward Marsh, Blunden's friend and occasional editor, in which according to Mallon (190) Blunden 'wrote amusingly of the routine and humorous frustrations of exile' in the country. Includes some 200 of Blunden's letters to Hayashi (see 169 and 191).

b. Edmund Blunden Papers, 1922-86. Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University. Correspondence, manuscripts, and miscellaneous materials. Blunden's letters to Hayashi are 'particularly well represented'. Includes also correspondence with Plomer, fragments of poems, and eleven diaries Blunden kept from 1936 to 1967.

c. Edmund Blunden Papers. Department of Special Collections, University of Iowa Library. Contains letters from Blunden to Cyril Beaumont, Richard Cobden-Sanderson, and others written in the days prior to his first departure for Japan and more than fifty written from Tokyo during his first stay to the country. See 166 and 188.

d. Other materials. Blunden's letters to Saitô Takeshi are at the Meisei University Library in Tokyo; various Blunden materials are held at the Department of Manuscripts at the British Library, including Blunden's letters to Marie Stopes (see D23); his letters to Sturge Moore are in the Moore Papers at the Library at

London University, letters to Plomer in the Plomer Papers at Durham (*BJ28a*); other significant collections include those at the Bodleian Library at Oxford, the Library at the University of Rochester, the Berg Collection at the New York Public Library, and the BBC Written Archive Centre at Reading.

See also *185f*.

Secondary Materials

172. Review of *Japanese Garland* (18). *TLS*, 20 September 1928, p. 662.

Finds that 'Japanese life does not seem to have furnished Mr. Blunden with any novel or original inspiration' and that he has not been able to 'adopt another country', even though in these poems his 'suggestible mind has hovered in acquiescent meditation over certain materials offered to it' and has 'here and there recognized what was its own, whether by analogy, affinity, or opposition'. See the prefatory note in *Near and Far* (27) for Blunden's response to such propositions.

173. Reviews of *Near and Far* (27), 1929.

a. Gibson, Wilfred. 'Mr. Blunden's New Poems'. *Bookman* (London) 77: 126-27. Regarding Blunden's 'sojourn at Tokio', Gibson notes that even though the experience 'must have been to him exotic', Blunden has not produced the 'conventional orientalisms of the journalistic globe-trotter', and his 'individuality of vision . . . native vigour and . . . profound knowledge of his own country have saved him from writing superficially of another'. One can see in the poems, however, Gibson notes, that Blunden 'did not feel entirely at home in Japan'.

b. *Spectator* 143: 416. Noting Blunden's preface, in which he writes that critics have 'blamed' him for being an 'incorrigible Briton' in his poems of Japan, the reviewer finds that such critics are 'superficially justified' in the claim, but 'fundamentally wrong . . . in expecting a poet to be a tourist', for the poet in a foreign land 'will naturally look for points of unity with his own inner world rather than for mere external diversities'.

c. Welby, T. Earle. *Saturday Review* (London) 148: 352. Blunden has written of Japan with a 'delicate circumstantiality', but in spite of the 'babbles of rice fields [and] decorative dragons' in the poems he is 'incurably of the English countryside', his imagination 'stirred not by new things but by those long familiar.'

174. Reviews of *The Mind's Eye* (42), 1934.

Of several reviews of the work, only three focus on the Japan section, two of which find that one of its effects is demonstration that Blunden—both critics use the same phrase—'is not a born traveller'. See also the review by Plomer (*BJ6*).

a. *TLS*, 3 May, p. 319. Finds the Japan section the ‘weakest part’ of the work. While Blunden has ‘one or two straightforward, informative accounts of Japanese artists and prints’, he ‘clearly . . . felt his three years in Japan as an exile to be lived through by hard work, but without much pleasure—or even violent emotion of any kind’. The section demonstrates as much as anything that Blunden ‘is not . . . a born traveller’.

b. Gibson, Wilfred. *Observer*, 3 June, p. 9. Gibson finds Blunden’s ‘slight essays on Japanese themes’ wanting: ‘Mr. Blunden is not the born traveller, and is certainly least at home when he is abroad’; particularly weak are the descriptions of ukiyoe, Gibson believes, for ‘the “literary” picture may be dull, but there is no dullness to compare with the dullness of the verbal description of pictures’.

175. Graves, Robert and Alan Hodge. *The Long Week-End: A Social History of Great Britain, 1918-1939*. 1940. Reprint, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971.

Includes only passing reference to Blunden, but suggests that his forays to Japan had a negative impact on his verse: he ‘had risen to be the most commended nature poet of [the twenties], but sacrificed the initial advantage that he derived from his country breeding by becoming professor of English literature . . . at Tokyo . . . and not keeping his poems separate from his literary studies’. For a different point of view about the same subject see 190.

176. Kobayashi, Atsuo. ‘Sendai ni okeru eishijin Blunden shi’ (The English poet Blunden in Sendai). *Tôhoku bungaku* 3/12 (1948): 2-6.

Notes about Blunden’s lectures at Tohoku University during his second stay in Japan.

177. Nakayama, T. Editor’s Word. Postscript to *Records of Friendship* (70), 1950.

Evidence of the affection held for Blunden in Japan in the early post-war years, and of his importance as a cultural envoy. Nakayama writes of the ‘blessing’ brought by Blunden’s 1949 visits to ‘the war-devastated island of Kyushu’. The lectures he gave were of ‘depth and significance’ for both young and old, but equally important were the ‘genial atmosphere’ of his presence, the ‘sweetness and kindness’ of his nature, and his ‘poetic temperament, seeing the beautiful in things poor or commonplace’ and ‘embracing all with a tolerant and loving heart’. The only repayment possible for such kindness and the ‘treasured verses’ Blunden left behind, Nakayama believes, is for the Japanese to undertake ‘incessant endeavours . . . to promote our English studies’ and to pursue ‘a deeper interest in English culture’.

178. Hardie, Alec M. *Edmund Blunden*. London: Longmans, 1958.

Section VI (pp. 20-23) discusses the effects of Japan on Blunden and, especially, of Blunden on Japan: 'No one who has been in Japan for even a short time can fail to be impressed by the personal affection and genuine respect his name inspires. It transcends trivialities and attains the dignity of a moral embassy.'

179. 'Homage to Edmund Blunden'. *Today's Japan* 5 (March-April 1960).

Includes along with the following a brief autobiographical essay by Blunden, a selection of Blunden's poems, including a reprint of THE AUTHOR'S LAST WORDS TO HIS STUDENTS (18*d*), and a Blunden bibliography compiled by Saitô.

a. Saitô, Takeshi. 'Edmund Blunden, Poet'. In his tracing of Blunden's career, Saitô 'cannot refrain from adding a few words about this poet's love of Japan', and notes details related to the subject, that Blunden had been interested in Japan even as a child, that in November 1923 'he met a young Japanese lover of English poetry [Saitô himself], and was requested to join the teaching staff of Tokyo Imperial University', and that during Blunden's tenure as cultural attaché of the post-war United Kingdom Liaison Mission he 'gave about 600 lectures in Tokyo and other larger cities . . . performing prodigious work with almost superhuman energy far in excess of what his duty laid upon him'.

b. Miner, Earl. 'Honor for Edmund Blunden'. Praise for Blunden's 'goodness', with insightful notes about the admiration the Japanese have held for him: 'Having at least been threatened by imminent sainthood in Japan . . . Blunden is in a class of foreign visitors . . . not noticeably large', consisting of Hearn and 'a few . . . who are inevitably compared with Hearn'. But Blunden's 'role . . . has been less transcendent' than Hearn's; 'he has not reshaped the Japanese image of themselves and he has not really changed the Western conception of Japan', but he has gone to Japan both before and after the war 'and been himself', for which 'he has been much appreciated'. Notes that Blunden's hundreds of lectures during his stay as cultural attaché were written separately for each occasion, and that he has left behind in Japan the manuscripts of more than five hundred.

c. Bernardo. 'Edmund Blunden and Japan'. The brief article notes that in addition to recognising Blunden's talents as a poet, the Japanese 'regard him . . . as a sincere friend, proven by his understanding of the people and his love for them'; he has '[given] his beloved Japan courage and a real hope in a way that [has been] beautiful and inspiring'. 'Bernardo' is identified in a note as 'the pseudonym of an old friend of Professor Blunden, now residing in Tokyo'.

d. Sone, Tamotsu. 'Edmund Blunden, Teacher'. A loving remembrance of Blunden by a student who was to become one of Japan's leading Browning scholars. Includes well-remembered details of Blunden's first weeks at Tokyo Imperial

University in 1924, the subject of his first lecture, the state of the classrooms in the aftermath of the Great Kanto Earthquake, his clothes, his first residence in the city (see *1a*), his room at the Kikufuji Hotel (see *166j*), trips with his students, inscriptions and words of encouragement he wrote in their books. The tone is reverential. Blunden ‘came . . . and witnessed our ruins’, offered his services, and has done ‘more for the sake of our country in the field of culture and education than any other individual’. The ‘young English teacher of the First High School’ who lived at the Kikufuji at the same time as Blunden would have been William Plomer; Sone notes that Ralph Hodgson was among those present at Kobe in 1927 when Blunden boarded the ship to return to England. Reprinted in *185*.

e. Sakai, Yoshitaka. ‘Edmund Blunden, Teacher’. Like Sone, Sakai was a student in Blunden’s lectures at Tokyo Imperial University in his first weeks in the city, would go on to become a major figure in English literary studies in Japan, and remembers with warm affection Blunden’s kindness and contributions to the country. He recalls here that ‘without the slightest ceremony’ students would gather in Blunden’s room at the Kikufuji to ‘talk for hours . . . about English poetry and literature’, and that prior to their graduation Blunden presented ‘about fifty’ students, ‘according to [each] individual taste . . . a first or rare edition’, a 1791 printing of Thomas Warton to Sakai, a first edition of Palgrave’s *Golden Treasury* to Sone. Sakai notes rightly that perhaps the greatest indication of Blunden’s influence in Japan is that more than half of his students went on to become university professors, others ‘prominent writers’, and ‘almost all’ played prominent roles in Japan’s ‘various cultural fields’.

180. *Edmund Blunden: Sixty-Five*. Hong Kong: English Society, University of Hong Kong, 1961.

Tributes to Blunden on his sixty-fifth birthday. Includes brief expressions of admiration from many former students, friends, literary acquaintances, and other admirers, including D. J. Enright (see *CA14b*), Earl Miner (see especially *A25*), William Plomer, Saitô Takeshi, and Toda Yasuhide, Private Secretary to Crown Prince (now Emperor) Akihito, expressing ‘His Majesty’s gratitude’ for Blunden’s ‘contribution to the cultural relations between England and Japan’.

181. Enright, D. J. Review of *Hong Kong House* (*144*). *New Statesman* NS 64 (1962): 530-31.

Finds that some of Blunden’s poems that ‘celebrat[es] Eastern topics’, as in the poems of Japan in this work, ‘have an element of noblesse oblige about them’, and ‘an incongruity between subject and tone’ that suggests an ‘admiration . . . willed out of gratitude’.

182. Saitô, Takeshi. 'Nippon ni kansuru Edmund Blunden no eishi' (Blunden's English poems about Japan). *Nippon gakushiin kiyô* 21 (1963): 25-31.

A general survey of Blunden poems with Japanese subjects. Saitô mentions other English writers on Japan in passing, including Hearn, Hodgson, and Empson, but concludes that of English-language poems on Japan, Blunden's stand apart.

183. Saitô, Takeshi. 'Edmund Blunden'. Afterward to *Poems on Japan* (160), 1967.

A tracing of Blunden's relationship with Japan and his 'sympathy for the Japanese people'. Suggests that during his two years and four months as cultural envoy for the United Kingdom Liaison Mission he 'never once declin[ed] a request for either spoken or written contributions', and notes the 'huge audiences' his lectures attracted. Partially incorporated in 185a.

184. Fukuhara, Rintarô. 'Blunden rainichi' (Blunden's visit to Japan). In *Fukuhara Rintarô chosakushû*. Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1968.

Brief reminiscences of Blunden during his fifth visit to Japan.

185. Reminiscences and appreciations. In *A Tribute from Japan* (165), 1974.

Reprints Sone's 'Edmund Blunden, Teacher' (179d).

a. Saitô, Takeshi. 'Edmund Blunden'. A biographical sketch that includes notes about Blunden's relationship with Japan. Saitô recalls his first meeting with Blunden, 28 November 1923, at Hodgson's home near Victoria Station in London, and details occasions from Blunden's lecture tour after the war, the two thousand crammed into Osaka City Hall in April 1948 to hear him describe 'The Growth of English Literature', the lecture on *Hamlet* held at a temple hall because it was the largest building in the city, Blunden surrounded by sculptures of Buddhas and the audience spilling out into the courtyard. Closes with lines that summarise the response to Blunden of many of his Japanese friends: he was 'revered by Japanese intellectuals as a genuine poet, a broad-minded critic, a devoted professor, and above all, a modest, gentle and warm friend of Japan'.

b. Hiramatsu, Mikio. 'Reminiscence'. Hiramatsu (b. 1903) was a graduate and long-time Professor of English Literature at Keio University, where he had studied under Sherard Vines. He met Blunden in 1948, and his recollections here, upon hearing of Blunden's death, are eulogistic: In Hiramatsu's seventy years he has never know a man of 'such . . . perfect character'; the greatest lesson Blunden taught was that 'generosity and sincerity are the best international language among men of true heart', and surely 'no one could surpass [his] generosity and genuineness'. Includes details of several Blunden trips to Japan. Hiramatsu recalls as well that Blunden told him he had accepted his post in Hong Kong in 1953 to be

‘in the place nearest to Japan’, since in the aftermath of war ‘none of our universities could yet afford to invite him’.

c. Bush, Lewis. ‘Edmund Blunden—Man and Friend’. Bush recalls that even as ‘war clouds were gathering in Asia’ Blunden’s former students were reading *Undertones of War* (19) as they underwent military training, endured long lectures on patriotism, and anti-war sentiments were regarded as traitorous. Bush himself spent years as a prisoner of the Japanese army, and met Blunden for the first time in London after the war. His recollection here focuses largely on that meeting, and Blunden’s ‘obvious sadness’ and ‘bewilderment’ at the fate of Japan, and eagerness to learn of friends and to return to the country. Concludes with description of that return, and notes about Blunden’s love of Japan and the love of the Japanese for him. Includes reference to Ichikawa, Saitô, and Doi.

d. Abe, Tomoji. ‘Imaginative Sympathy’. Eulogistic recollections of Blunden by another of his students at Tokyo Imperial University in the twenties. Abe (1903-73) went on to author important political novels and to translate into Japanese Byron, Shakespeare, Melville, the Brontës, and Austen.

e. Sakai, Yoshitaka. ‘Some Poems of Edmund Blunden, Especially in and on Japan’. Sakai comments on Blunden manuscripts in his possession, in some cases detailing revisions and dates of composition.

f. Saitô, Takeshi. ‘A Blunden Bibliography’. The last of several Blunden bibliographies published by Saitô is incorporated in Kirkpatrick (187) and Mizunoe (189). Lists six ‘poems [on Japan] not yet collected in a book’. Of these, the early version of TO THE CITIZENS OF ITÔ appears in 189, but THE SKY-LARK (Kyoto, May 20 1948), AN OFFERING (‘probably written on the same occasion’), ‘HACHINOKI’S MY CASTLE’ (Osaka, 29 March 1955), THESE TIMES ARE ALL TIME (Osaka, March 1955), and ‘BY SONE [see 179d] BIDDEN, HERE WITH HIM ONCE MORE’ (September 18, 1968) have not seen print.

186. Saitô, Takeshi. ‘Edmund Blunden, 1896-1974’ (in Japanese). *Eigo seinen* 120 (1974): 98-100.

Saitô’s warm obituary summarises Blunden’s career and love of Japan.

187. Kirkpatrick, B. J. *A Bibliography of Edmund Blunden*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1979. The standard Blunden bibliography lists many items about England and English literature that Blunden published in Japanese periodicals.

188. Benkovitz, Miriam J. ‘Edmund Blunden and the Incitements of Japan’. *Books at Iowa* 32 (1980): 15-24.

Based on letters Blunden wrote from Japan in the twenties to friends and publishers Cyril Beaumont and Richard Cobden-Sanderson, now in the Library at

the University of Iowa (see 171c). Demonstrates that contrary to Blunden's published reminiscences of his early years in Tokyo, his 'poetic impulse and indeed his extensive literary output . . . came from a constant frustration and discontent'. In addition to quoting or summarising many of the letters (see 166), Benkovitz is insightful about Blunden's poems written during the period: they are 'about his own emotions', A 'FIRST IMPRESSION' (1a) about his grief at the loss of his daughter and joy at seeing other children, THE DAIMYO'S POND (1b) about his loneliness, and even THE AUTHOR'S LAST WORDS TO HIS STUDENTS (18d) 'is not about his students but about himself'. *Japanese Garland* (18), in the end, 'puts Blunden in the mainstream of English poets classified as romantic', for its poetry represents 'the "spontaneous overflow of powerful feeling" . . . provoked by some object—a pond, a tempest, a walk in Nara—and the emotion was correlated with it so that his apparent incitement is the object and the real one the emotion which it produces and with which it correlates'. Includes holographic facsimiles in Blunden's hand of THE INN WINDOW, FUKUOKA (65) and IN A PARK AT KYOTO (84).

189. Mizunoe, Yuichi. *Edmund Blunden in Japan: Bibliographical Documents and Two Unpublished Poems*. [Tokyo]: Hokuseido, 1981.

Mizunoe was a student of Saitô, and this work derives from Saitô's earlier Blunden bibliographies (see 185f). Mizunoe earlier sent to Kirkpatrick (187) a list of articles Blunden published in periodicals in Japan, and so Kirkpatrick's bibliography, published two years earlier, includes virtually all items in Mizunoe's list. His work remains a useful supplement to Kirkpatrick, however, in part for its seven indices, all relating to Japanese materials, and in part for its listing of secondary materials: section III lists 255 'Japanese books, articles, and others commenting on Edmund Blunden', including obituaries in Japanese journals and newspapers; section IV lists thirty-one manuscripts and type-scripts 'held by Dr T. Saitô'. See 167 for notes about the 'unpublished poems'.

190. Mallon, Thomas. *Edmund Blunden*. Boston: Twayne, 1983.

Includes references throughout to Blunden's years in Japan and his poems about the country (see index). Mallon argues that 'in the main [Blunden's] experience in Asia was neither so broadening nor detrimental for his poetry as one might expect it to have been'.

191. Okada, Sumie. *Edmund Blunden and Japan: The History of a Relationship*. London: Macmillan, 1988.

Nothing like what the title suggests. Based on more than 1,400 letters written from Blunden to Hayashi Aki, a Japanese teacher he met in Tokyo in 1925, and with

whom he fell in love for a time. Hayashi accompanied Blunden to England as a secretary in 1927, and remained there working for him until her death in London in 1962. Okada is more interested in arousing sympathy for Hayashi than in examining either Blunden's life or his work. Though one chapter attempts to place his poems 'in a Japanese context' and another to trace the 'influence' of his relationship with Hayashi 'on his outlook and poetry', readers expecting a close examination of his relationship with Japan or its effects in his writing will be disappointed. Includes more than a hundred letters from Blunden to Hayashi, annotated and published here for the first time, and a section of interviews with and letters from Blunden's acquaintances who also knew Hayashi, including Saitô. Incorporates 'Edmund Blunden and his "Dearest Autumn"', *TLS*, 30 October 1981, pp. 1271-72. See also 170g.

a. Reviews. Carmen Blacker ('The Secret Secretary', *TLS*, 30 December 1988, p. 1441) accepts Okada's tacit thesis that Blunden treated Hayashi 'abominably', agrees that in the twenties Hayashi 'opened [Blunden's] eyes to the beauty and magic of Japan, to which he had previously been blind', and finds the work valuable for its revelations about this 'side of Blunden's character'. Francis King ('Affairs of the Hard-Hearted', *Financial Times*, 3 December 1988, p. XVII) suggests that criticising Blunden for the 'heedless egotism with which he exploited a no longer reciprocated love' is 'easy enough', but notes as well that 'where there is a willingness to exploit, there is always also a willingness to be exploited'. Two other brief notices are Masatsugu Ôtake, †'Edmund Blunden to Nippon' (Edmund Blunden and Japan), *Gakutô* 85/12 (1988): 22-25, and *Japan Society Review* 111 (1988): 22-23, the latter of which suggests, oddly, that the work is 'a sympathetic portrait of Blunden'.

192. Fukasaki, Toshiyuki. 'Edmund Blunden no Hiroshima no eikyô' (The influence of Hiroshima on Blunden). *Hiroshima keigei daigaku kenkyû ronshû* 12/2 (1989): 133-49.

Outlines in considerable detail Blunden's visits to Hiroshima and the love of the people of that city for him.

193. Webb, Barry. *Edmund Blunden: A Biography*. London: Yale UP, 1990.

Supersedes other biographical studies of Blunden and offers the fullest available account of his years in Japan. Chapters 14 and 23 are devoted to his first two trips to the country, and other references to Japanese subjects occur throughout (see index), including many of Blunden's own impressions as recorded in previously unpublished materials (see 170). See also 194.

194. Thwaite, Anthony. Review of *Edmund Blunden: A Biography* (193), by Barry

Webb. *Washington Post Book World*, 13 January 1991, p. X4.

Thwaite finds that apart from Blunden's 'slender literary legacy' he 'survives' for two reasons, the first of which is that his tours of Japan were so successful that 'all subsequent "cultural" visitors from Britain to Japan have reason to thank the shade of the blessed St. Edmund'.

See also *A20*, *22*, *25*, *28*, *42*, *53*, *BC43*, *BF26b*, *BJ6*, *10b*, *27a1*, and *40*.

BE. Witter Bynner, 1881-1968

Of poets under study in this section B, Bynner and Ficke were the first to set foot in Japan and to record first-hand impressions of the country in print. On 15 March 1917 they departed Vancouver aboard R. M. S. *Empress of Asia* and arrived some two weeks later, preceding Blunden by seven years, Plomer by nine, Binyon by twelve, and Empson by fourteen. Bynner's later encounters with China would prove more important to his work—he is best remembered for *The Jade Mountain* (1929), translations with Kiang Kang-hu from the poetry of the T'ang Dynasty—and he made no secret of preferring China to Japan (see 8, 14, 20b, and 20d), but his response to Japan, particularly in the poems of *A Canticle of Pan* (3, 1920), nonetheless marks a turning in American verse mediations of the country. The poems are not among Bynner's most ambitious, but they are notable for their lowering of the rhetorical pitch that had been established in American poems of Japan from the beginning, in Whitman's 'Broadway Pageant', Fenollosa's 'East and West' (see CA1), Ficke's 'Song of East and West' (BG2), Fletcher's *Japanese Prints* (BH7), and Lowell's *Can Grande's Castle and Pictures of the Floating World* (see BI7 and 8), among others. Bynner's evenness of tone, quiet identification with Buddhism, and suggestion of a link between East-Asian and Native American traditions anticipates poems of Japan published in the United States decades later, by Gary Snyder (see CA14e), Kenneth Rexroth (see CA13 and 14d), Lucien Stryk (CA14), and many others. Such was the historical landscape of Bynner's day, however, that it took those decades, the war, and the Occupation for others to follow in his steps. In the aftermath of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, in no small part the result of the good will engendered by Blunden's tenure at the Imperial University at Tokyo, British poets continued to travel to and to work in Japan in the twenties, thirties, and even into the forties, but Bynner and Ficke were the last American poets of note to visit the country from 1917 until after the Second World War.

Primary Materials

1. *The Beloved Stranger: Two Books of Song & a Divertissement for the Unknown Lover.*

New York: Knopf, 1919.

William Reedy writes in a preface that 'in this book we have the singing evidence of what [Bynner] saw' during his trip to Japan, Korea, and China, 'evidence in color, in sound, in scent—the windblown bells on temples, odors of wisteria, the statues of jade', but insofar as explicit connection between these poems and Asia can be traced, the source is China, not Japan. Smith (25) suggests that some of the poems,

especially HORSES and THE FIRE MOUNTAIN, both of which are four lines and rely on a single sensory image, adopt something of the ‘manner’ of classical Japanese forms. Given Bynner’s sojourn to Japan and his acquaintance with Pound, Lowell, and their adaptations of hokku (see *BK3-4*, *BK12*, and *BI5*, for example), the suggestion is reasonable, though the same point might be made about many other poems in this and other collections by Bynner, and indeed about hundreds of poems written in the United States between 1910 and 1930. HORSES is reprinted in 17 and 21.

2. THROUGH A GATEWAY IN JAPAN. *Nation* (New York) 109 (July 1919): 43.

The speaker passes through a torii (the word used in the poem) and finds ‘No temple-steps, no lanterns and no shrine, / Only divinity— / The solitary presence of a pine / Facing the sea’. Reprinted in 3, 17, and 21.

3. *A Canticle of Pan and Other Poems*. New York: Knopf, 1920.

Includes the only Bynner poems definitively traceable to his travels in Japan. Wilbur (24*b*) notes the influence of Buddhism. †Richard Hageman’s ‘Voices, Medium’ (New York: Galaxy Music, 1941) is a musical adaptation of portions. Reprints THROUGH A GATEWAY IN JAPAN (2). *A-f* appear in a ‘Japanese Notes’ section. See also 23.

a. IN THE HOUSE OF LAFCADIO HEARN. Bynner was among the few early pilgrims to the Hearn house in Matsue, thirteen years after Hearn’s death, though thousands have followed. Description of circumstances leading to the composition of the poem, and the poem itself, appear in Bynner’s letter of May 1917 to Haniel Long (see 20*b*). He had made the ‘pilgrimage’ on his own, since he could not interest Ficke in the journey. The poem is ten lines of conventional verse recounting the visit. Bynner’s prose in the letter is considerably more poignant.

b. IN THE YOSHIWARA. Describes in conventional verse a woman in the entertainment quarter of Edo.

c. IN A TEMPLE. Description of a fortune, or *omikujī*, received at a temple: ‘If you work hard all the time, / Good luck will attend you like a steady wind.’

d. IN A THEATRE. The sound of the wooden blocks struck together to announce the beginning of a kabuki play and the sound of the wooden clogs striking the floor as the actor enters become a metaphor for the speaker’s anticipation: he hears them ‘Clacking through the night to my door, / For the curtain of my heart to rise / On my own actor, / My beloved’.

e. IN A POEM. Describes an old woman who ‘dusted the paper shutter / Very carefully’ so that ‘the shadow of the pine-tree / Might be quite perfect’.

f. IN A PAINTING. The speaker has guided a ‘you’ up an ‘infinite mountain . . .

made of skulls'. The reference would be to one of several Japanese and Chinese Buddhist works that depict such a mountain.

g. IN KAMAKURA. Bynner's most striking poem on a Japanese subject recounts reactions to the Great Buddha of Kamakura and anticipates by decades a turn in American poetry toward identification with Buddhism. The speaker contemplates two images of the Buddha and loses himself in both. In the latter the figure, bought at a souvenir stall, has ' . . . a steel of a round mirror for His halo . . . // So that a brooding head still intervenes in bronze / Between my face and the image of my face, / And I cannot see myself and not see Him.' Reprinted in 17 and 21. See also 24b.

h. THE NEIGHBORS HELP HIM BUILD HIS HOUSE. Identified as 'a Japanese Folk-Chant'. 'Songs' of a young man, an old man, and 'others', about the blessings of spring and of the Buddha.

4. Morgan, Emanuel [Bynner]. *Pins for Wings*. New York: Sunwise Turn, 1920.

A series of short portrayals, none longer than ten words, of Bynner's acquaintances, several of which in their layout on the page resemble period translations of hokku. Eliot is 'the wedding cake / of two tired cultures', Pound 'a book worm / in tights', Noguchi 'incense / for breakfast'. Published under the pseudonym Bynner had used for the *Spectra* hoax (see BG6). Selections are reprinted in 17, 18, and 21.

5. 'On Translating Chinese Poetry'. *Asia* 21 (December 1921): 993-97.

In part a discussion of Lowell and Ayscough's *Fir-Flower Tablets* (BI10), though in his dismissal of the translation of component parts of the Sino-Japanese characters Bynner surely would have had in mind as well the Pound/Fenollosa conception of the ideogram (see BK32). To 'drag out from an ideograph its radical metaphor lands you in a limbo-language'. Bynner also objects to 'contemporary writers' who 'inflate' translations of East Asian verse 'with too much pomp and color', and mentions Mathers (D25) specifically in this regard. See also 13; reprinted in 21.

6. 'Dragon-Drama'. *Freeman*, 3 October 1923, pp. 89-91.

Bynner's discussion of East-Asian drama anticipates work by Gary Snyder (see CA14e) and other American writers after the Second World War. His focus is largely China, but the perception of a cultural link between East Asian and Native American tradition pertains here nonetheless for its anticipation of work to come. He suggests that 'anyone who has lived among the Red Indians' might well perceive a connection between Native American and East Asian ritual drama. He 'cannot answer for' an 'exactly parallel application of ceremonial instruments', but can 'vouch for' their 'obviously Chinese use' in the dances of the Hopi and the Pueblo.

He wishes for a scholarship 'versed in the beliefs and observances' of both East Asian and Native American peoples in order that 'a new and golden link between the past of America and the past of Asia' might be established. Reprinted in *19*.

7. Reviews of *Tale of Genji*, by Murasaki Shikibu, translated by Arthur Waley (*D26c*).
New York Herald Tribune Books, 27 September 1925, 11 April 1926, 24 April 1927, 12 August 1928.

In reviews of the four sections of Waley's translation Bynner finds the work 'accomplished' and 'industrious', Murasaki Shikibu 'sheerly a genius', and the novel itself 'one of the few literary masterpieces of all time'. Reprinted in *19* and *21*.

8. 'Translating the Orient'. Review of *Poetry of the Orient*, edited by Eunice Tietjens.
Bookman (New York) 69 (April 1929): 186-90.

Bynner's distaste for Japan while he was in the country translated into a distaste for most Japanese literature as well (though see 7). Of work in this collection, Hitomaro, in spite of the 'earnest efforts' of Waley and others, 'takes on no stature in English', and after Bynner has 'ploughed through' Pound's version of Zeami's 'dull' play NISHIKIGI (*BK8*), he has 'wondered again' why the *nô* is 'so solemnly impressive to Japanese intellectuals'. Includes reference to Noguchi's translation of Moritake's *rakka eda ni* (see *D15e6*), the poem from which Pound derived his theory of super-position (see *BK12*), along with translations by Hearn (see *D9*), Chamberlain (*D5*), and others of poems by Chiyo (1703-75, see also *BD40*) and Sosei (fl. 859-97). Perpetuates the misattribution of Issa's *tsuyu no yo wa* (The world of dew . . .) to Buson, a mistake first made by Snow (in *A12*) and repeated by Tietjens. Reprinted in *19*.

9. ORIENTAL. In *Guest Book*. New York: Knopf, 1935.

Relies upon a central image of a modern-day Genji, an allusion to the *Genji monogatari* (see *D26c*).

10. THE BOW OF HOKUSAI. *Commonweal* 21 (January 1935): 282.

A verse appreciation of Hokusai's mastery, reliant on a central image of an archer shooting a falcon from the sky. The work does not appear in a collection of Bynner's verse.

11. *Selected Poems*. Edited by Robert Hunt. New York: Knopf, 1936. 2nd ed. rev., 1943.
Reprints selections from *Spectra* (*BG6*), which Bynner co-wrote with Ficke.

12. 'Patterns of Eastern Culture'. Review of *The Asian Legacy in American Life*, edited by Arthur Christy. *Saturday Review of Literature*, 21 July 1945, pp. 12-13.
In spite of reservations about Japan elsewhere (see p. 156 above), Bynner adopts here a stance uncommonly stated aloud in the United States of 1945. At a time

when ‘allied with one Asian nation, we are warring against another’, Christy’s edition is ‘timely and pertinent’. Bynner reminds of a period in American history when ‘aided by France, we were warring against Britain’, but the cultures of both remained ‘respected and cherished’. It is ‘well time’, therefore, that a book such as Christy’s has considered ‘our past, present, and future debt’ to Asia and ‘deal[t] fairly not only with the cultures of China, India, and the Near East, but with Japan’s also’. Having written this, Bynner finds Fletcher’s contribution to Christy’s work, about the influence of East Asian tradition in modern American poetry (BH15), ‘more theory than evidence’ and better as ‘a good chapter in an autobiography’ than a ‘contribution to the purpose of the present volume’. Comments about the connection between East-Asian and Native American cultures demonstrate again the degree to which Bynner anticipates Snyder’s later concerns (see also 6 and CA14e). Reprinted in 19.

13. ‘Tempest in a China Teapot’. Review of *Florence Ayscough and Amy Lowell:*

Correspondence of a Friendship (BI16). *Saturday Review of Literature*, 30 March 1946, pp. 42, 44.

Though Bynner’s subject is Chinese poetry in general, Ayscough and Lowell’s translations in particular, he also would have had in mind Pound’s conception of the ideogram (see especially BK32) in writing that ‘the stretching out of the [kanji] into its ideographic parts . . . [distorts] its proportionate place in the poem for the sake of an interruptive quaintness’. He wonders if a Western reader is aided in understanding an East-Asian poet’s ‘thoughts of home’ if the ‘home’ is ‘translated according to the ideograph, [which represents] a pig under a roof’. Reprinted in 19.

14. ‘Do We Know the Chinese?’ *Saturday Review of Literature*, 22 January 1949, pp. 9-10, 26, 28-29.

Opens with Bynner’s most detailed account of his reactions to Japan during his 1917 visit, though surely recent events had shaped some of his comments. He traces his interest in the country to his days at Harvard, where he had seen a performance of *Madame Butterfly*, read Hearn, and took an interest in ukiyoe. But it was not until his 1917 sojourn to East Asia that he began to see beyond the conventional images. At first, ‘Japan bore out all that the prints had mirrored and . . . Hearn had written’. It seemed ‘a beautiful garden, tended by a race of perfectionists’. But in Korea under Japanese occupation Bynner ‘became cognizant of the treatment Japanese accord people whom they do not consider their neighbors’; in contrast to the Chinese, he writes, the Japanese ‘regard themselves as a chosen people’, exhibit a ‘herd instinct’ and ‘blind obedience to discipline’, and ‘reserve their good behavior for use toward their own breed’. He notes that

even Ficke, his travelling companion and by 1917 an expert on Japanese art, was more comfortable in China than Japan. The Chinese 'could laugh with him from kindred bowels of amusement' but in Japan the 'titter had been from a nervous cerebral guess'. Includes in closing unflattering reference to the Showa Emperor: by the outbreak of war 'Hitler had not learned, nor had Hirohito, that without free individuals there cannot be an enduring state'. Reprinted in 19.

15. 'Autobiography in the Shape of a Book Review'. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 3 November 1963.

Includes passing reference to a performance of kabuki in Tokyo in 1917, and going backstage to introduce a friend to 'one of the foremost actors of the time in the latter's dressing room'. Reprinted in 19 and 21.

16. To Yone Noguchi, 14 June 1921. In Atsumi (*D15e9*), 1975.

Nothing else in the published record establishes an acquaintance between either Bynner or Ficke and Noguchi, but this warm letter surely demonstrates a friendship of some years standing. Bynner writes that he has recently visited Ficke, and so has 'been with friends of [Noguchi] as well as' of his own, and they spoke 'much' of Noguchi during the visit. He notes that Ficke has a copy of Noguchi's *Hiroshige* (*D15e8*) and that he himself would appreciate one, and inquires about Koizumi Kazuo, Hearn's son (see also 20b).

17. *Selected Poems*. Edited by Richard Wilbur. Vol. 1 of *The Works of Witter Bynner*, edited by James Kraft. New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1978.

Reprints HORSES and other poems from *Beloved Stranger* (1), THROUGH A GATEWAY IN JAPAN (2), IN KAMAKURA (3g), and selections from *Pins for Wings* (4) and *Spectra* (BG6). See also 24.

18. *Light Verse and Satires*. Edited by William Jay Smith. Vol. 2 of *The Works of Witter Bynner*, edited by James Kraft. New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1978.

Reprints *Pins for Wings* (4) and *Spectra* (BG6). See also 25.

19. *Prose Pieces*. Edited by James Kraft. Vol. 4 of *The Works of Witter Bynner*, edited by Kraft. New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1979.

Reprints 'Dragon-Drama' (6), 'The Tale of Genji' (7), 'Translating the Orient' (8), 'Patterns of Eastern Culture' (12), 'Tempest in a China Teapot' (13), 'Do We Know the Chinese?' (14), and 'Autobiography in the Shape of a Book Review' (15). See also 26.

20. *Selected Letters*. Edited by James Kraft. Vol. 5 of *The Works of Witter Bynner*, edited by James Kraft. New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1981.

Chosen from more than seven thousand extant Bynner letters to more than thirteen hundred recipients, the selection represents those letters Kraft believes 'best

create a narrative of Bynner's life'. In addition to those noted others mention Japan and Japanese subjects in passing (see index).

a. To Annie Louise Wellington, 16 April 1917. In the only letter in the collection written from Japan Bynner writes to his mother of his admiration for the 'simple beauty' of his room in a Japanese inn.

b. To Haniel Long, 5 May 1917. A long remembrance of Japan written from Korea. Bynner admires 'certain qualities in the Japanese', their 'self-control . . . honesty . . . kindness to one another . . . patience, persistence, endurance . . . love of children and flowers—and, always, their twenty-coat lacquer of cheer', for 'they make a gay conquest of conditions of poverty and cold which would reduce one of us to a heap of rags and curses'. The common people work harder than he had seen elsewhere in the world, and he was taken with their 'child-like friendliness—the wonder and the sudden smile'. In spite of this, however, he was not comfortable in the country. He had met poets, scholars, journalists, hotelkeepers, merchants, and guides, and they made him 'uneasy'. Both in their 'silence' and 'behind [their] eager speech' he sensed an unpleasant 'reserve . . . perhaps a flash of steel in the embroidery, something German, something they have learned from us and learned too well'. Recounts details of travel in Kyoto, to the Straits of Shimonoseki, and to the house of Lafcadio Hearn, the last in language more engaging than the Bynner poem on the same subject (3a):

A Japanese house. A barefoot boy of nineteen with three or four strong hairs on his chin and strong goggles on his eyes. The Hearn nose. Otherwise, Japanese. Shy, shining, abrupt manners. Little English—none at first. His mother, out but sent for. I was led past two or three simple purely Japanese rooms, then stockinged my way across the oil-cloth floor of a small room with a few pieces of European furniture, table and chairs, into a study lined with bookcases but otherwise Japanese. My card was laid before Hearn's picture in the little Buddhist shrine. Mother came. No English. Little sister. Next to no eyes. Bows. Smiles. Tea. I seemed to be the first pilgrim. They didn't even know that the house was mentioned in the guidebook. Their name is Koizumi. They were pleased. I asked for a blossom from the garden. She gave it to me. But Kazuo Koizumi crossed and brought me a spray of little leaves, saying, "Father liked best the maples." And of that I made a poem.

Reference here to the guidebook Bynner had with him in Japan would be to a work prepared by Basil Hall Chamberlain and W. B. Mason (see *D5b*).

c. To Barry Faulkner, 22 May 1917. Written from Shanghai. From the beginning Bynner preferred China to Japan and Korea: 'Korea was exciting—but Peking is almost everything. I can't get my breath from the wonder of it. Japan is but bothersome dust in the nostrils of the dragon.'

d. To Ruth Witt-Diamant, 7 August 1964. Witt-Diamant had accepted a teaching post in Tokyo, and Bynner writes of his 'envy' of her presence there, though

mentions again his preference for China over Japan (see also p. 156 above). During his 1917 journey, in Japan, 'for all the slight squirming and giggling', he 'was never sure whether or not we were seeing and feeling with the same humor', while in China 'the mirth bottle would pop with champagne'. He wonders if the 'Japanese eagerness to be laughing with us' has over the years 'reached . . . an inclination to be laughing at us'. He felt in Asia that 'it would have taken very little decency for us to earn and keep a warm liking from the Chinese', but the people of Japan 'baffled' him with 'their apparent eagerness toward a liking they could not really muster'.

2 1. *The Selected Witter Bynner: Poems, Plays, Translations, Prose, and Letters*. Edited by James Kraft. Albuquerque: U of New Mexico P, 1995.

Reprints HORSES and other poems from *Beloved Stranger* (1), THROUGH A GATEWAY IN JAPAN (2), IN KAMAKURA (3g), 'Translating Chinese Poetry' (5), 'The Tale of Genji' (7), 'Autobiography in the Shape of a Book Review' (15), and selections from *Pins for Wings* (4) and *Spectra* (BG6).

2 2. †Unpublished materials.

a. Witter Bynner Papers and Witter Bynner Correspondence. Houghton Library, Harvard University. The largest Bynner archive includes more than 17,000 letters to and from Bynner, along with manuscripts, diaries, and memoirs. Correspondents include Aiken, Ficke, Fletcher, Pound, and Yeats.

b. Witter Bynner Papers. Dartmouth College Library. Included are Bynner's Harvard English papers from 1897-1901, manuscripts of unpublished poems and the *Jade Mountain*, and correspondence with Lowell. Photocopies of the material are held in the Bynner papers at Harvard.

c. Witter Bynner Papers, 1905-62. Department of Special Collections, University of New Hampshire Library. Includes correspondence, autographed manuscripts, and photographs.

d. Other materials. Letters from Bynner to other writers under study here may be found in the Ficke and Pound papers at Yale (BG16 and BK90a), and in the Aiken collection at the Huntington Library (BA20a); other collections of Bynner materials are at the Henry Ransom Humanities Research Center at the University of Texas at Austin, the Manuscript and Archives Division of the New York Public Library, and the Library at the University of California at Berkeley.

See also BG6.

Secondary Materials

2 3. Reviews of *A Cantic of Pan* (3) 1920-21.

Of several contemporary reviews only Weaver (see A 9) and an unsigned work in the *Dial* (70 [1921]: 109) draw particular attention to the 'Oriental pieces' in the collection, which according to the *Dial* reviewer demonstrate 'flashes of vivid insight' and 'penetrating beauty'.

24. Introductions to *Selected Poems* (17), 1978.

a. Kraft, James. 'Biographical Introduction'. Kraft suggests that the *Spectra* poems (BG6) have 'the elliptical quality of *haiku*', and that Ficke, who had found in Japanese art a 'stylized feeling that served him for his stylized verses', passed on to Bynner an 'interest in the Orient' that gave him 'the model for his best poetry'. For Bynner himself 'the Orient represented . . . an escape into a style of life' that he found 'acceptable . . . as a man and a poet'.

b. Wilbur, Richard. 'Critical Introduction'. Includes discussion of Bynner's debt to Buddhism, along with brief notes about IN KAMAKURA (3g).

25. Smith, William Jay. Introduction to *Light Verse and Satires* (18), 1978.

Smith suggests that Bynner was among the first poets writing in English to move beyond imitation of Chinese and Japanese forms and to take on something of the 'manner' of East-Asian verse. While Chinese poetry is more central to his work than Japanese, in *The Beloved Stranger* (1) haiku and tanka, while not 'copied exactly', are 'suggested', by 'indirection', 'unusually vivid sensuous detail', and insistence that 'the reader . . . complete the whole'. The poems Smith mentions specifically in this regard are HORSES and THE FIRE-MOUNTAIN.

26. Kraft, James. Introduction to *Prose Pieces* (19), 1979.

Kraft notes that Bynner believed the people of the United States 'had little in common with the Japanese character and much with the Chinese', who 'living in a vast, sprawling country' were 'easier, warmer, more humorous, and more tolerant than the Japanese, more like Americans', a point Bynner himself makes in some detail in 'Do We Know the Chinese' (14).

27. Kraft, James. *Who Is Witter Bynner?*. Albuquerque: U of New Mexico P, 1995.

The fullest biographical account of Bynner mentions in passing his travels with Ficke in Japan and includes photographs taken during the journey. In one of these the two poets stand before a temple hall, in another Bynner is posed before a stone Buddha. Includes notes about Bynner's relationship with Ficke, Pound, Stevens (see CA7), and Yeats (see index).

See also A 9, 11, 16, 18, 25, 29, 55, 67, BG18, BK59, 86, 88, and 188.

BF. William Empson, 1906-1984

From 1931 to 1934 Empson lectured at Tokyo University of Literature and Science (*Tôkyô bunrika daigaku*) and the Imperial University at Tokyo, then after an interlude in Britain returned to East Asia in 1937. He believed he would take up a position at the National University at Peking, but arrived in that city to Japanese occupation, and with the faculty and students of the Chinese universities in exile fled into the interior. For the better part of two years Empson remained with the exiled universities as they convened classes in mountain villages and fled from the Japanese Army. His poems originating in these experiences, particularly those of *The Gathering Storm* of 1940 (9), constitute a compelling record of the period, and follow upon and enlarge theories he had set forth in *Seven Types of Ambiguity* (1930). Instead of the ambiguities inherent in literary texts, however, they address the ambiguities of race and nation, and a relationship Empson could not help but perceive between aggression and beauty. In the earlier years in Japan he had developed a lively interest in the *nô* (see 8 and 19), and began a decade-long study of Buddhist iconography that resulted in a book-length manuscript, 'Assymetry in Buddha Faces' (see especially 6, 16, 21b2-5, and 26a), which to Empson's lasting regret was lost in London during the war. His engagement with Japan and the Japanese was such, then, that ultimately one must take exception to Miner's contention in *Japanese Tradition* (A25) that Empson was 'really little different from a Kipling in his attempts to fit . . . Japanese experiences into a world-view and literary forms which he possessed before' going to Japan. It is true that the formal structure of Empson's verse did not change noticeably in Japan or because of experience of Japan (though the metaphorical leaps that characterise the earlier work become bolder and more nimble in Empson's poems of Japan and the Japanese), but certainly more than for Kipling and arguably as much as for any writer under study here conceptual threads originating in Japan and experience of the Japanese in China came to constitute an important part of Empson's thought, and the poems of *The Gathering Storm* are by any standard among his best. All poems noted are reprinted in *Collected Poems* (14) and *The Complete Poems of William Empson*, edited by John Haffenden (London: Lane, 2000).

Primary Materials

1. Review of *Blue Trousers*, by Murasaki Shikibu, translated by Arthur Waley (see D26c). *Granta*, 11 May 1928, pp. 419-20.

Empson finds the fourth part of Waley's translation of *Genji monogatari* 'the best

so far', in part because 'the opportunities for . . . references to earlier parts, which form a large part of one's pleasure, are by now becoming very great', and in part because this section 'is more concerned than others with death and old age', and thereby allows Murasaki Shikibu, 'as if in compensation', to bring forth 'her subtlest and richest comedy'. Reprinted in *The Book of Film & Theatre Reviews of William Empson* (Kent: Foundling, 1993).

2. *Poems by William Empson*. Tokyo: Fox and Daffodil, 1934.

Empson's first collection of poems, fourteen in total, printed 'for private circulation' at 'Kinuta-mura, near Tokyo' while he was resident in the city. All but HOMAGE TO THE BRITISH MUSEUM, THIS LAST PAIN, and BACCHUS had appeared in British journals before he arrived in Japan, and of these only the last may be definitively traced to his years in Tokyo (see 14, 1955 preface), though neither that work nor any other in the collection makes use of Japanese subjects. *Fox and Daffodils* was the name of a student literary journal at Tokyo Imperial University in the twenties and thirties, and so publication probably was arranged by faculty advisors for that journal, probably including Ichikawa Sanki. Incorporated into 4 and 14.

3. 'Bungaku o oshierukoto' (Teaching literature). *Bungei*, February 1934, pp. 87-93.

Empson published several articles in Tokyo journals during his residence in the city, including early drafts of much of *Some Versions of Pastoral* (5), but the work usually is not directly related to Japanese subjects. This piece is an exception in that it addresses the teaching of literature specifically to Japanese students in Japan. Empson himself did not have Japanese, but no translator of the work is noted. For brief treatment of similar concerns in English see 11.

4. *Poems*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1935.

Includes along with the fourteen poems of *Poems by William Empson* (2) sixteen others, but again most had appeared in British journals while Empson was an undergraduate at Cambridge. Only PLENUM AND VACUUM, HIGH DIVE, DOCTRINAL POINT, and LETTER V first appeared after his arrival in Japan, and again these are unrelated to Japanese subjects. Indirectly related is a prefatory translation from Shakyamuni's 'Fire Sermon', for Empson's keen interest in Buddhism has firm roots in his years in Japan (see 6, 9, 16, 19, 21a, 21b2-5, 26a, and 29). Incorporated into 14.

5. *Some Versions of Pastoral*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1935. Reprint, London: Hogarth, 1986.

Empson's great work on the pastoral tradition was mainly written during his years in Tokyo, and so, after Blunden's *Undertones of War* (BD19), was the second

seminal work of twentieth-century English literature written in the city within a decade, though like Blunden's work *Some Versions* is essentially unrelated to its place of composition. Several American editions appeared under the title *English Pastoral Poetry*. See also 31.

6. 'The Faces of Buddha'. *Listener* 15 (February 1936): 238-40.

Some of a lost book-length manuscript about the ambiguity of Buddhist iconography (see Haffenden, 29) is prefigured in this short piece. The work does not trace the theoretical underpinnings of the lost work, but does include comment about the lack of a 'merely racial' influence in Buddhist iconography. This is a point Haffenden traces to Empson's experience in Japan, for 'having witnessed [there] in the early 1930s the effects of a fiercely misplaced nationalism, he became concerned to minimise the importance of national differences and to emphasise what different countries held in common through their religious myths and art, and through their mixtures of race'. A fuller outline of Empson's theory of Buddhist iconography may be found in *21b3*, and further Empson comment about Japanese racist theories in *11*.

7. AUBADE. *Life and Letters* 17 (Winter 1937): 68-69.

Late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Western imaginative writing about Japan often focused on the desertion of a Japanese woman by a foreign man—Chrysanthème and Butterfly are but two well-known examples of a recurring theme—but here the subject is turned on its head. The speaker and a Japanese woman are awakened in the hours before dawn by an earthquake, and she flees lest the man sleeping in her own home wake, 'bawl' for her, and 'finding her not in earshot' know of her relationship with the foreign man (though the speaker puns that this excuse might provide 'some solid ground for lying'). Miner (A25) concludes that the Japanese woman is married, but Gardner and Gardner's note that 'in earshot' suggests 'not . . . a husband but . . . a father' (27) seems more accurate. In any case, the foreign speaker asks the woman to stay but she will not, and his reflections following her parting indicate both his sadness at losing her and his realisation that the loss is inevitable given the historical landscape of contemporary Japan, which mitigates against such an affair. Two refrains, 'it seemed the best thing to be up and go' and 'the heart of standing is you cannot fly' pertain equally to the immediate situation of the earthquake, in which conventional Japanese wisdom is that one should get outside, and to the end of the relationship itself. A leap at stanza seven from the personal story to the turmoil of world affairs turns the loss of the woman into a metaphor for larger losses, and allies her flight from the speaker with his own earlier flight from the 'gathering

storm' of Europe:

Tell me again about Europe and her pains,
Who's tortured by the drought, who by the rains.
Glut me with floods where only the swine can row
Who cuts his throat and let him count his gains.
It seemed the best thing to be up and go.

A bedshift flight to a Far Eastern sky.
Only the same war on a stronger toe.
The heart of standing is you cannot fly.

The poem is better known in the later version printed in *The Gathering Storm* (9) and *Collected Poems* (14), but eight lines that appear here but not in the later version indicate that the relationship was more than passing fancy. The speaker notes that the lines of the poem are 'unjust to [the woman] without a prose book' for 'a lyric from a fact is bound to cook'. Both the relationship and the leave-taking

was more grinding [than the poem allows]; it was much more slow,
But still the point's not how much time it took,
It seemed the best thing to be up and go.

I do not know what forces made it die.
With what black life it may yet work below.
The heart of standing is you cannot fly.

Empson told Christopher Ricks in 1963 (in 20) that the poem had its origin in his experience in Japan at a time when 'it was usual for the old hand in the English colony to warn the young man: don't you go and marry a Japanese because we're going to be at war with Japan within ten years'. Empson's note says that 'the same war' (l. 31) refers to the Manchurian Incident. He notes to Ricks that the poem 'was written in Tokyo during the Manchurian Incident, probably in 1933'. Empson reads the poem in 18.

8. 'Ballet of the Far East'. *Listener* 18 (July 1937): 16-18.

The 'ballet' to which Empson refers is the *nô* and kabuki. The essay offers a provocative appreciation of both. Empson contrasts principles of the Japanese forms with European conventions of dance, music, and drama, and argues that key differences arise from differing ways of perceiving a 'supreme God'. He concludes that the traditional music of Asia, with its tempo slower than the beat of a human heart, is for 'serious dancing' preferable to the music of the West, and that the 'dramatic dancing' of the Japanese theatre makes Western ballet seem 'childish' by comparison. Praises Waley's 'admirable' translations of the *nô* (D26b), and acknowledges as well those of Stopes (see D23).

9. *The Gathering Storm*. London: Faber & Faber, 1940.

The only important book of poems in English to address early mid-century

Japanese militarism. In addition to poems noted below, others, most notably *IGNORANCE OF DEATH*, include reference to Empson's interest in Buddhism. Empson's own notes about individual poems, sometimes quite detailed, follow the text. Incorporated into 14. Reprints *AUBADE*, with eight lines omitted (see 7).

a. *THE FOOL; THE SHADOW; and THE SMALL BIRD TO THE BIG*. Empson's notes following the poems say they were written by Miss 'C. Hatakeyama', and Empson claims only to have 'polish[ed] up her . . . English', without adding 'a metaphor or thought'. The verses are fully Empsonian in their convolution and wit, however. Miner (A25) writes that if Miss Hatakeyama and Empson are indeed two people, then 'they have both been inspired by the same Muse, who is not named Simplicity'. Empson's only further note about Miss Hatakeyama is that 'she has nothing to do with the *Aubade* poem' (7). No critic of Empson's verse has so much as offered a guess about her identity.

b. *THE BEAUTIFUL TRAIN*. Nine lines that reverberate far beyond their brevity. The train of the title is identified in a parenthetical note as 'a Japanese one, in Manchuria, from Siberia southwards, September 1937', and Empson's longer note, written in London three years later, establishes more fully the setting and occasion: 'This was when I was going to a job in China a few weeks after the outbreak of the Chinese war. The [poem] is about a surprised pleasure in being among Japanese again, though the train itself was beautiful after the Russian one all right. What I abhorred or rightly felt I ought to abhor was Japanese imperialism. They have got themselves into a tragically false position, I think; the Chinese with their beautiful good humour were always patient when I told them I was more sorry for the Japanese than for China.' Empson's route on the journey is worth noting. He travelled east via the Trans-Siberian Railway, which would have taken him as far as Chita, in the Siberian frontier, then via the Chinese Eastern Railroad south-east through Manzhouli (see c) and Japanese-occupied Manchuria to Harbin. Gardner and Gardner (27) have him travelling on to Vladivostok, but if he did he would have had to backtrack to Harbin to transfer to the Japanese South Manchuria Railway (Jpn.: *Mantetsu*), upon which the 'beautiful train' ran. The Gardners' assertion that the Chinese Eastern Railroad was Russian-owned is inaccurate. It was Russian-built, but sold to Japan in 1935 as the Russians withdrew north and west before the advancing Imperial Army, and so Empson would have been on Japanese trains from Chita southward. On the South Manchuria Railroad from Harbin he would have travelled south and west, through Mukden (now Shenyang) toward Peking, and surely would have known that this railroad itself had been a driving force behind Japanese aggression in Manchuria. It was on

these tracks in a suburb of Mukden in the autumn of 1931 that a group of Japanese officers detonated explosives with the intent of derailing the Dairen Express, setting in motion the so-called Manchurian incident, which gave the Imperial army a pretext for seizing Mukden and occupying the country. The railroad was the major lifeline of the occupying forces, and later facilitated the full-scale invasion of northern China, late in the summer of 1937, just before Empson set forth from London. By the time he arrived in Peking to take up his position at the National University, the city had fallen and the university had been appropriated by the Japanese secret police as an examination headquarters for political and military inquisition. Large sections of the universities at Tsinghua and Nankai had been destroyed, the student gymnasium at the former turned into a stable. The ‘beautiful train’, then, cannot be separated from Japanese militarism. Empson’s poem is ultimately about the ambiguity of beauty and aggression, as well as his own ambiguity toward the Japanese, his ‘pleasure’ in being in their company again and his despair at their ‘tragically false position’ in China and, later, throughout East, North, and Southeast Asia. He ‘loves’ what he ‘abhors’, the Japanese train, which like a Spanish dancer he remembers from childhood is ‘so firm, [yet] so burdened, on such light gay feet’, as it ‘lopes for home’ in the occupied Chinese capital.

c. MANCHOULI. Again, brief lines—six in this case—that have remarkable resonance. Manchouli was a small frontier town on the Chinese Eastern Railroad near the conjunction of Siberia, Mongolia, and Manchuria. Empson passed through on his journey through Japanese-occupied territories to Peking in the autumn of 1937 (see *b*). The speaker here finds it ‘normal, passing these great frontiers, / That you can scan the crowds in rags eagerly each side / With awe; that the nations seem real; that their ambitions / Having such achieved variety within one type, seem sane’, but realises as well that it is a ‘false comfort’ that may be ‘extracted’ from the word ‘normal’. The depth of the poem is discernible only with understanding of its historical context. What was ‘normal’ in Manchouli when Empson saw the town, as throughout occupied Manchuria, north and east China, and the whole of Korea, was Japanese occupation and domination. The ‘crowds in rags’ would have included refugees from the *Tôa shinchitsujo*, the ‘new order in East Asia’, which was being enforced with considerable rigour south, east, and west of Manchouli by the Japanese Imperial Army.

d. CHINA. A verse evocation of the strengths of China written while Empson was with the national universities in exile during Japanese occupation. By the time he arrived at Peking to take up a teaching position at the National University the

city had fallen and the universities were closed (see *b* above and *10*). Students had been advised to reassemble at Nanyue (see *e*), nine-hundred miles south-west of the capital, where, for a term, according to Empson's note for AUTUMN IN NAN-YUEH, 'the Arts Departments of the Combined Universities were housed'. How Empson got to Nanyue is not recorded in print, but he did, and after a term fled with the exiled universities a further eight-hundred miles west to Kunming on the Burma Road. Gardner and Gardner (27) note that the 'punctuated lines' of the poem 'give the impression of sketches and thoughts jotted down while on the move', and suggest that it was written during this later flight. The work confronts the Japanese aggression in two brilliant metaphors. First, in opening line, a dragon, the traditional symbol of China, has 'hatched a cockatrice', the creature from classical legend, part snake and part cock, that can kill by its breath or its glance, suggesting along with more obvious connotations that Japanese civilisation grew from the Chinese. Later, in the closing stanza, the metaphor for the invader becomes that of the 'liver fluke of sheep', the parasite living inside a host that ultimately becomes part of the host: China, the metaphor suggests, can absorb the Japanese invaders, since they have been born from her, and are 'as like . . . as two peas'. The line of thought might be traced in part to the work of Empson's friend Sansom (see *D22*), which returns repeatedly to the idea that China historically has absorbed invaders and remained essentially unchanged. Empson's note, written from the perspective of 1940, acknowledges that the poem is mistaken about this, and about another point as well: 'The two main ideas put forward or buried in this poem now seem to me false. . . . [These] are that the Japanese and Chinese are extremely alike, since the Japanese are merely a branch of the same culture with specialised political traditions, and that China can absorb the Japanese however completely they over-run her.'

e. AUTUMN ON NAN-YUEH. Empson's longest poem was written during autumn term 1937 while he was with the exiled Chinese universities at Nan-Yueh (Nanyue), while the Japanese Army advanced west and south through the country (see *d*). The work is propelled by metaphors of flight, in keeping with the flight of the universities and the Chinese army from Peking south as the occupying army advanced, and by the constant knowledge that further flight might soon be necessary, as indeed it was. References to the war, direct and indirect, occur throughout, especially in stanza eleven, about 'the men who really soar', the Japanese pilots, whom 'we think about . . . quite a bit' because Ministers of the Kuomintang are present in Nanyue and 'the place is fit / For bombs'. The stanza closes with reference to errant bombs in the 'next town': 'The railway was the

chore / . . . [but] The thing is, they can not / Take aim. Two hundred on one floor / Were wedding guests cleverly hit / Seven times and none left to deplore'. The poem speculates brilliantly about Empson's role in all this and continues for more than two hundred lines.

1 0. 'A Chinese University'. *Life and Letters* 25 (June 1940): 239-45

Empson's lively prose account of his days with the Chinese universities in exile is not directly related to his response to Japan, but provides important background information for such poems as 9*b-e*.

1 1. 'Did You Hear That?' *Listener* 27 (January 1942): 9.

Brief remarks about the conformist and racist attitudes of Japanese students of English literature.

1 2. 'These Japanese'. *Listener* 27 (March 1942): 293-4, 309.

About the 'Japanese national character' and racist theories: 'Officially the Japanese say they are descended from gods', but in fact are 'a very complete mixture of race'.

1 3. 'Life in the Far East'. Review of *Daughter of Han*, by Ida Pruitt; and *Japanese Village*, by John Embree. *New Statesman and Nation* 31 (June 1946): 477.

Empson finds that the works under review give a better account of 'a life different from one's own' than any novel is likely to do. One must not 'push [this] claim [too] far', however, for 'a novelist who has lived wholly within the society described (Lady Murasaki, for instance) can give much more of the truth about it than reporting or a field survey'. Includes passing reference to 'Japanese atrocities' committed during the war.

1 4. *Collected Poems*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1949. Enlarged ed., London: Chatto and Windus, 1955. 2nd enlarged ed., 1962. Reprint, with new author's note, London: Hogarth, 1984.

All editions reprint all poems and notes from *Poems* (4) and *The Gathering Storm* (6), along with a new prefatory note. CHINESE BALLAD, which appears first in the 1962 edition, was 'translated' by Empson in 1951 while he was in China, and includes a speaker who, according to a note, is 'fighting the Japanese'. See also 27.

1 5. 'Bushido'. Review of *The Way of Deliverance*, by S. Hanayama. *New Statesman and Nation* 50 (September 1955): 337-8.

The work under review is an account of the post-war prison lives of the Japanese condemned to death as war criminals, written by the priest who attended them. Empson is particularly interested in the prisoners' lack of repentance, and their sense ultimately of having done nothing wrong, since the actions for which they were condemned were intended for the greater glory of Japan and the Emperor.

16. 'Mr Empson and the Fire Sermon'. *Essays in Criticism* 6 (October 1956): 481-82. Empson notes that he 'came to admire Buddhism' during his years in the East, and thinks it 'very much better than Christianity because it managed to get away from the neolithic craving to gloat over human sacrifice', but 'even so', he believes, 'it should be applied cautiously, like the new wonder-drugs'. Haffenden (29) quotes an undated and unpublished version of this piece at King's College Library, Cambridge (see 22), in which Empson writes that his nose had been 'rubbed very firmly in the Buddha' during his years in Japan and China.
17. †*Listen: William Empson Reading Selected Poems*. Sound recording. Sleeve notes by Empson. London: Marvel, 1959. Cited both in Gardner and Gardner (27) and Day (28), the former of which notes that among poems read and discussed in sleeve notes is AUBADE (7). Recorded 13 April 1959 in London.
18. *Milton's God*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1961. Rev. ed, 1965. Reprint, Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1981. In a brief passage in his chapter on 'Critics' Empson ties the attitudes of Japanese English literature professors in the thirties with the rise of Japanese nationalism: 'When the young Empson got a university job in Tokyo in 1931 his advice was kindly asked by a wise old Japanese professor about some proposed appointment for another Englishman. There was a suspicion that this man held excessively "liberal" views, which were very much unwanted of course—Japan had just begun her swing towards Manchuria and Pearl Harbour; and the old professor said, "We gather he isn't quite sound on Shelley." If he admired the revolutionary Shelley, that would mean he was a reliable old-school reactionary, whereas an anti-Shelley man might hold advanced political ideas. I found this very entertaining, and have thought our current literary orthodoxy a very confused body of doctrine ever since.'
19. 'A Full-Blown Lily'. Review of *The Lotus and the Robot*, by Arthur Koestler. *New Statesman* NS 61 (January 1961): 21-22. Empson criticises Koestler's attitudes toward the nô and Japanese Buddhism, and thereby reveals something of his own. Koestler suggests that the emotions of the nô are 'daintified', but Empson knows better, and knows as well, unlike most earlier commentators in English, that a nô performance and a nô text should not be confused. Koestler, he suggests, had not seen the play through to its end, for if he had, 'he would . . . have found the ghost of the warrior doing a good old South Sea Island war dance, stamping like a buck rabbit, to a terrific chorus of yowling'. The 'forces of the world are strong at the end in the music and dance', Empson writes,

‘as they need to be since loyalty to them keeps the ghost from his peace; but, as they are not in the words, we tend to assume that the whole performance is just Celtic Twilight’ (see 8 for a fuller treatment of the point). Regarding Japanese Buddhism, Koestler identifies it primarily with Zen, but Empson notes that neither Buddhism nor Japan are ‘all Zen’, and indeed ‘much of Japanese Buddhism is very like the Church of England, both in its weaknesses and virtues’.

20. ‘William Empson in Conversation with Christopher Ricks’. *The Review*, June 1963, pp. 26-35.

Includes passing reference to Japan in the thirties. Empson indicates that his relationship with the Japanese woman who appears in AUBADE (7) was serious enough that they considered marriage, but that the poem, in part, says ‘All right, we can’t marry, we must expect to separate’. Reprinted in *The Modern Poets: Essays from ‘The Review’*, edited by Ian Hamilton (London: MacDonald, 1968).

21. *The Royal Beasts and Other Works*. Edited by John Haffenden. London: Chatto and Windus, 1986. Reprint, Iowa City: U of Iowa P, 1988.

‘Creative writings’ by Empson, mostly done between 1926 and 1942, most published here for the first time. Includes, along with work noted below, twelve ‘poems and fragments’ previously unpublished, five uncollected poems, and miscellaneous prose. The materials are largely drawn from the Empson papers at King’s College Cambridge (22).

a. ‘The Elephant and the Birds: A Plan for a Ballet’. Based in large part on the Pali legend of the Buddha’s incarnation as an elephant, and so not directly connected to Japanese materials, though much of Empson’s fascination with and understanding of Buddhism may be traced to his years in Japan; Haffenden (see 29) notes Empson’s interest in Buddhist thought and art during his years in Japan, and suggests that ‘the full story behind the ballet thus begins at the latest by 1933, during Empson’s period of teaching at the Tokyo University of Literature and Science’.

b. Miscellaneous. Quoted in Haffenden’s, Introduction (29). In addition to materials noted below, Haffenden cites but does not quote a letter from Empson to Waley (see D26), the only indication in the published record of a correspondence between the two.

1. Manuscript written in Kyoto. Empson notes that Korean art has been so much assimilated into Japanese art that it has become ‘a sort of whimsical family joke’.

2. To George Sansom (see D22). Haffenden mentions five Empson letters to Sansom, two undated, one written at sea in the days after Empson left Japan, the

others of 2 September 1934 from Ceylon, 2 October 1934 from Athens, and 11 October 1935 from London. Excerpts quoted are mainly about Empson's theory of the ambiguity in Buddhist effigies (see especially 6 and 21b3 below).

3. From 'Asymmetry in Buddha Faces'. In the opening page of his lost book-length study (see 29) Empson outlines his theory that representations of the face of Buddha combine incompatible elements of 'repose' and 'active power' in a 'startling and compelling' unity, and demonstrates that much of the theory that occupied him for more than a decade was set in motion in Japan. European experts have not often addressed the subject of the 'magnificent' faces, Empson notes, but he 'had a chance [while] in Japan' 'timidly' to suggest his theory to Anesaki Masaharu (see *BD33*), expecting him 'to treat it as a fad'. Instead, Anesaki accepted the idea 'as something obvious and well known', and told Empson to compare the masks of the *nô* stage for 'historical evidence', for there as in Buddhist iconography 'the tradition of the craftsmen has not been lost', and without question the faces 'have been constructed to wear two expressions'.

4. To John Hayward, 7 March 1933. Empson's letter written in Japan includes discussion of his passion for Buddhist images, which he calls 'the only accessible art I find myself able to care about'.

5. To T. S. Eliot, July 1937. Concerns Empson's manuscript about Buddhist effigies.

2.2. †Unpublished materials.

The Empson Papers at King's College Library, Cambridge, include the letters and manuscripts noted in 21 and many others. Letters Empson wrote during his stay in Japan are held in the Chatto and Windus Correspondence Files, 1929-39, University of Reading Libraries. Other collections include those at the BBC Written Archive Centre at Reading and the Department of Poetry and Special Collections at the State University of New York at Buffalo.

Secondary Materials

2.3. †*Eibungaku fukei* 1/4 (1934-35).

According to Fukuhara (26b) this is a special Empson number of a journal published by graduates of *Tokyo bunrika daigaku*, where Empson taught, but the title does not appear in any listing of Japanese periodicals of the period, and is unknown even to the library at Tsukuba University, the successor of *Tokyo bunrika daigaku*.

2.4. †Sato, Nobuo. Reminiscence about Empson in Japan. *Eibungaku fukei* 2/1 (1935).

See 23. Fukuhara (26b) describes the 'long reminiscence' in some detail, and notes

that it includes detailed descriptions of Empson's living arrangements and daily life in Tokyo, where he was often accompanied by Sato, who Fukuhara believes was 'a young doctor with a literary taste'.

25. †Irie, Yukio. Reminiscence of Empson in Japan.

Another obscure Fukuhara reference (see 23 and 24): 'Yukio Irie, [Empson's] old student, owes his scholarship much to Mr Empson, whose words and deeds in leading Irie in his studies can be read in his talk about Empson's home-life [in Japan] printed in vol. V of *Rintaro Fukuhara's Writings* (Tokyo 1968, pp. 562-6).' Volume 5 of *Fukuhara Rintarô chosakushû* (Collected works of Fukuhara Rintarô) was published by Kenkyusha in 1968, but includes nothing by Irie and nothing about Empson.

26. Gill, Roma, ed. *William Empson: The Man and His Work*. London: Routledge and Paul, 1974.

a. Raine, Kathleen. 'Extracts from Unpublished Memoirs'. Raine recalls moments from her friendship with Empson and mentions in passing his letters to her from Japan. She notes that as an undergraduate he was drawn to the 'oriental gods' at the British Museum, and that Arthur Waley (see D26) was often in attendance at his parties at Cambridge. Raine was as well one of the few who read the complete manuscript of *Asymmetry in Buddha Faces* (see 29), and recalls here a passage from that work, though recounts slightly different details about its loss than those noted in Haffenden. Reprinted, with minor revisions, in Raine's *The Land Unknown* (New York.: Braziller, 1975).

b. Fukuhara, Rintarô. 'Mr William Empson in Japan'. The fullest account of Empson's years in Japan, written by his department head at Tokyo University of Literature and Science. Includes details of Fukuhara's first meeting with Empson, at the Imperial Hotel at Russell Square, London, 23 May 1931, arranged by Ichikawa Sanki upon the recommendation of Ichikawa's friend and Empson's tutor at Cambridge, I. A. Richards. 'After half an hour's talk the young poet was quite ready to come over to Japan', Fukuhara notes. Provides details of Empson's teaching schedule, leisure activities, friendships, and arrival and departure in the country, and details as well a hurried meeting in the summer of 1950 or 1951 when Fukuhara and G. S. Fraser met Empson on board a steamer at Yokohama while he was in transit from the United States to China. Includes also brief notes about Blunden's residence in Japan.

c. Bottrall, Ronald. WILLIAM EMPSON. Bottrall's poem recalls episodes from Empson's life. Lines 30-48 are about his years in Japan, where, Bottrall claims, Empson 'became a National Treasure', though 'His Japanese students were trying to

construe / In other words and at their leisure / A few well-known English proverbs' and "Out of sight, out of mind" became / "Invisible, insane". Includes mention of Sansom's wife, Katherine, the 'whiskey diet' Empson 'rode to work on', and other episodes, including his 'love-play with the parlour-maid / Of the somewhat sinister Swiss Minister'. Mrs. Nishiwaki (l. 37), who apparently taught Empson painting, was perhaps the wife of the Keio University Professor of English Literature J[unzaburô] Nishiwaki (see also *BD7* and *BK78a* and *d*), who had studied in England and was responsible for bringing Sherard Vines to Japan.

27. Gardner, Philip and Averil. *The God Approached: A Commentary on the Poems of William Empson*. Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield, 1978.

An insightful poem-by-poem commentary on Empson's *Collected Poems* (14) that makes frequent use of unpublished materials. Helpful in piecing together Empson's movements during his time with the 'exiled universities' in China (see *9b-e*), and in other details about Japanese and other subjects.

28. Day, Frank. *Sir William Empson; An Annotated Bibliography*. London: Garland, 1984.

The standard Empson bibliography provides further publication history and bibliographic detail for many works noted here, and lists works Empson published in Japan and a small number of reviews and articles about Empson in Japanese.

29. Haffenden, John. Introduction to *The Royal Beasts and Other Works* (21), 1986.

A wide-ranging critical introduction, largely based on unpublished letters and manuscripts, many of which are of importance to this study (see *21b*). Notes that during Empson's years in Japan he 'sought out Buddhist icons with an erudite-amateur interest amounting to a passion', and documents several trips, including one to Nara and Kyoto, that Empson undertook 'with the specific aim of pursuing Buddhist images'. Haffenden believes that 'the ethics of Buddhism struck Empson as altogether more humane than those of Christianity', and that his love of Buddhist iconography may be connected to argumentation in his seminal early work, *Seven Types of Ambiguity* (1930). Empson 'had early schooled himself in the ambiguities of literary expression', and subsequently, in the 1930s in Japan, 'discerned that the secret of the Buddha's given expression likewise embodied a fundamental ambiguity' (see *21b3*). Included is an account of Empson's manuscript about this, *Asymmetry in Buddha Faces*, which he had worked on for more than a decade and finished in London at the end of the war, 'decked out' with photographs 'gathered on his travels', but that 'unhappily, through no fault of his own and to his lasting disappointment', was lost in London after he returned to China in 1946. In addition to correspondence with George Sansom (see *D22*), Arthur Waley (*D26*),

and T. S. Eliot, Haffenden refers as well to unpublished materials that demonstrate that Empson spoke or corresponded with many others about his theory, including, in 1939, Langdon Warner, who had been Assistant Curator of Oriental Art at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston from 1906 to 1913, and, in 1940 or 1941, Rabindranath Tagore. For a slightly different account of circumstances surrounding the disappearance of the manuscript, see 26a.

30. Kajiki, Ryûichi. Interview by Peter Alexander. In Alexander (*BJ40*), 1989, p. 357, n. 99.

Kajiki, a former student of Plomer and later a well-respected English literature scholar, reported to Alexander in 1985 that while Empson was resident in Tokyo he 'got into serious trouble with the authorities because of . . . homosexual activity, and the Japanese police were involved'. Nothing of the incident appears in any other published source.

31. Fry, Paul H. *William Empson: Prophet Against Sacrifice*. London: Routledge, 1991. Includes a note about Empson's distress at the growth of Japanese nationalism, which 'no doubt led him to think afresh about the equilibrium and the complex reciprocity of power relations in his own country, and also about those mysteries of identification whereby individuals or classes can make themselves universals'; also, in reference to *Some Versions of Pastoral* (5), Fry contends that 'Japanese nationalism embodied in the Emperor is an example of the pastoral *pars pro toto* which [Empson] may have found too obvious to mention'.

See also A25, 28, 73, and BD182.

BG. Arthur Davison Ficke, 1883-1945

Ficke's poems of Japan are hardly remembered today, but in their time they were among the most popular of the day, and were widely influential, providing models for Aiken (see *BA3a*), Bynner (see *BE24a*), Fletcher (see *BH2b* and *4b*), Lowell (see *BI4a*, 7, and *20a*), and many others, perhaps, considerably digested, even for Pound (see *BK59*, 88, and *105*) and Wallace Stevens (see *CA7*), Ficke's friend and classmate at Harvard. The earliest of the work appeared earlier than that of most other poets under study here, in 1907, in *The Happy Princess* (1). These poems and many that followed remind in their idealism and guileless sentimentality of the stylistic and conceptual excesses of nineteenth-century literary Japonisme, but with a difference. Before Lowell and Fletcher, and in contrast to virtually all earlier English poems of Japan, they bring to the verse a knowledge of the subject that sets them apart, stylistic offenses aside. The *Happy Princess* poems address Japanese folklore, religion, and iconography with a serious lay interest, then by 1911 Ficke was lecturing on the historical development of Japanese art (see 3), and by 1915 the publication of *Chats on Japanese Prints* (5), a work that has remained useful in print since that date, placed Ficke undeniably among the foremost American authorities on ukiyoe. At their best the Japan poems that follow *The Happy Princess* remain readable, as in the 1908 'Song of East and West' (2), which follows Whitman's 'Broadway Pageant' and Fenollosa's 'East and West' (see *CA1*), and anticipates work by Pound and others, in its hopeful and humane ^{proposal} ~~positing~~ of a fusion of cultures East and West, or the Japan poems of *An April Elegy* (9), which demonstrate that in parodying the methods of the Imagists in the *Spectra* hoax of 1916 (see 6) Ficke also learned something of their technique. However much Ficke saw himself as a poet with an interest in ukiyoe, however, he will be remembered as an authority on ukiyoe who dabbled in poetry. The knowledge of Japanese subjects that informs the poems does not save them, though it does provide them a place in the historical development of this subject, and makes them a necessary point of reference in tracing the most conspicuous lines in the poetic interest in Japan that followed.

Primary Materials

1. *The Happy Princess and Other Poems*. Boston: Small, Maynard, 1907.

Ficke was twenty-four when the book appeared, recently returned from a world tour with his parents, and the familiarity with Japanese subjects suggests that their itinerary perhaps had included Japan. The noted poems appear in a section called 'Pilgrim Verses', which includes poems set in India, Tibet, present-day

Iran, and elsewhere, but more than half of the section takes Japan as its subject. The identity of ‘the poet Yôshi’ invoked in the epigraph and three of the poems (*b*, *e*, and *g*) is a mystery. No poet writing under that name is remembered in Japanese literary history. *Yôshi* in Japanese means ‘adopted son’, and so one wonders if Ficke might have ‘adopted’ the name for himself, *a la* Rexroth and Marichiko (see *CA14d*). Likewise, given Ficke’s attention to and accuracy with diacritical marks in romanised Japanese, along with the expertise in Japanese art he shows by 1911 (see *3*), we can assume that he was closely acquainted with Japanese residents in the United States, and so perhaps ‘Yôshi’ was an acquaintance or helper. In any case, the poems attributed to ‘Yôshi’ read like those Ficke claims for himself, and are altogether unlike anything in the Japanese poetic tradition. All the poems with Japanese subjects are sentimental and conventional lyrics, but their interest in and willing acceptance of Buddhism is notable for the date.

a. THE DREAMERS OF DZUSHI. A long conventionally structured poem recounting a tale of fishermen from the town of Zushi (‘Dzushi’) who are lost at sea, and the dreams of them that residents of the town are said to have. Zushi is a small city on the western coast of the Miura Peninsula in what is now Kanagawa Prefecture. Miner (*A25*) notes that the poem combines elements of the Western myth of the sirens with the famous Japanese tale of Urashima Tarô. Includes reference to Fuji, Kamakura, and Enoshima.

b. THE BELOVED. Strained verse describing and idealising a ‘trembling secret maiden’, according to a note ‘after the Japanese of Yôshi’.

c. AT ISE. Tells the story of a young man who after the death of his beloved sets forth on a pilgrimage to the great Shintô shrine at Ise to pray there for the woman’s rebirth; interesting in that in spite of the idealised view of Japan in this and other poems in the collection, Ficke does not have the woman return to life. The man remains at the shrine for many years, but his prayers remain unanswered. Includes reference to the Tôkaidô, and the torii (the word used in the poem) at the shrine. Generally sensitive to Shintô in the same way that the following poem and others by Ficke respond sensitively to Japanese Buddhism.

d. MURAMADZU. Description of a Buddhist effigy, ‘lips . . . faintly smiling’, overlooking a graveyard; less sentimental than other poems in the collection; sympathetic to the Buddhist compassion represented by the icon. The title is obscure.

e. THE POET YÔSHI. In praise of ‘Yôshi’ (see *1* above) and ‘dedicated to his songs’. He is indeed a poet whom ‘the many shall never know’, but the identity of the ‘few’ who ‘hold [him] dear’ is not specified.

f. KŌBŌ DAISHI'S FIRE. Impressive in part for the accurate diacritical marks of the title, which many American writers even today would omit in a romanisation. The reference is to an eternal flame at Miyajima, attributed by legend to Kūkai, whose honorific name is the Kōbō Daishi of the title. The speaker in much of the poem is Kukai himself, warning of disaster that will be manifest as a great dragon appearing before the impious.

g. BEFORE THE BUDDHA. Another verse 'from the poet Yōshi' (see above). The speaker has 'seen the tangled plan / Of life and death which vain desire / Weaves with an all-pervading fire / Around the weary heart of man', and so '[turns] unto [the] silent ways' of the Buddha.

h. THE WILD DUCK. A note identifies the subject as 'A Japanese Frieze', which the poem describes in conventional verse. Reprinted in 13.

2. A SONG OF EAST AND WEST. In *The Earth Passion: Boundary, and Other Poems*.

Cranleigh, Surrey: Samurai, 1908.

A poem that as Miner points out (in A25) reminds of Whitman's BROADWAY PAGEANT and Fenollosa's EAST AND WEST (see CA1), poems Ficke surely would have known. Whitman's work had appeared in all editions of *Leaves of Grass* after 1860, and Fenollosa, through his collection of Japanese art at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and his books on ukiyoe (D10a and c), was a household name in Boston by Ficke's tenure at Harvard. Like these earlier works, Ficke's poem envisions a mingling of cultures, East and West, focuses particularly on Japan, and sees the United States as uniquely situated socially, politically, and geographically to bring about the anticipated and longed-for marriage of traditions. In the first of three sections the speaker imagines a 'strange tale' in which 'strange aliens' throng to the shores of the United States, but the nation has closed its doors; he goes into the streets and sees the eyes of 'many a race', but is told that the 'yellow men' must be kept out because they are 'infidels'. In the second section a great metaphorical flame born in Europe has swept across the ocean to the New World and then across the American continent; the speaker knows that a similar flame exists in Asia, and envisions the two burning together, each gaining brilliance from the other; the line 'and wide the gate between them swings' anticipates Lowell's refrain in GUNS AS KEYS (B17) by a decade. The third section calls to mind Japan, a 'low coast / Where temples rise amid the wooded hills', and a 'lonely priest beside the Inland Sea' who 'knows not the fever of our restlessness'. The poem rises to climax in a vision of unity in lines among Ficke's best:

The ways of the East are not the ways of the West.
 Yet when two seekers in a single quest
 Meet at an evening halt, shall they not part
 Between them what each one may count as gain:
 The paths of peace, the anodyne of pain,
 And the profoundest secrets of the heart?
 And shall not each from other win some light
 To aid him on his journey through the night?

The world is one; and all its aims are one,
 Though varying outward aspects they must wear.
 That which thou callest fair
 May foul appear to men beneath a different sun.

 [Yet] now the day of mingled life is come.

 No more is beauty prisoned in its home,
 Nor truth confined within its native cells.
 Over the earth one banner is unfurled
 Of many races, who at last behold,
 As mists of darkness part in dawn of gold,
 A single quest for a united world

Critics in the latter half of the century, including Miner and Kodama (A59), have not often found kind words for Ficke's verse, but this ambitious and well-meaning work, though in all respects a product of its time and not involved in the business of establishing a new poetic order, may be accused only of an optimism that seems out of place at century's end. It remains satisfying in its relative lack of sentimentality, its humanism, and its insistence that the ways of the East and of the West, represented by Japan and the United States, each may enhance the other. The publication of the work by Harold Monro's Samurai Press, from which Ficke's first book, *From The Isles*, had appeared a year earlier, renders the epigraph, 'in memory of Cambridge days and nights' potentially confusing, but the Cambridge is that in Massachusetts, where Ficke had been a student at Harvard from 1900 to 1904.

3. 'The Mirror of the East'. Davenport, Iowa: Contemporary Club, 1911.

Ficke's essay read before The Contemporary Club of Davenport, Iowa, 13 April 1911, demonstrates considerable knowledge of the historical outlines of ukiyoe and the major artists of the tradition.

4. *Twelve Japanese Painters*. Chicago: Alderbrink, 1913. Reissue, Hamden, Conn.:

Micrographic Systems of Connecticut, 1992. Microfilm.

A collection of verse impressions drawn from ukiyoe. Ficke's introductory note suggests that though 'ukioye' is the best known of the Japanese 'schools' of art, it remains too little known in the West. He would hope for too much, he believes, to believe that in presenting poems that take their 'theme' from the prints he might lead 'any new lover' to the 'remarkable' works, but perhaps a few 'old lovers' might be interested in examining 'an attempt at voicing certain impressions' that the

prints produce 'in all who are familiar with them'. All poems except the 'Prologue' and 'Epilogue' are reprinted, along with prose descriptions and plates of the prints, in *Chats on Japanese Prints* (5), though often with titles altered. *B* and *c* appear also in Ficke's *Selected Poems* (13). Commenting on the poems of *Chats*, Kodama (A59) writes that they are 'tediously descriptive and frivolously fantastic', and indeed one is hard-pressed to find in them more than an unobjectionable love of the prints and an imagination about them given over thoroughly to fancy. Still, Ficke's genuine knowledge of the ukiyoe tradition is apparent, and the poems at least avoid the glaring mistakes of fact that so often had characterised the poems of nineteenth-century literary Japonisme.

a. PROLOGUE. Conventional verse welcoming the reader to the collection, to 'partake / Of this strange hostel's ancient wine'.

b. FIGURE OF A GIRL BY HARUNOBU. The speaker first addresses a 'you', whose breath 'stirs / These fluttering gauzy robes of hers', then describes the girl ('Peace folds her in its deeps profound'), and urges that 'we' 'softly steel away. / For what can we, whose hearts are gray, / Bring to her dreaming paradise'. The Harunobu polychrome on which the poem is based is reproduced as plate 11 of *Chats*.

c. KORIUSAI SPEAKS. 'Koriusai' (Koryūsai, fl. ca. 1764-88) justifies his preference for 'panel prints' (*hashirae*) as opposed to 'sheets as wide as some wrestler's mountain-back', for 'That tall and narrow icy space / Gives scope for all the brush beseems. / And who shall ask a wider place / For dreams?' Probably based on two *hashirae* reproduced as plate 16 of *Chats*.

d. PORTRAIT OF AN ACTOR IN TRAGIC ROLE BY SHUNSHO. The kabuki actor, his sword at the ready, is described with imagery more striking than is usual in the collection. At the close a 'music enfolds' the actor, which at 'its zenith' is like 'Lightning of unleashed desires / Crashing along the sea'. 'Kiso's iron mountains of snow' (l. 10) refers to the Kiso Mountains of Nagano Prefecture, which Ficke and Bynner would visit four years after publication of this collection. Plate 19 of *Chats* reproduces the striking print by Katsukawa Shunshō (1726-92) that would have been Ficke's source.

e. FESTIVAL SCENE BY KIYONAGA. Based on a print by Kiyonaga. A sonnet in description of the 'bright race of old' which 'revisits here one hour our mortal ways'. The festival appears to be one in which participants dress as Shintō spirits.

f. DRAMATIC PORTRAIT BY SHARAKU. Overly dramatic lines on the dramatic portrait: 'How shall I wrest / From thee the secret of thy lofty doom?'

g. GROUP OF WOMEN BY SHUNCHO. Addressed to the artist Katsukawa Shunchō.

Plays upon the Buddhist notion of Impermanence (*mujô*). Begins with the proposition that Shunchô's 'lovely ladies shall not fade', then praises a series of Japanese sites, the 'moated walls' of 'Yedo' (Edo), the carvings of Nikko, Tokugawa Ieyasu's tomb, the gardens of Kyoto, and the Great Buddha of Kamakura, suggesting that each will pass, 'Impermanence to hearts that guess / Time's undiscovered loveliness'. But Ficke's sense of Impermanence is mixed with a touch of American optimism. 'A fairer Yedo shall arise; / A richer Nikko praise the skies', a 'new faith / Shall spring when Buddha is a wraith', and though 'more puissant hands than yours / Shall paint anew life's ancient lures', this new artist shall benefit from Shunchô beyond the grave: 'A joy shall light him through your eyes, / A flame shall from your embers rise', so that even though all is Impermanent, still Shunchô's 'lovely ladies' will be painted anew and still 'shall not fade!'

h. TWO WOMEN BY KITAO MASANOBU. Highly romanticised description of the two women of the print, and speculation that 'he died of longing unspoken who dreamed you to walk in our ways'.

i. PORTRAIT OF A WOMAN BY YEISHI. Lengthy reverie about the woman in a print by Hosoda Eishi (1756-1829).

j. LANDSCAPE BY HIROSHIGE. The crescent moon in the print is personified as a beautiful woman. Reprinted under the title THE BOW MOON in *Chats*, and based on a print that appears as the frontispiece of that work.

k. THE PUPIL OF TOYOKUNI. The 'pupil' to which reference is made in the title is revealed in the last line to be Utagawa Toyohiro. The poem is less romanticised and more readable than most in the collection, in description of a lively Edo street scene of the sort often depicted by Utagawa Toyokuni. Includes reference to Utamaro and to fireworks over the Sumida as seen from Ryôgoku bridge.

l. LANDSCAPE BY HOKUSAI. Probably the first poem in English to take note of Hokusai's great 'Wave at Kanazawa', among the most famous of ukiyoe prints in Europe and America. The verse is more tortured than most in the collection, and by the end the most striking feature of the poem is its unintentional humour.

m. A GROUP OF LADIES BY TOYOHIRO. Urges the 'careless passer' to 'look deep' at the group of ladies, who are 'cloaked in a haze of mystery'. In a rare lapse of fact, Ficke describes Toyohiro as Toyokuni's brother in the prose following this work in *Chats*, and seems to believe they were in fact biological brothers. They were not, though they were adopted into the same 'family' of artists, the Utagawa.

n. PORTRAIT OF A WOMAN BY UTAMARO. Overlong description of one of Utamaro's characteristic portraits.

o. THE BIRDS AND FLOWERS OF HIROSHIGE. Fanciful description of several

prints, including one reproduced in plate 56 in *Chats*.

p. THE LANDSCAPES OF HIROSHIGE. Lengthy ruminations about the prints of the title, with allusion to at least twenty-nine. Includes reference to Fuji, the Tōkaidō, Lake Biwa, Harima, the Hira mountains, the shrines of Edo, Ishiyama, Adzuma, and to other place names that may be associated with Hiroshige's landscapes.

q. EPILOGUE. The speaker has been drawn to the prints he has written about 'by the sense that there concealed / Lay key to spacious realms unknown'.

5. *Chats on Japanese Prints*. New York: Stokes, 1915. Reprint, New York: British Book Company, 1975.

A chronological prose survey of the history of ukiyoe, with poems inspired by the prints interspersed. The work reveals an impressive depth of knowledge, and places Ficke among the foremost Western scholars of ukiyoe in 1915. It remains useful and in print, though surely for its prose rather its poetry, which is conventional and tedious, its image of Japan sentimental and nostalgic. Ficke's knowledge of the country insures that the poems are more grounded than most earlier verse inspired by ukiyoe, but the difference does not save the poems. Lowell's letter to Ficke thanking him for his gift of the work (*BI20*) demonstrates that it was a source for her LACQUER PRINTS (*BI4*; and see *BI7* for notes about Lowell's other, unacknowledged, borrowing from Ficke). Ficke's own acknowledged sources include Fenollosa (see *D10*) and Okakura (*D16*). Ochiai Naonori's Japanese translation of *Chats*, *Ukiyoe hangashi*, appeared in Tokyo in 1919 and was reprinted in 1933. Reprints, from *Twelve Japanese Painters* (4), FIGURE OF A GIRL (formerly FIGURE OF A GIRL BY HARUNOBU), KORIUSAI SPEAKS, PORTRAIT OF AN ACTOR IN TRAGIC ROLE (formerly PORTRAIT OF AN ACTOR IN TRAGIC ROLE BY SHUNSHO), FESTIVAL SCENE (formerly FESTIVAL SCENE BY KIYONAGA), SHUNCHO (formerly GROUP OF WOMEN BY SHUNCHO), TWO WOMEN (formerly TWO WOMEN BY KITAO MASANOBU), PORTRAIT OF A WOMAN (formerly PORTRAIT OF A WOMAN BY UTAMARO), PORTRAIT OF A WOMAN (formerly PORTRAIT OF A WOMAN BY YEISHI), DRAMATIC PORTRAIT (formerly DRAMATIC PORTRAIT BY SHARAKU), THE PUPIL OF TOYOKUNI, A GROUP OF LADIES (formerly A GROUP OF LADIES BY TOYOHIRO), HOKUSAI (formerly LANDSCAPE BY HOKUSAI), HIROSHIGE (formerly THE LANDSCAPES OF HIROSHIGE), THE BOW-MOON (formerly LANDSCAPE BY HIROSHIGE), and ALILT AGAINST THE EMERALD SKY (formerly THE BIRDS AND FLOWERS OF HIROSHIGE). See also *16b* and *17*.

a. KIYONOBU SPEAKS. The voice of Kiyonobu compares a print of an actor to the real actor, and finds that the art of the print is superior because in it 'passion in

his form will tower from age to age'. Durnell (A55) suggests that the thirty-one-syllable first stanza places the poem 'in the tanka tradition', but stanzas two and three have fewer syllables, and Ficke does not elsewhere experiment with tanka or haikai syllabics, and so the number is probably coincidental.

b. A FIGURE. Description of an ethereal figure in a print by Okumura Masanobu (1686-1764).

c. A PILLAR PRINT. Description of a woman 'in garments pale and ghostly' in a *hashirae* by Ishikawa Toyonobu (1711-85).

d. PILLAR PRINT OF A WOMAN. Description of a *hashirae* by Kiyomitsu. 'A place for giant heads to take their rest / Seems her pale breast', and her footsteps 'be / Like strides of Destiny!'

e. PILLAR PRINT OF A MAN. Based on another *hashirae* by Kiyomitsu. The man of the title appears 'Out of spaces hazed with greyness, out of years whose veils / are grey'.

f. PILLAR PRINT BY HARUNOBU. More spare and imagistic than most poems here. A flute player passes by as 'stars are broidered on the veil of evening'.

g. A SILVER PRINT. By the time *Chats* was published Ficke and Bynner would have been at work on *Spectra* (6), their parody of Imagist verse that appeared the following year, and some of the techniques of that work seem to have been transferred to some of the verse here. Poems reprinted from *Twelve Japanese Painters*—published in 1913 and written before the work on *Spectra* would have begun—lack concise imagery and concrete diction, and in general could serve as case studies for Pound's 'Don'ts for an Imagist' (see BK2), but compare opening lines here: 'The sky, a plate of darkened steel, / Weighs on the far rim of the sea, / Save where the lifted glooms reveal / The last edge of the sun burned free'. Ficke cannot bring himself to dispose of rhyme, and has not quite arrived at the technique of super-position (see BK12), but otherwise the work of the parodist has had happy results in the work of the poet. The print described is by Momokawa Chôki (fl. 1785-1810).

6. [Ficke and Bynner]. *Spectra: A Book of Poetic Experiments by Anne Knish and Emmanuel Morgan*. New York: Kennerly, 1916.

This parody of Imagist verse and Eliot by 'Anne Knish' (Ficke) and 'Emmanuel Morgan' (Bynner) created an uproar and was among the most successful literary hoaxes of the century. Important to this study for the evidence it provides that the methods of the Imagists, including their interests in Japan, had become so pervasive by 1916 that a parody of their work could itself become a successful collection. 'It may be noted', 'Anne Knish' writes in the introduction, 'that to

Spectra, to these reflected experiences of life, as we perceive them, adheres often a tinge of humor. Occidental art, in contrast to the art of the Orient, has until lately been afraid of the flash of humor in its serious works.' The Orientalia in the poems is mainly *chinoiserie*, but many contain as well short stanzas parodying the hokku-inspired verse of Pound and others. Selections are reprinted in *BE11*, 17, 18, and 21. See also *BE4*, 24, *BG5g*, 8, and 18.

7. With Judson D. Metzgar. *Illustrated Catalogue of the Noteworthy Collection of Japanese Color Prints, the Property of Mr. Judson D. Metzgar of Moline, Illinois*. Moline: Ransom, 1916.

A catalogue for the public sale of Metzgar's collection, conducted at the American Art Association in New York on 13 and 14 November 1916. Descriptions of prints by Hiroshige are by Metzgar, others by Ficke.

8. FOUR JAPANESE PAINTINGS. *Poetry* 9 (November 1916): 77-80.

Miner (A25) is perceptive in noting about the reprint of these poems in *April Elegy* (9) that they represent a transition from the overt sentimentality of Ficke's earlier treatment of Japan toward a literary Impressionism that has antecedents in the nineteenth-century Japonisme of the visual arts. The shift to less rigid metrical counts surely owes something as well to Ficke's encounter with Imagism, which he had parodied along with Bynner in *Spectra* (6), and which began to influence his work as early as 1915 (see 5g). Between the touches of Impressionism, the movement toward a freer verse, and a concision of detail learned from the Imagists, the poems are more readable today than most of Ficke's earlier verse about Japan.

a. THE PINE BRANCH. Based on a painting by Ogata Kenzan (1663-1743). Description of the pine branch that has 'stretched out across the silence' and brought the colours of life to a drab grey background.

b. PINES ON A MOUNTAIN. Based on a screen by Kanô Eitoku (1543-90), here called 'Yeitoku'. Description of the red trunks of old pines, which are like 'an indominable procession / Of warriors, dark, green-crested, / . . . / To whom the winds / Are the only battle'.

c. THE WAVE SYMPHONY. Based on a screen by Nonomura Sôtatsu (fl. ca. 1625-43). Excited description of the waves depicted on the screen. Compare to other 'symphonies' by Ficke himself (9c), Aiken (*BA3a*, 9, and 17), and Fletcher (*BH2b* and *BH4b*).

d. BUDDHA APPEARING FROM BEHIND MOUNTAINS. Based on the painting of the title, by Takuma Chôga (fl. ca. 1253-70). 'Measureless peace' may be seen in the face of the Buddha, and 'measureless compassion' in his eyes, but the speaker

senses that 'his terrible hidden hands / Even now are stirring / To rend apart the hills— / To divide the corrupt and cloven earth / For the triumphal entry of his burning form'.

9. SEVEN JAPANESE PAINTINGS. In *An April Elegy*. New York: Kennerly, 1917.

Incorporates FOUR JAPANESE PAINTINGS (8) and adds work equally indebted to Ficke's movement toward literary Impressionism and the techniques of the Imagists (see 8).

a. DREAM OF A CHINESE LANDSCAPE. Based on a landscape of misty mountains by Shubun (probably Tōkei Shūbun, 1414-63). Reprinted in 13.

b. DREAM OF A CHINESE ROCK-PROMONTORY. Descriptive of a landscape by Sesshū Tōyō (1420-1506).

c. THE GOLDEN SYMPHONY. Description of a river scene bathed in golden light, based on a screen by Nonomura Sōtatsu. See also 8c.

10. *Illustrated Catalogue of an Exceptionally Important Collection of Rare and Valuable Japanese Color Prints Together with a Few Paintings of the Ukiyoe School*. [New York: American Art Association], 1920.

The catalogue prepared by Ficke for the 'unrestricted public sale' of his collection of ukiyoe at the American Art Galleries, Madison Square South, New York City, on 10 and 11 February, 1920. More than 600 prints are listed, by all the important artists, each accompanied by a prose description by Ficke. The collection would surely have been among the most important in the world in the first quarter of the century, perhaps the best in private hands, and Ficke's notes verify again that he was among the foremost contemporary Western experts on the prints. His foreword argues that they 'are among the most precious products of the aesthetic powers of the human spirit', and notes that the collection offered is 'the fruit of fifteen years of search, in Japan, Europe, and America, for such select specimens of the art as seemed worthy to be preserved as a lasting treasure'.

11. *Miscellaneous Sale Catalogue of Japanese Prints and Chinese Jade Girdle-Clasps*. New York: Anderson Galleries, 1920.

Descriptions of the prints are by Ficke. The items listed for sale include ukiyoe owned by Ficke and Frank Lloyd Wright.

12. *The Japanese Print Collection of Arthur Davison Ficke*. New York: Anderson Galleries, 1925.

An illustrated catalogue, with notes by Ficke, for an auction held 29 and 30 January 1925 at the Anderson Gallery in New York.

13. *Selected Poems: With a Preface on the Nature of Poetry*. New York: Doran, 1926. Reprint, 1938.

Reprints in a section called 'Asian Oracles' THE WILD DUCK (1*h*), FIGURE OF A GIRL BY HARUNOBU (4*b*), KORIUSAI SPEAKS (4*c*), and DREAM OF A CHINESE LANDSCAPE (9*a*).

14. *Japanese Prints: A Lecture to Accompany a Group of Color Slides Prepared by the Japan Society from Prints in the Collections of Louis V. Ledoux and Howard Mansfield*. New York: Japan Society, 1936.

Knowledgeable notes about the prints reproduced in the slides, 'written for the Japan Society by Arthur Davison Ficke' and 'read . . . at the opening of the Japanese print exhibition in the New York Public Library, January 15, 1936'.

15. THE GHOST OF SHARAKU. San Francisco: Grabhorn, 1951.

A foreword by ukiyoe collector Judson Metzgar explains the genesis of this unlikely verse drama, which was published in an edition of 250 six years after Ficke's death: 'A few days after Mr. Ficke visited the exhibition of Sharaku . . . at the New York Museum of Modern Art in April, 1921, he wrote to me: "The Sharaku exhibit is . . . beyond belief, wonderful,—seeing such fine examples of all his work brought together. . . . One day [ukiyo collector Louis] Ledoux telephoned me and said he had had a dream in which he saw all the great collectors at the exhibition, and asked: Wouldn't I write a poem about it? I told him No, and then five minutes later I found myself writing the enclosed skit.'" The 'skit' follows, in free verse, set in the gallery during the exhibition. The *dramatis personae* are ghosts, of French ukiyoe collectors Charles Vignier and Raymond Koechlin, American collectors Howard Mansfield and Arthur Duel, the Daimyô of Awa, and the artist Sharaku. The French and American ghosts squabble about national tastes, Awa and Sharaku appear, and the latter, wordless throughout, brings the drama to its climax and closure by performing a dance from the nô before disappearing into a print of a 'Demon Queller'. Includes passing reference to Harunobu.

16. †Unpublished materials

a. Arthur Davison Ficke Papers. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. The largest Ficke archive includes papers that document his personal life and literary interests. Bynner is a 'major correspondent', and in addition to Ficke manuscripts the collection contains as well manuscript poems by Bynner and others. Among subjects noted in the indices of the archive are Japanese Art, Japanese Prints, and 'description [of] and travel' in East Asia.

b. Arthur Davison Ficke Papers, 1924-57. New York Public Library, Rare Books and Manuscripts Collection. Includes papers relating to Ficke's collection of Japanese art, 'notes for lectures Ficke gave on Far Eastern art during the 1930s and 1940s', correspondence related to the lectures, and papers concerning an

unpublished revision of *Chats on Japanese Prints* (5) prepared by Ficke's wife after his death. Correspondents include ukiyoe collectors Louis Ledoux and Judson D. Metzgar.

c. Other materials. Ficke's letters to Bynner are in the Bynner Papers at Harvard (22a); other collections include those at the Harvard University Archives, the Library at the State University of New York at Buffalo, the Library at the University of Pennsylvania, the Newberry Library in Chicago, and the libraries at the Universities of Michigan and Iowa.

Secondary Materials

17. Reviews of *Chats on Japanese Prints* (5), 1915-16.

The work was well received by Arnold Genthe (*Forum and Century* 55 [1916]: 240) and in the *Boston Transcript* (9 October 1915, p. 8), the *Independent* (6 December 1915, p. 391), and elsewhere, but only Frederick Gooken (*Dial* 59 [1915]: 373) turns attention to the poems, finding them a 'unique and delightful feature' of the work and a help in introducing ukiyoe to its readers.

18. Hart, Paula L. 'Arthur Davison Ficke'. In *American Poets, 1880-1945*, 3rd ser., pt. 1, edited by Peter Quartermain. *Dictionary of Literary Biography* 54. Detroit: Gale, 1987.

Hart's is the fullest biographical treatment of Ficke in the published record, and includes passing reference to his Japanese interests, his friendship with Bynner, and the *Spectra* hoax (see 6).

See also A11, 18, 25, 26, 55, 67, BE3a, 14, 16, 24, 27, BI20a, BK59, 88, 105, and CA7.

BH. John Gould Fletcher, 1886-1950

In the second decade of the century, as the 'new poetry' was being defined and put into practice, Fletcher like many of his contemporaries attempted to redefine the possibilities of verse in English by turning to foreign traditions for direction and tutelage, and more directly even than others who called themselves Imagists he found the nexus of his exploration in Japanese poetry, art, and religion. Even before his meeting with Pound in the summer of 1913 Fletcher had published a series of poems 'from the Japanese' (1) that were based upon a reading of Hearn and French translations of Japanese verse, and after incorporating Pound's principles of Imagism he produced a poetry that Miner (A25) has called 'almost unbelievably' indebted to Japan. The subjects and themes are Japanese, traceable at times to particular Japanese poems or prints, the Impressionistic detail is derived largely from ukiyoe, the poetics of superposition from hokku (see BK12), and the philosophical stance is grounded in an understanding of Zen as filtered through Fenollosa. A key word here, though, is 'filter'. One looking for the quintessential Western idea of Japan as distilled from nineteenth- and early twentieth-century European and American sources need look no further than Fletcher. His effort to charge English verse with energies derived from Japan was sincere, and his theoretical writing to this end remains provocative (see, especially, 4, 5, and 7a), but in the end the Japan to be found in his writing speaks more of the durability of a Western way of imagining than of a country in East Asia and its aesthetic tradition. The point could be made about several writers under study here, but apart from the popularity of his poems of Japan in their day Fletcher's importance to the study derives as much from the extent to which he represents the dominant Western representation of Japan as from his frequent turning to 'Japanese' materials themselves. A fuller account than we have of the ways Japan has influenced Anglo-American literature and thought must take into account the gap between representation and represented, and a look ^{at} to Fletcher's appropriation of Japan provides a point of departure as fitting as any.

Primary Materials

1. FROM THE JAPANESE. In *Visions of the Evening*. London: MacDonald, 1913.

In May 1913 Fletcher himself financed publication of five volumes of his verse, issued from four publishers in London. None of the work is memorable—Fletcher himself destroyed unsold volumes during the First World War—but the six poems in this section represent his first traceable use of Japanese materials, or, better put, pseudo-Japanese materials, since as Fletcher himself admitted thirty-two

years later in 'The Orient and Contemporary Poetry' (15), the 'substance' of the work is not 'from the Japanese' at all. Still, by 1913 Fletcher had read Japanese verse in the English translation of Hearn (see 15) and the German and French of, probably, Florenz and Revon (D11 and D21, see 22c), and these poems demonstrate superficial likenesses. Each is brief, two or three lines; the second and fifth include 'season words' (*kigo*), and the fourth is vaguely 'Japanese' in its mood of resignation and juxtaposition of a particular natural image with a general philosophical observ^{tion}ance. Beyond this the work is strikingly unlike any in Japanese literary history. Reprinted in 2 and 20.

2. *Irradiations, Sand and Spray*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1915. Reprint, New York: AMS, 1981.

Dedicated to Amy Lowell, 'Best of Friends and Poets', who arranged publication at Houghton Mifflin, as she did later with Fletcher's *Goblins and Pagodas* (4). The work is wholly reprinted in 9, and excerpts appear in 14 and 20. Perhaps it is worth noting that if Fletcher's dates in 'The Orient and Contemporary Poetry' (15) are accurate, his first meeting with Pound took place in Paris in May 1913. Pound had published his 'Few Don'ts for an Imagiste' (BK2) the previous March, and the influence of that work and Pound's other pronouncements about Imagism, wholly absent in *Visions of the Evening* (see 1), are readily apparent in this and later volumes of Fletcher's verse. See also BA4.

a. IRRADIATIONS. The volume demonstrates throughout the influence of Fletcher's meeting with Pound, but in this forty-page section the point is especially clear. The 'Don'ts for an Imagiste' (BK2) are generally avoided, certainly more so than in Fletcher's earlier work, and the technique of super-position, which Pound had derived largely from Japanese models (see BK12), is employed often, most notably in the closing lines of sections VII and XVII and the opening of XX. Pound liked the poem well enough to arrange for publication of sections from it in *Poetry*, but nonetheless offended Fletcher with critical comments about it, and later, no doubt in part as a result of this, and no doubt to the detriment of his later work, Fletcher sided with Lowell in her much-publicised split with Pound. About section VII, Miner notes that 'the debt to Japan . . . is almost unbelievably great': the setting recalls ukiyoe, the work closes with Pound's super-pository technique, and the 'situation' is taken from a haiku by Buson, *Harusame ya / monogatari yuku / mino to kasa* (Spring rain / a tale shared / by raincoat and umbrella). Fletcher acknowledged later that he had 'most certainly read the Buson haiku' by the time he wrote the poem (in 22c, see A25, p. 175). Sections appeared earlier in *Poetry* 3 (December 1913) and *Egoist* 1 (March 1914).

b. SAND AND SPRAY (A SEA SYMPHONY). Miner (A25) calls attention to Impressionist techniques in poems by Aiken, Fletcher, and others, and argues that this is indebted in part to interest in ukiyoe. The point is particularly evident here, though the work does not directly incorporate Japanese subjects. Compare to Fletcher's later 'symphonies' (4b), some of which derive imagery from Japanese art, and to the 'symphonies' of Aiken (BA3a, 9, and 17) and Ficke (BG8c and 9c). Aiken's symphonies were begun the year this work was published, at a time that Aiken and Fletcher were neighbours on Walnut Street in Boston and had 'dived into Japanese and Chinese poetry and art' (see p. 65 above); Ficke's take their subjects from particular Japanese paintings. According to Fletcher's account in 'The Orient and Contemporary Poetry' (15), this work was composed sometime before the winter of 1913-14, a point he remembers in connection with the fact that he had not yet seen Pound's drafts of poems that later appeared in *Cathay* (BK15).

3. JAPANESE PRINTS. *Egoist* 2 (August 1915): 126.

Morton's annotation of these two works (30, I-B-18, p. 31) asserts that they are reprinted in *Japanese Prints* (7), but they are not. They do share in common with Fletcher's later verse based on ukiyoe a brevity and emphasis on colour, though nothing specifically connected to Japan beyond the title may be noted. The prints under description are not ascertainable. See also 6.

4. *Goblins and Pagodas*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1916. Reprint, New York: AMS, 1981.

In a preface dated January 1916 Fletcher outlines the 'method' by which he has composed the poems collected here, and which is closely connected with Japanese subjects. Unlike a Victorian poet who writes 'about' objects and states at length how they affect him, or a 'realist poet' who strives to 'expatiate' on the 'external appearance' of objects, Fletcher attempts to select from his life important events connected with the object of composition, and to write of them 'in terms of' that object, so that his personality and the 'personality' of the object merge. He hopes thereby 'to evoke a soul' from 'inanimate matter', something 'characteristic . . . in inorganic form' that is 'friendly' to him and 'responds to' his mood. The method 'is not new', Fletcher notes, but 'has not often been used in Occidental countries'. For its antecedent he cites 'the cardinal doctrine of Zen Buddhism', the 'interdependence of man and inanimate nature', which he has learned of in Fenollosa's 'book on Chinese and Japanese Art' (D10c). We have here, then, the first of many instances in American poetry of a verse consciously indebted to Zen, or at any rate an American understanding of Zen. Before one makes too much of this, though, two points are important. First, Fletcher's poems fail to live up to the

promise of the preface and do not vary appreciably from his earlier work. Second, while the attempt to incorporate method derived from Zen understanding is in itself interesting, and in keeping with the spirit of the times—Pound had recently derived the technique of super-position from the hokku (see *BK12*), he and Lowell were soon to derive poetic form from the ‘ideogram’ (see *BK32* and *BI10*)—Fletcher only vaguely understands the principles to which Fenollosa refers. Chinese and Japanese artists—most notably for present purposes early modern poets of the Bashô school—have made frequent use of the Mahayana doctrine of the interdependence and interpenetration of subject and object (Jpn.: *jishin sokubutsu*), but Fletcher’s idea that the object itself is ‘inanimate’, or that it could be ‘friendly’ to him or has anything to do with his ‘mood’, ^{is alien} ~~are anathema~~ to the Buddhist concept, as Fenollosa would have been aware. Earlier poets in the English tradition who knew nothing of Japanese poetry or religion—Coleridge, for example, in his attempt to fuse subject and object in an act of ‘primary imagination’—and later poets—Robert Bly, for instance, drawing from Bashô and Mahayana tradition (see *CA14*)—have understood the mystical and dynamic interpenetration to which the concept refers. Fletcher did not. He stands apart from the object, his separate identity separated from it, and strives to ‘evoke a soul’ from what he is sure has none. Both the concept itself and the poetry that follows from it are static. The attempt to bring Buddhist principles into the mainstream of poetry in English is admirable, and the fact of an American poetics first attempting to draw life from Zen Buddhism is of historical importance, but Fletcher in 1916 misunderstood the principles he thought he was putting into practice. Later attempts to trace Zen concepts either in this volume or in Fletcher’s work in general (see 27 and 28) miss this fundamental point (though see reviews of the preface at 24). The volume is reprinted in 9 and excerpts of both parts appear in 20; the preface is reprinted in 21. See also *BA4*, *BH2*, 5, 7a, 17, and 33.

a. THE GHOSTS OF AN OLD HOUSE. A twenty-two page poem in which according to the preface Fletcher has ‘followed the method already described’, taken from his understanding of Zen as he had received it from Fenollosa (see above). The imagery is more sharply drawn than in most of Fletcher’s earlier work, and so perhaps the method was not altogether without result. Durnell (*A55*) suggests plausibly that the lines opening and closing the ‘Bedroom’ section, ‘The clump of jessamine / Softly beneath the rain / Rocks its golden flowers’, are indebted to Fletcher’s knowledge of haiku. Fletcher himself in ‘The Orient and Contemporary Poetry’ (15) notes that sections of the poem were written in 1915, after he had completed the ‘symphonies’, and that he had Japanese poetry in mind: ‘I turned back along the

lines already marked out by Pound's Vorticism [see especially *BK12*], and became again attracted to the possibilities of Japanese, rather than Chinese poetry. The poems [were] . . . written under what might be called the tanka influence.' Sections had appeared earlier in the *Egoist*, 1 September, 1 October, and 1 November 1915.

b. SYMPHONIES. Eleven 'symphonies', each named after a colour, constitute the last seventy pages of the volume, and rely heavily on the literary Impressionism Miner so convincingly traces to the nineteenth-century European discovery of ukiyoe (*A25*, pp. 66-96). Fletcher notes in his autobiography (*13*) that the third section of WHITE SYMPHONY 'came by contemplation of some snow scene prints by Hiroshige', and in a letter to Noguchi (*18*) that BLUE SYMPHONY was 'suggested' by that poet's *Pilgrimage* (*D15e4*). Miner finds that GREEN SYMPHONY was 'probably inspired by' Ogata Kōrin's screen-painting of 'Waves at Matsushima' in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, a suggestion given credence by Fenollosa's discussion of the Kōrin screen in the work Fletcher acknowledges in the preface, Fletcher's familiarity with the collection at the Boston Museum, and his later prose appreciation of another seascape by Kōrin (see *12*). Regarding influences from East-Asian poetry, however, in 'The Orient and Contemporary Poetry' (*15*) Fletcher writes that the symphonies were composed in 1914 and early 1915 under the influence mainly of Chinese verse. He 'was content to abide by the Chinese influences' he had 'found accessible' in English translation, and 'was prepared to resist Pound's Vorticism' (see *BK10-12*), which he believed 'point[ed] in the direction of Japanese tanka and hokku'. GREEN SYMPHONY appeared first in *Little Review* in February 1915. Excerpts from several of the symphonies appear in 9. Compare to Fletcher's earlier 'symphony', and others written from 1915 to 1917 by Aiken and Ficke (see *2b*).

5. 'The Secret of Far Eastern Painting'. *Dial* 62 (January 1917): 3-7.

One wishes Fletcher's poetry were as interesting as his criticism. This work is an insightful comparative analysis of the strengths of European and East-Asian art, which posits finally the 'moral superiority' of the latter. The Western artist may 'spen[d] his life trying to drive home moral teachings', and may be 'richer in color, more diverse in range, more skilled in . . . form, [and] capable of bolder conceptions', but 'all this avails him nothing' when compared to the 'dignity with which the Oriental has invested a spray of simple bamboo'. This 'dignity', Fletcher argues, is 'not in the plant itself' but 'in the painter's eye, mind, and hand', and these work together 'to render it in line, tone, and feeling'. The argument is essentially a more developed version of that set forth in the preface to *Goblins and Pagodas* (*4*), and is open to the same criticism, at least from the Zen Buddhist

perspective Fletcher espouses in both works. That the ‘dignity’ is ‘not in the plant itself’ is a misunderstanding from the perspective of Zen. Still, the work allows itself more time to develop adjunct lines of argument than the earlier preface, and while not the last word on comparative art history or aesthetic theory it is nonetheless well-observed and well-reasoned, the work of a serious student of Chinese and Japanese art history and theory. Fletcher draws some of his reasoning from Fenollosa (especially *D10c*) and Okakura (see *D16*) and derives parts of the argument from aesthetic concepts related to sumie, *kakemono*, and *makimono*. Includes passing reference to Charles Lang Freer, John La Farge, and Whistler. Reprinted in *21*.

6. JAPANESE PRINTS. *Poetry Journal*, June 1917, pp. 81-86.

Seven poems with no internal connection to Japanese subjects beyond the title of the group are not noted here. Reprinted in *7*; see also *3*.

a. TWO LADIES CONTRASTED. Fletcher’s focus is the kimono of the characters he describes, as is the case in several poems in *7* (especially *d*, *g*, and *l*, and see also *B17a3* and *B18z*).

b. ON THE BANKS OF THE SUMIDA. Description of an autumn evening along the river in Edo. Reprinted in *20*.

c. YOSHIWARA FESTIVAL. Description of a night scene with peacocks in Edo’s licensed quarter.

d. SHARAKU DREAMS. ‘Sharaku’ speaks about the faces he intends to ‘scrawl on the walls of the night’. Reprinted in *20*.

e. THE BEAUTIFUL GEISHA. The first two stanzas of three lines each make use of Pound’s technique of super-position (see *BK12*), and therefore read something like period translations of hokku.

7. *Japanese Prints*. Boston: Four Seas, 1918.

A collection entirely set in Japan, in description of ukiyoe, that consciously attempts incorporation of Japanese poetics. Fletcher’s own account of the background of the poems in an autobiography published nineteen years later (*13*) is worth noting. In January or February 1915 he spent several days viewing the Clarence Buckingham collection of ukiyoe at the Art Institute of Chicago, where he was ‘stirred to make a new experiment’ using the prints as a ‘pretext’. In the galleries, ‘facing the actual prints themselves’, he wrote no fewer than fifty ‘epigrams’, concentrating on ‘earlier specimens’ of ukiyoe, particularly prints by Sharaku, in preference to the ‘later masterpieces’ of Hokusai and Hiroshige. What he intended was a ‘brief commentary on life and . . . manners, a kind of “Spoon River” à la Japonaise’, but more ‘compressed’ and ‘decorative’, for ‘poetry of this

sort should be concentrated, suggestive, [and] brief, much as the Japanese poetry itself had been'. After a week and 'in weariness' he concluded his 'task', believing that he 'need not . . . feel ashamed' of the work, for if 'any imagist' were to 'comment on life, this was the way. . . the comment should be made'. The results of Fletcher's 'experiment' have elicited considerable comment themselves, both laudatory and dismissive, in both contemporary and later scholarship. Regarding the former, see 25. Regarding the latter, consider Hughes (A19), who finds a 'resemblance to Japanese poems' in Fletcher's 'brevity' and 'stage properties', the 'paraphernalia of swords, cherry blossoms, palace gardens, jewel trees, and the like'; or Stephens (27), who believes the poems 'reflect the spirit of the *haiku*, and . . . Zen Buddhism' and make conscious use of season words (*kigo*); or de Chasca (29), who agrees that they 'capture the spirit of the Far East' in their brevity, concentration, and 'delicate emotion behind universal natural facts'. Typically, however, it is Miner (A25) who offers the most perceptive comment on the work. While in these poems Fletcher's 'chief interest in Japan' has 'shifted from its art and philosophy to haiku', the poems are 'disappointing' in their use of 'natural images or objects associated with Japanese poetry or prints' in 'a conventionally exotic way or in settings which make the images dissonant by both Japanese and Western standards'. Fletcher's dedication to his wife, 'Granted this dew-drop world be but a dew-drop world, / This granted, yet—', is not acknowledged, but is a translation of Issa's verse on the death of his last surviving son. Only those poems with explicit internal connection to Japanese subjects are noted below, though others derive imagery from traditional motifs, cherry blossoms, the colour of autumn maples, and the like. Reprints 6. See also 3 for earlier Fletcher JAPANESE PRINTS not incorporated here, Harmer (A51) for argument that the work is a source for Lowell's TWENTY-FOUR HOKKU ON A MODERN THEME (B11 1), and BA4, BH14, 15, 19, 22a-b, 23b, 26, 32, B16, 7a3, and 19.

a. Preface. As in *Goblins and Pagodas* (4) Fletcher's preface to his poems is considerably more interesting than the poems themselves. Here he offers a brief history of Japanese poetry that is more accurate than not, and calls particular attention to Bashô, 'the greatest epigrammatist of any time', and that poet's affiliation with Zen Buddhism, which according to Fletcher 'may be called religion under the forms of nature'. Using as an example a translation of Bashô's famous *furuike ya / kawazu tobikomu / mizu no oto* (An old pond . . .), he describes 'three meanings' he believes are found in all of Bashô's poems, a 'statement of fact', 'an emotion deduced from that', and 'a sort of spiritual allegory'. From this Fletcher derives the proposition that 'if poetry in the English tongue is ever to attain again

to the vitality and strength of its beginnings', English-language poets must 'sit once more at the feet of the Orient', to 'learn . . . how little words can express, how sparingly they should be used, and how much is contained in the meanest natural object'. If Western writers are to prevent their art from 'disappear[ing] under the froth of shallow egotism', they 'must learn the lesson Bashô can teach', that 'language is only a means and never an end'. Fletcher insists that he does not advocate mere imitation, for 'good hokkus cannot be written in English', and his own poems 'are in some cases not Japanese at all', but 'unless we set ourselves seriously to the task of understanding' the lessons of Bashô, poetry in English 'will be dead in fifty years' from a 'surfeit of superficial cleverness and devitalized realism'. Miner (A25) writes of these seven pages that 'probably none of the Imagists ever came closer . . . to describing the meaning of Japanese poetry for those of their poems which were not specifically Japanese in subject matter or technique'. Surely none delved more honestly into the spiritual underpinnings of Japanese poetics, and surely Fletcher's understanding of Zen and Taoist principles have developed since his assertion two years earlier that he hoped from natural objects 'to evoke [something] . . . friendly' that 'responds to' his 'mood' (see 4). If only the poems that follow were more closely allied with the sensibilities set forth in his description of their aims. . . .

b. A PICNIC UNDER THE CHERRY TREES. Description of the picnic of the title, which takes place on a boat on a lake. Refers to the sounds of a shakuhachi and a shamisen or koto, though none of the instruments is named.

c. COURT LADY STANDING UNDER CHERRY TREE. Description of the lady. Includes reference to the two swords of a samurai and to the tatami mats of the palace. Reprinted in 20.

d. COURT LADY STANDING UNDER A PLUM TREE. One wonders if this is among the few poems in the collection not derived from an actual print, since the court woman of the title wears a kimono decorated with autumn scenes while she herself stands under the blossoming plum of spring, a situation inconceivable either in a Japanese print or in the Japanese court of any period. See also 6a.

e. A BEAUTIFUL WOMAN. Description of the woman of the title; her name in the poem, 'iris-amid-clouds', is not likely to have been used in Japan, in any combination of characters or pronunciation.

f. A READING. A man who hears a woman's voice intoning a passage imagines that her words are 'distant wave-caps breaking / Upon [a] painted screen'; the quotation that opens the poem is probably a translation from *Genji monogatari* (see D26c), which perhaps accompanied the print as it hung at the Art Institute.

g. AN ACTOR AS A DANCING GIRL. Description of the dancer of the title; focuses again on the beauty of kimono (see 6a); closes with lines reminiscent of English-language translations of hokku: ‘Heavy blooms / Breaking and spilling fiery cups / Drowsily.’

h. JOSAN NO MIYA. The title could mean ‘the temple of young women’, though would not be used in such a way in Japanese, or could be related to a particularly obscure term in esoteric Buddhism, but neither reading helps make sense of the poem, which is about a ‘she’ who is both ‘a fierce kitten’ and a ‘gust of wind’.

i. AN OIRAN AND HER KAMUSO. A *kamuso* is a kind of fish. Given that neither fish nor anything related to them appear in the poem, probably either Fletcher or the curator supplying notes for the prints intended *kaburo*, a young girl in service to and in apprenticeship with an *oiran*, a veteran geisha in the Kansai district. Reprinted in 20.

j. KURENAI-YE OR ‘RED PICTURE’. *Kurenai-e* means deep red or crimson picture. A woman waits expectantly for her lover beneath the cherry blossoms.

k. SCENE FROM A DRAMA. Describes actors portraying a daimyô and a courtesan in the scene of the title. Reprinted in 20.

l. A WOMAN IN WINTER COSTUME. Another admiration of kimono (see 6a).

m. KIYONOBU AND KIYOMASU CONTRASTED. The contrast is presented in metaphors of a long bright summer and a brief stormy autumn, and indeed Kiyonobu lived a long and illustrious life while his eldest son, or perhaps younger brother, Kiyomasu, died in or around his twentieth year.

n. AN ACTOR. Description of a kabuki actor posturing and grimacing, though kabuki is not specifically mentioned.

o. MEMORY AND FORGETTING. The image of the leaf falling to earth recalls a number of hokku.

p. PILLAR-PRINT, MASONOBU [*sic*] —EARLY. No Japanese artist has been known as Mosonobu, but Kitao Masanobu produced ‘pillar prints’ (*hashirae*) of the sort described here. Fletcher has the same name wrong in a different way in a later poem (*r*).

q. THE YOUNG DAIMYO. A young woman complains that the young daimyô of the title is so taken with the swords he has been presented that he does not compare her kisses to cherry blossoms. Miner (A25), correctly and in words that could be applied to much of the collection, notes that the poem ‘rings false . . . because it pretends to be so much more Japanese than it is’, and he echoes Schwartz (B128) in calling attention to the facts that ‘kisses are not compared to cherry blossoms in Japan, kissing in public is frowned upon, a boy was given his swords at an age

when he would find even his mother's caresses tedious, and the last thought of a samurai would be to leave the company of men after receiving such an honor'.

r. MASONUBU [*sic*]-EARLY. 'Masonobu' (see *p*) has become 'Masonubu', but still would have to be Kitao Masanobu. Nine lines about swords and temple bells and butterflies.

s. DISAPPOINTMENT. Brief lines that include reference to the Yoshiwara.

t. IN EXILE. The opening triplet more than most of the verse in the volume captures a mood not unusual in classical Japanese verse, similar to the beauty-in-loneliness to which the word *sabi* applies: 'My heart is mournful as thunder moving / Through distant hills / Late on a long still night of autumn'. Seven following lines dilute the effect.

u. THE ENDLESS LAMENT. Each of four stanzas describes rain falling in a different season, with imagery drawn from common Japanese seasonal associations and *kigo*, cherry blossoms, willows, maple leaves, and snow.

v. TOYONOBU: EXILE'S RETURN. Description of a print by Ishikawa Toyonobu (1711-85).

w. A NIGHT FESTIVAL. Fletcher's description of the festival of the title includes reference to the *shôji*, paper windows, of a traditional house.

x. MOODS. Perhaps Fletcher imagined these two lines with their Poundian super-position (see *BK12*) were like hokku, but no poet in Japanese tradition would have compared his own moods to 'fluttering butterflies in the rain'.

y. GRASS. Neither would a classical Japanese poet compare his 'soul' to grass moving in the wind (see *ac*).

z. TERROR. More in keeping with a mood and attitude common to many hokku than most of the short poems in the volume, in that the natural image, in this case 'pallid petals of white chrysanthemums / Waving to and fro' in the wind, is set against and thereby illuminates a stance of the speaker about a seemingly unrelated construct, in this case foreboding about going to a place unnamed in the poem.

aa. MID-SUMMER DUSK. Miner (A25) finds this seasonal description 'the happier for not striving too hard to be Japanese', and notes that it is 'so Japanese in spirit that it almost seems to be modeled upon a specific haiku'.

ab. EVENING BELL FROM A DISTANT TEMPLE. Miner (A25) demonstrates a source in a translation of Buson's *Suzushisa ya / kane o hanaruru / kane no oto* (How cool in the evening / the reverberations of / the temple bell).

ac. JAPAN. Description of 'an old courtyard' with 'mossy stones' marking a path through it, and the 'copper carp swimming lazily' in a pond, while 'a faint

toneless . . . echo of rain / . . . tears at [the speaker's] heart'. See also *y.*

ad. LEAVES. Pseudo-hokku. Like several poems in the volume, looks on the surface like a translation of hokku, but includes imagery and diction that would not be found in classical Japanese tradition.

8. *Breakers and Granite*. New York: Macmillan, 1921.

de Chasca (29) sees an 'Oriental method' in some of the work but does not say which method or attempt to demonstrate the point, and Stephens (27) suggests without much evidence an influence from the *nô*. Schwartz (BI28) is probably closer to the mark when he writes that the 'Japanese note' present in Fletcher's earlier work has 'disappeared completely' in these poems. Excerpts are reprinted in 20.

9. *Preludes and Symphonies*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1922. Reissue, Hamden, Conn.: Micrographic Systems of Conn., 1992. Microfilm.

Reprints *Irradiations*, *Sand and Spray* (2) and *Goblins and Pagodas* (4). Like *Irradiations*, dedicated to Lowell, who as with both of the reprinted works arranged publication at Houghton Mifflin.

10. BUDDHISM AND CHRISTIANITY. In *Parables*. London: Paul, 1925.

Includes an indirect reference to monks in *zazen*, the 'silent seated figures wrapt in the death trance of meditation'; the speaker says of himself that he goes a 'way . . . neither Christian nor Buddhistic', but the poem looks favourably on 'the immeasurable endurance of Buddhism'.

11. 'East and West'. *Criterion* 7 (June 1928): 306-24.

Fletcher begins with the proposition that the 'present moment in the world's history is significant in human development' because it 'has produced the first complete confrontation of East and West known to history'. What follows is a compelling analysis of the failings of Western culture 'in light of' Asian civilisation. Fletcher's understanding of the contemplative tradition of East Asia is more in evidence than in any of his poems. Includes reference to Perry's expedition to Japan. Reprinted in 21.

12. 'The Impulse of Poetry'. In *American Caravan IV*, edited by Alfred Kreymborg. New York: Macauley, 1931.

In a long second section Fletcher contrasts two seascapes, by Winslow Homer and Ogata Kôrin (see also 4b), and describes the principles he finds at work in each, in the realism of the former the qualities of 'uniqueness, power, [and] self-reliance' valued in the West, and in the 'study in spaced forms' of the latter the 'Buddhist doctrine' of 'endless flux and flow'. Fletcher's attempt to derive 'counterparts in poetic technique' relies on stipulative definitions that are somewhat obscure, but

he arrives at the conclusion that in its 'static statements' and 'plasticity' Imagism is comparable to the techniques of Kôrin. Reprinted in 21.

13. *Life is My Song: The Autobiography of John Gould Fletcher*. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1937. Reprinted as *The Autobiography of John Gould Fletcher*, edited by Lucas Carpenter. John Gould Fletcher Series, vol. 2. Fayetteville: U of Arkansas P, 1988.

Several passages reveal the depth of Fletcher's interest in East Asian tradition and his debts to it, but none more so than his description of rediscovering the Oriental Wing of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts on his return to Boston late in 1914, after six years absence. In viewing the 'Sung [and] Kamakura masterpieces' he came to understand that he had been 'deluded by the triumphs of western naturalism'. The artists of China and Japan, by 'refusing to proceed along these lines', had 'achieved an art of . . . sustained spiritual intensity . . . rarely glimpsed' in the West. He saw the work 'with new eyes', and was 're-educated' about the 'purposes' of art and the 'function of the poetic artist in reshaping the world'. He 'rededicated' himself 'to the vital instinct' and 'the soul of nature', realising that a 'new life-giving spirit', 'not from the materialistic Occident, but from the traditional Orient', could 'create in western languages a new rhythm and a new vocabulary, a new form and a new feeling for the inter-relation of man and nature'. The effects of these understandings on Fletcher's poetic enterprise were profound. More than before he 'understood the nature of the task' to which he had 'dedicated' himself. His aim would be 'to fuse the East and the West', to 'combine the inner insight' of Asia with the 'restless, dynamic energy of modern America'. Though he later came to understand his 'inadequacies for such a task', in 1914 he believed that his work might help achieve this 'greatest and most profound necessity of twentieth-century humanity' or lead even to some 'advance of the human spirit that would be greater still, to some religion of the future that would combine the calm, detached self-awareness of Buddhism and the dynamic, passionate, world-awareness of Christianity'. The work includes equally illuminating passages about other matters related to this study, including Fletcher's visits to the Art Institute of Chicago one or two months later and his composition there of the *Japanese Prints* (see 7), and his presence at gatherings in London some months earlier when Pound had introduced to Lowell the principles of Imagism, justifying them with Fenollosa's essay about the ideogram (BK32) and his own hokku-inspired IN A STATION OF THE METRO (BK3). See also 31.

14. *Selected Poems*. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1938.
Reprints excerpts from *Irradiations*, *Sand and Spray* (2) and the SYMPHONIES (4b),

but, notably, nothing from *Japanese Prints* (7). Awarded the 1939 Pulitzer Prize for Poetry. See also 26.

15. 'The Orient and Contemporary Poetry'. In *The Asian Legacy in American Life*, edited by Arthur Christy. New York: Day, 1945.

A central document in the description and evaluation of the influence of East-Asian poetry and art on the work of the Imagists, useful both for its biographical and chronological detail and for its first-hand analysis of the nature of the influence, which Fletcher argues came more from Chinese than Japanese tradition. He outlines his own debts to ukiyoe in *Japanese Prints* (7) and notes the Japanese interests of Lowell, Crapsey (see CA4), and Stevens (see CA7), finding it 'obvious' that 'something in the conciseness of Japanese poetry, as well as its pictorial quality, early attracted the Imagist group'. Translations by Hearn (*D9b*) and Chamberlain (*D5a*), he believes, were particularly important in spreading awareness of the Japanese forms. But after *Japanese Prints* Fletcher 'soon lost interest' in the 'Japanese manner', and he no longer believes it of value 'except as an exercise'. Tanka and hokku are like 'rather small and temporarily attractive children' compared to the 'mature human figures' found in the Chinese, capable of 'nothing more than a sketch' while the Chinese 'presents a full picture'. Japanese poetry is limited by 'the exigencies of . . . form' so that in the end 'every Japanese poet is forced . . . to resemble every other Japanese poet'. It was Chinese poetry, then, Fletcher insists here, that led the way in the development of the 'new poetry' in English (though see 22*d* for a reversal of this position five years later), and the 'pivotal moment' arrived with Pound's publication of *Cathay* (*BK15*). Fletcher saw a draft of that work in the winter of 1913-14, and understood immediately that it represented such 'an enormous revolution in English poetic technique' that he 'threw overboard' his own 'scruples' and proclaimed himself 'truly an Imagist'. Even Waley (see *D26*), Fletcher contends, 'freely acknowledged' to him in conversation 'the metrical debt' his own Chinese translations 'owed' to Pound. Several further points of chronology are pertinent. Fletcher writes that during his years at Harvard (1902-07) he often visited the East-Asian collection at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and 'avidly read' Hearn (see *D9*); as early as 1912 he was aware of Noguchi's work (see *D15*) and it had 'had . . . some effect on' his own (see also 18), and by 1913 he had read Fenollosa's *Epochs* (*D10c*). The absence here of any reference to Zen Buddhism undercuts Stephens's more extravagant claims (in 27 and 28). Includes reference to Flint's account of the early days of Imagism (*A3*). Reprinted in 21. See *BE12* for Bynner's criticism of the work, and 17 for evidence that within two years Fletcher had returned to a more hospitable

understanding of Japanese poetry.

16. †THE TREE AT HIROSHIMA. N.p.: n.p., 1946.

Morton (30) I-D-8; OCLC 8046335. A poem printed in Fletcher's Christmas card for 1946 and not reprinted.

17. Foreword to *A Pepper-Pod: A Haiku Sampler*, by Shōson [Kenneth Yasuda]. New York: Knopf, 1947. Reprint, Tokyo: Tuttle, 1976.

Compare 15. General praise for haiku and Yasuda's translations. The reference to 'the inner experience of the poet' that 'through a power of magic imagination' and 'identification' is 'linked to some external object or occasion' recalls Fletcher's *Goblins and Pagodas* preface of three decades earlier (4), and as in that work here he identifies such an imaginative act with the 'doctrine' of Zen, which he believes haiku 'illuminates'. Includes reference to Bashō, earlier translations of haiku in German (see D11), French (see D19 and D21), and English translation, and the recently concluded war: 'though we have succeeded in conquering the Japanese people', Fletcher contends, we 'will in fact have to learn from them, as they can learn from us, now that this war is finished'.

18. To Yone Noguchi, 25 January 1921. Quoted in Atsumi (D15e9), 1975.

In thanking Noguchi for a copy of *Seen and Unseen* (see D15b) Fletcher acknowledges his debt to a previous Noguchi work: 'I am glad you had the inspiration to write to me. For I owe you a debt. The only book of yours I ever saw (previous to this) was your *Pilgrimage* [D15e4], and the first poem in that book [GHOST] suggested to me my "Blue Symphony" [see 4b] in part at least.' Fletcher also writes that he admires Noguchi's 'hokku', and quotes two 'from memory', one of which 'has remained as an image' with him 'for many years'. The letter is signed 'with deep respect'.

19. To R. N. Linscott, 26 September 1916, and to Amy Lowell, 6 March 1918. Quoted in de Chasca (29), 1978, pp. 213-14.

Fletcher writes to his editor at Houghton Mifflin that he believes the poems of *Japanese Prints* (7) 'very slight things', and according to de Chasca claims in the letter to Lowell that 'he had lost all interest in them even before they were published'. Both letters are among the Fletcher Papers at Arkansas (23a).

20. *Selected Poems of John Gould Fletcher*. Edited by Lucas Carpenter and Leighton Rudolph. John Gould Fletcher Series, vol. 1. Fayetteville: U of Arkansas P, 1988.

Reprints FROM THE JAPANESE (1), SAND AND SPRAY (2b), ON THE BANKS OF THE SUMIDA (6b), SHARAKU DREAMS (6d), COURT LADY STANDING UNDER CHERRY TREE (7c), AN OIRAN AND HER KAMUSO (7i), SCENE FROM A DRAMA (7k), and

excerpts from *Irradiations* (2), THE GHOSTS OF AN OLD HOUSE (4a), SYMPHONIES (4B), and *Breakers and Granite* (8).

2 1. *Selected Essays of John Gould Fletcher*. Edited by Lucas Carpenter. John Gould Fletcher Series, vol. 4. Fayetteville: U of Arkansas P, 1989.

Reprints the preface to *Goblins and Pagodas* (4), 'The Secret of Far Eastern Painting' (5), 'East and West' (11), 'The Impulse of Poetry' (12), and 'The Orient and Contemporary Poetry' (15).

2 2. *Selected Letters of John Gould Fletcher*. Edited by Leighton Rudolph, Lucas Carpenter, and Ethel Simpson. John Gould Fletcher Series, vol. 7. Fayetteville: U of Arkansas P, 1996.

a. To Gerald Sanders, 23 October 1942. Fletcher complains to the editor of *Chief Modern Poets of England and America* that the new edition will include seven poems from *Japanese Prints* (7) 'when one or two would have done'. Fletcher now believes the poems in that collection are 'simply amusing trifles' and 'work of secondary intensity'.

b. To Scott Greer, 17 January 1944. In assessing his own work Fletcher again dismisses the importance of *Japanese Prints*: it 'wasn't an important book at all; just little scraps'.

c. To Earl Miner, 27 January 1950. Fletcher recalls that in the early years of the century he read haiku in translations by Hearn (see D9) and Chamberlain (D5), and in German and French, and notes as well that he was 'influenced' by Noguchi (D15); includes passing reference to the Japanese interests of Flint, Lowell, and Pound, along with Yasuda's *Pepper-Pod* (see 17) and Harold G. Henderson's *Bamboo Broom* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1934). The German and French translations Fletcher read would most likely have been those by Florenz (see D11) and Revon (see D21).

d. To Miner, 24 February 1950. Fletcher believes that the influence of haiku on the Imagist poets 'was much more considerable than almost anyone has suspected', for it 'helped . . . make their poems short, concise, [and] full of direct feeling for nature'. Includes passing reference to Waley (see D26), Yeats's adaptations from the *nô*, Lowell's TWENTY-FOUR HOKKU ON A MODERN THEME (B11 1), and Fletcher's friendship with Yasuda (see 17), with whom he corresponds 'frequently'.

2 3. †Unpublished materials.

a. John Gould Fletcher Papers. Mullins Library, Special Collections, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville. By far the largest Fletcher archive, containing papers Fletcher himself donated to the library. Includes copies of

virtually all Fletcher's outgoing letters, including those to Aiken, Eliot, Flint, Lowell, and Pound, along with manuscripts and incoming correspondence. †Thomas Ernest Douglas's 'The Correspondence of John Gould Fletcher: A Catalogue', PhD thesis, University of Arkansas, 1965, is a guide to the correspondence; an electronic finding aid for the collection was published by the library in 1998 and may be accessed at <http://www.uark.edu/depts/speccoll/findingaids/fletcher/index/html>.

b. John Gould Fletcher Correspondence, Works, and Clippings, 1910-52. Henry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin. 521 items held in various collections, including a manuscript copy of *Japanese Prints* (7) with Fletcher's annotations, his letters to Flint, and photocopies of many of the Fletcher letters held at the Mullins Library at Arkansas (a), including those to Aiken, Eliot, Lowell, and Pound.

c. Other materials. Letters written by Fletcher to other poets under study here may be found in the Aiken Papers at the Huntington Library (BA20a), the Aldington Papers at Temple (BB20a), the Lowell Papers at Harvard (BI22a), and the Pound Papers at Yale (BK90a); his letters to Miner would be among the Miner Papers at UCLA (CB3).

See also BI18.

Secondary Materials

24. Reviews of *Goblins and Pagodas* (4), 1916-17.

Fletcher's claims about 'Zen' principles in the preface elicit nearly as much comment as the poems themselves: W. S. B. (*Boston Evening Transcript*, 17 May 1916, p. 5) does not like the poems but finds the ideas set forth in the preface admirable; H. L. Mencken (*Smart Set*, February 1917, p. 400) believes the ideas of the preface 'frequently wrong' but not 'unsane'; and E[dith] W[yatt] (*New Republic* 9 [18 November 1916], supplement, p. 11), admires the poems but insists that the preface is a 'pedantic rubble heap'. The only mention of Japanese technique in the poems themselves is by Dorothy Dudley (*Poetry* 9 [October 1916]: 43-47), who finds that the 'symbols' in SYMPHONIES 'arrange themselves with clarity and measure, and flow together as if some great Japanese had used them in a landscape'.

25. Reviews of *Japanese Prints* (7), 1918-19.

In addition to work noted below, see also the disparaging review by Aiken (BA4).

a. †B., W. S. *Boston Evening Transcript*, 25 September 1918, pt. II, p. 6. According to Morton (30, II-C-viii-2) this 'generally favorable review' focuses on

Fletcher's prefatory discussion of Japanese poetry, and suggests that the poems themselves 'share . . . with Japanese poetry the tendency to exalt the trivial into the realm of art'.

b. D[amon], S. F[oster]. 'In the Mode of Japan'. *New Republic* 16 (1918): 235, 238. Damon likes the poems but finds them 'not . . . truly Japanese'; they are rather closer in spirit to Symbolism than to ukiyoe, and more reminiscent of Verlaine than Bashō.

c. *Outlook* 120 (1918): 382. Finds the poems 'exquisite and appealing in their terseness', for like the Japanese prints that 'inspire' them, they succeed in 'express[ing] emotion in the fewest possible terms'.

d. Firkins, O. W. 'Literature: Pathfinders in America'. *Nation* (New York) 108 (1919): 20-21. Firkins wonders in regard to Fletcher's preface if the 'universal [can] reach America only by way of Japan', and suggests that not all lessons from Japan are beneficial, for while he admires conciseness, 'the hatchet will not solve our difficulties'.

e. H[enderson], A[lice] C[orbin]. *Poetry* 13 (1919): 340-41. Henderson believes 'the only points of similarity' between Fletcher's poems and Japanese poems are brevity and subject matter, for in their 'decorative . . . phrasing' Fletcher's verses 'escape that union of spiritual delicacy and profundity . . . characteristic of even the slightest Japanese verse'. She blames this on the tendency of 'Westerners' in general to 'overlook the underlying humanism of Japanese . . . art and to get only the outward appearance'. The 'outward mask' may in itself be 'wonderful . . . and "decorative"', but if a poet seeks to 'create another mask' based on it, he 'must not forget that there should be a face underneath it'. If he does, 'the mask will be empty', for 'masks that only imitate other masks eventually become lifeless'.

f. Mencken, H. L. 'Notes of a Poetry Hater'. *Smart Set* 58 (1919): 143-44. Mencken uses Fletcher's work as a platform from which to launch an attack on Japan itself. He finds Imagism 'the only intelligible art theory in the . . . free verse movement', but is troubled that it 'now confesses its origin by appearing frankly as an idea borrowed from the orient'. In spite of Fletcher's proclamations to the contrary, Mencken insists that 'the Japanese have contributed absolutely nothing to the arts', but 'are, and always have been mere imitators', chiefly of 'service' for their ability 'to convert the delicate and highly characteristic arts of the Chinese into crafts or trades and so reduce them to the uses of a sordid and vulgar people'. Amusing as this might be, Mencken is simply wrong in asserting that 'even the Japanese hokku . . . is no more than a copy from a Chinese model', though one finds it difficult to disagree with his judgement that the form 'may, in

the hands of a sound poet, yield beauty, but . . . invites the mere trickster and tends to become hollow’.

g. Untermeyer, Louis. ‘Pegasus Redivius’. *Yale Review* 8 (1919): 858-67.

Fletcher’s work is ‘provocative’ in its attempt to ‘render the spirit of the Japanese printers and poets’, but ‘disappointing’ in its failure to live up to its ‘promise’. Untermeyer goes on to demonstrate that famous American critics in 1919 were no more likely than famous American poets to understand the distinctions between Japanese and Chinese verse, suggesting, oddly, that Fletcher’s work offers ‘reminder[s] of Fenollosa-Pound’s “Cathay” [BK15]’ and is ‘far more suggestive of Chinese than . . . Japanese originals’.

26. Deutsch, Babette. Review of *Selected Poems* (14). *Poetry* 48 (1938): 347-51.

Deutsch finds it ‘odd’ that Fletcher ‘saw fit to exclude some of his neatest work’ from the collection, and notes specifically her wish that ‘the delicate hokkus from . . . *Japanese Prints*’ (7) had been included.

27. Stephens, Edna Buell. ‘The Oriental Influence in John Gould Fletcher’. PhD thesis, University of Arkansas, 1961.

Stephens defines ‘oriental influence’ so broadly that it includes whatever is convenient, finding, for example, that the ‘Zen principles’ of ‘love of nature’ and ‘pantheism’ appear in Fletcher’s work from the first volume to the last. A chapter on the influence of haiku relies heavily on quotations from R. H. Blyth and D. T. Suzuki and finds ‘the spirit of haiku’ throughout *Japanese Prints* (7). Includes the implausible suggestion that *Breakers and Granite* (8) demonstrates an influence from the nô, and several misstatements of fact. Kamakura was not an aesthetic movement and Yone Noguchi not a woman, for example. Partly incorporated into 28.

28. Stephens, Edna B. *John Gould Fletcher*. New York: Twayne, 1967.

Draws on Stephens’s earlier PhD thesis (27), with its tendency to find Japanese and other ‘oriental’ influences underlying everything from Fletcher’s love-struck juvenilia to his mature pastoralism. Useful for general biographical details, but material about ‘Zen principles’, the ‘spirit’ of haiku, and other ‘oriental imagery and concepts’ must be used with caution.

29. de Chasca, Edmund S. *John Gould Fletcher and Imagism*. Columbia: U of Missouri P, 1978.

Offering examples from the work of Fletcher, Crapsey (see CA4), Fenollosa (D10), Lowell, and Pound, de Chasca finds that Imagist poetics shared several ‘obvious points in common’ with Japanese poetry, and that in general ‘enthusiasm for Oriental poetry’ characterised the ‘American Poetry Renaissance’ of the early years of the century (see especially pp. 207-14). Based on ‘John Gould Fletcher

and Imagism', PhD thesis, University of Chicago, 1974.

30. Morton, Bruce. *John Gould Fletcher: A Bibliography*. Kent, Oh.: Kent State UP, 1979.

The standard Fletcher bibliography provides further publication history and bibliographic detail for many works noted here.

31. Yearsley, Meredith. 'John Gould Fletcher'. In *American Poets, 1880-1945*, 1st ser., edited by Peter Quartermain. *Dictionary of Literary Biography* 45. Detroit: Gale, 1986.

One can hardly dispute Yearsley's contention that after 1915 Fletcher decided that among the 'most urgent tasks of the twentieth century . . . was to remold the world by bringing Eastern and Western philosophies together' (see especially 13), but if, as Yearsley contends, it was *because* of this decision that Fletcher 'decided his purpose as an artist should be to criticize America's aggressive materialism by affirming this Eastern vision', then his later work, with its celebration of the pastoral harmonies of the American South, could be said to have grown from his earlier interests in Japanese and Chinese tradition, a point consistent with Stephens's encompassing thesis about the importance of Japan and China in Fletcher's work (see 27 and 28). Carpenter (34), in contrast, sees the causal relationship moving in the other direction: Fletcher's agrarianism was primary, he believes, and provided the groundwork for his interest in the principles of Chinese and Japanese aesthetics.

32. Nishiguchi, Junko. 'John Gould Fletcher no *Japanese Prints* [7] o megutte: ukiyoe to haiku no eikyô' (The influence of ukiyoe and haiku on Fletcher's *Japanese Prints*). *Asphodel* 20 (1986): 128-44.

Nishiguchi finds that Fletcher was greatly interested in ukiyoe and understood the 'spirit' of haiku and Zen, primarily through his reading of Bashô, and that he was able to incorporate these understandings into his theories of poetry, but that the poems themselves are not representative of the understanding.

33. Nishiguchi, Junko. 'John Gould Fletcher to tōyô' (Fletcher and the Orient). *Asphodel* 22 (1988): 234-51.

Focuses largely on Fletcher's introduction to *Goblins and Pagodas* (4) and the ideas about Buddhism expressed there as they are manifest in the SYMPHONIES (4b).

Nishiguchi finds the genesis of Fletcher's interest in Zen in his earlier interest in haiku, and suggests that though 'Oriental' subjects in his work are often simply a means of expressing an 'exotic mood', his interest in Buddhism was real and its application in his poetry of note.

34. Carpenter, Lucas. *John Gould Fletcher and Southern Modernism*. John Gould

Fletcher Series, vol. 5. Fayetteville: U of Arkansas P, 1990.

Finds that Fletcher's was 'drawn to Oriental art and ideas because they exhibited a religious attitude toward nature, condemned city life, insisted on the importance of tradition, emphasized in art an intense focus on natural scenes, lacked completely any doctrine of Progress, and represented . . . the expression of a past glorious civilization which reflected his own agrarian beliefs and aesthetics'.

Refers in passing throughout to Fletcher's use of Japanese themes and subjects (see index).

35. Johnson, Ben F. III. *Fierce Solitude: A Life of John Gould Fletcher*. John Gould

Fletcher Series, vol. 6. Fayetteville: U of Arkansas P, 1994.

The most complete account of Fletcher's life and work includes frequent reference to his 'Asian interests' and his relationship with Aiken, Aldington, H. D., Eliot, Lowell, Pound, and the Imagist movement (see index). Notes that among Fletcher's 'Oriental' reading after his return from London in 1914 was work by Binyon, which he found in Lowell's library at Sevenels.

See also A5, 8, 11, 16, 18, 19, 23, 25, 27, 40, 46, 51, 52, 55, 63, 65, 67, 68, 70, BA4, BE12, BI6, 35, BK59, 86, 88, 105, 126, 181, and 188.

BI. Amy Lowell, 1874-1925

In 1885 the Japanese Ambassador to London formally protested the ‘misrepresentation of Japanese life’ in *The Mikado*, but by 1917 a Japanese admirer had written to Lowell of the pleasure he had taken in the ‘descriptive power’ of her verse evocations of Japan, and to inquire about the number of years she had lived there (see 27), not realising that Lowell’s Japan was constructed entirely at Sevenels, the Lowell family mansion on the aristocratic outskirts of Boston. Lowell turned to Japan in her verse frequently, from her first book in 1912, *Dome of Many Coloured Glass* (1), to the posthumously-published *What’s O’Clock* and *Ballads for Sale* (13) of 1925 and 1927. The Japan poems that appeared along the way push the appropriation of Japanese settings and motifs perhaps as far as was possible ^{for} by an American poet of early century who had not in fact been to Japan. In the most successful of the work, the ‘Lacquer Prints’, written between 1912 and 1919 and collected in *Pictures of the Floating World* (8), and ‘Guns as Keys’ (7), the long central poem of *Can Grande’s Castle*, Lowell combines a studious interest in Edo culture with a spare imagism and keen sense of detail to effect poems that are remarkably true to their Japanese subjects. In these and other poems of Japan Lowell is not immune to stylistic excesses of the sort that characterise Ficke’s Japan, or the conceptual lapses of a Fletcher—the Japan poems of both, in fact, were among the many sources from which Lowell worked—but she had a surer hand with the material than her contemporaries, and more than any poet of the period brought Japan into the popular literary imagination of the United States and Britain. The first printing of *Pictures* was sold out in advance of its September 1919 publication at Houghton-Mifflin, and two further printings by Christmas. The objections of writers such as Aiken and D. H. Lawrence aside (see especially BA4 and BI37—‘Don’t do Japanese things, Amy, if you love us . . . it is so saddening’, Lawrence wrote to Lowell upon first seeing the ‘Lacquer Prints’), Lowell’s poems of Japan were among the most popular and influential of their day, and remain to this day among the most adept representations of the Japanese tradition in English poetry. All poems noted are reprinted in *Complete Poetical Works of Amy Lowell*, edited by Louis Untermeyer (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1955).

Primary Materials

1. *A Dome of Many-Coloured Glass*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1912. Reprint, New York: AMS, 1981.

Harmer (A51) is probably right in suggesting that at the date of publication of this work Lowell ‘knew virtually nothing about Japanese literature’; Miner (A25) notes

that the poems contain a ‘mingling’ of a ‘Keatsian afterglow’ and ‘the bright colors of Impressionism and [ukiyo-e]’. Only the poems noted make specific use of Japanese materials.

a. A JAPANESE WOOD-CARVING. Description of the carving of the title, a seascape hanging above a doorway. The carving is mentioned in several accounts of Lowell’s house at Sevenels, including that in Ayscough (27), and Damon (29) notes the several Japanese carvings hanging above the bookshelves in the library. Presumably these would have been among the artefacts Percival Lowell sent to Boston from Japan (see D6). Appeared first in the February 1911 *Atlantic Monthly*. See also 33 and 39.

b. A COLOURED PRINT BY SHOKEI. The speaker describes the scene in the print, a path by a waterfall that she ‘[longs] to explore’, for it ‘must lead to a happy land’. Four artists in Japanese tradition are remembered by the name Shōkei, though none were printmakers. Paintings by Kenkō Shōkei (fl. ca. 1478-1506) and Katayama Chikanobu, also known as Shōkei (1628-1717), are among the works held in the Fenollosa-Ward Collection at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, which Lowell knew well. From internal evidence either might have provided her source.

2. *Sword Blades and Poppy Seed*. New York: Macmillan, 1914. Reprint, New York: AMS, 1981.

Of this volume and *Men, Women and Ghosts* (3) Schwartz (28) suggests that ‘the perspective of some of the landscapes or some of the imagery’ is ‘specifically Japanese’, though ^{he} does not offer examples. WHITE AND GREEN and IN A GARDEN come closest to illustrating the point here, and a third poem, SUNSHINE THROUGH A COBWEBBED WINDOW, draws a central simile from ukiyo-e. This work and *Men, Women and Ghosts*, however, constitute more than 600 pages of verse, and so Lowell’s reliance on Japan in her early career, though noteworthy given what will follow, is not central.

3. *Men, Women and Ghosts*. New York: Macmillan, 1916. Reprint, 1925.

See 2. Miner (A25) notes that AFTERNOON RAIN IN STATE STREET is reminiscent of Hiroshige’s depiction of rain in several prints.

4. LACQUER PRINTS. *Poetry* 9 (March 1917): 302-07.

The first publication of LACQUER PRINTS as a series (see also 5 and 8), though according to Damon (29) by 1919 individual poems from the sequence had appeared in more than thirty journals, some as early as 1912. The brief works make use throughout of overtly Japanese material. Lowell writes in the foreword to a later expanded version of the series (8) that she has ‘endeavoured . . . to keep the brevity and suggestion of the hokku, and to preserve it within its natural sphere’,

though she ‘made no attempt to observe the syllabic rules which are an integral part of . . . Japanese poetry’; while some of her subjects are ‘purely imaginary’, she notes that others ‘are taken from [Japanese] legends or historical events’, and others yet from ‘the vivid, realistic colour-prints of the Japanese masters’ of ukiyoe. Unlike such contemporaries as Ficke and Fletcher, whose attempts to incorporate Japanese motifs into their verse were often jarring (see, for example, *BG4l* and *BH7d, e, i, q, x, y, and ad*), Lowell has a sure hand with the material. Hughes (*A19*) notes the occasional conceit that ‘even to a tolerant reader’ will ‘appear absurd’, and Lowell’s friend D. H. Lawrence berated her for the ‘saddening’ use of ‘Japanese things’ (see *37*), but the poems are largely accurate in detail, and as a result remain more readable today than much of the verse *japonaiserie* of the period. The work is discussed in some detail in Schwartz (*A18* and *BI28*), Miner (*A25*), Durnell (*A55*), and Kodama (*A59*). Musical adaptations are †Alexander Steinert’s ‘Four Lacquer Prints’ (Paris: Senart, 1922; reprint, 1932), †Mary Howe’s ‘Three Hokku’ (New York: Galaxy, 1959) and †Lyell Cresswell, ‘Six Poems by Amy Lowell: Mezzo-Soprano and Piano (Wellington, N. Z.: Waiteata Press, 1991). Reprinted in *8* and *14*. Some poems not noted below for lack of explicit connection to Japanese materials nonetheless rely on themes familiar in Japanese tradition. See also *20a, 24b-c, and 39*.

a. STREETS. According to a note the poem was ‘adapted from the poet Yakura Sanjin, 1769’, and Damon (*29*) adds that Ficke had translated Sanjin’s work from the German, but both references are obscure. The name Yakura Sanjin is not among those in Japanese literary records of the period, and nothing similar appears in Ficke’s published work. In any case, the poem is a striking description of beautiful women in beautiful garments, viewed by the speaker while wandering through the ‘eight hundred and eight streets’ of Edo.

b. DESOLATION. Three lines about nightingales under plum blossoms. Durnell finds the source in an unnamed print by Hiroshige, but Kodama is probably right in tracing it to Hokusai’s ‘Five Nightingales and Pale Red Plum’, a reproduction of which appeared in *Kachôgaden*, a compilation of ukiyoe Lowell owned and bequeathed to the library at Harvard.

c. A YEAR PASSES. Kodama notes that Lowell has learned from ukiyoe much about the depiction of ‘the fragility of beauty and of life’ and cites this brief poem as an example.

d. TO A HUSBAND. The words of the speaker’s ‘beloved’ are ‘brighter than the fireflies upon the Uji River’, which has been renowned since the Heian period for its gatherings of fireflies.

e. FROM CHINA. Miner was the first to note Lowell's unacknowledged use here of a tanka by Abe no Nakamaro (c. 700-770, *ama no hara / furisake mireba . . .*), a work printed in both the *Kokinshū* and the *Hyakunin isshu*. In Nakamaro's poem, written on the eve of his return to Japan after three decades in China, the speaker views the moon and is moved that it is the same moon that shines on his homeland. The situation here is identical, though Lowell's speaker adds that upon thinking of home his 'tears fell / Like white rice grains / At [his] feet', a simile that Miner notes correctly is 'very un-Japanese'. Kodama speculates that Lowell's source for this work and TEMPLE CEREMONY (8v) is Porter's *Hyakunin isshu* (see D20), but in a third poem derived from the *Hyakunin isshu* Lowell introduces into the transcription of the poet's name two errors not found in Porter (see 5).

f. DOCUMENT. Schwartz demonstrates that a quote from Hokusai here is a direct translation from the French of Edmond de Goncourt's *Hokusai* (see D7, p. 180). See 7, 7a8, and 7a11 for other examples of Lowell's unacknowledged borrowing from other works.

g. THE EMPEROR'S GARDEN. In midsummer the emperor has the 'miniature mountains' in his garden draped with white silk so that he may 'cool his eyes / With the sparkle of snow'. It has been believed in Japan that on particularly hot summer days the shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu (1358-1408) had the hill behind Kinkakuji so draped.

h. ONE OF THE 'HUNDRED VIEWS OF FUJI' BY HOKUSAI. The thirsty speaker fills a sake cup with water and is surprised to find a reflection of Fuji floating in it 'like a dropped leaf'. Durnell suggests a source among Hokusai's views of the mountain reflected in a lake, but Kodama notes that among the 'One Hundred Views' is indeed a reflection of Fuji in a sake cup, and that an 1835 edition of *One Hundred Views of Fuji* was among the books Lowell bequeathed to the Library at Harvard.

i. DISILLUSION. Relates the story of a scholar who hurls himself into Asamayama, a volcano in central Honshu on the border of present-day Gumma and Nagano prefectures.

j. PAPER FISHES. A brief work that derives its central image from *koinobori*, the 'carp streamers' flown in Japan to celebrate Children's Day, formerly a boy's festival, 5 May.

k. THE CAMELLIA TREE OF MATSUE. The longest of the LACQUER PRINTS recalls the 'ghostly Japan' of Hearn. When the moon rises a camellia tree of great beauty is known to 'leave its place / By the gateway, / And wander . . . the garden, / Trailing its roots behind'; and when it is felled and the stump torn from the ground at the

request of the frightened lady of the house, a 'stream of dark blood' spouts forth, and the 'the hole quiver[s] like an open wound'. Various Japanese legends, including several recounted in the *nô*, assume that a soul may inhabit a tree. Though no specific source for Lowell's tale may be found in Hearn, he discusses similar legends in some detail in *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan* (see *D9a*). The poem includes reference to the *shôji*, paper windows, of the traditional house.

5. LACQUER PRINTS. In *Some Imagist Poets*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1917.

Reprints the earlier 'Lacquer Prints' (4), substituting for DESOLATION (4*b*) a poem that appears here for the first time in the series. NEAR KIOTO is a hokku-like three lines in which a speaker crosses the 'bridge of Ariwarano Narikira' (Ariwara Narihira) and notices that the waters below have become 'purple / With the floating leaves of maples', allusion to a tanka by Narihira in which the waters of the Tatsuta River have become 'dyed' with maple leaves. Narihira's poem appears both in the *Kokinshû* and the *Hyakunin isshu*, a translation of the latter of which, given other Lowell poems derived from the collection (4*e* and 8*v*), would be her likely source. Narihira's poem does not mention Kyoto, and in fact the Tatsuta River is nearer the older capital at Nara. Reprinted, along with other 'Lacquer Prints', in 8.

6. *Tendencies in Modern American Poetry*. New York: Macmillan, 1917. Reprint, New York: Octagon, 1971.

In a section that addressed Imagism Lowell discusses only H. D. and Fletcher, pointedly not Pound, and devotes six pages to *Japanese Prints* (BH7). She finds that Fletcher's poems, though 'not written absolutely in the Japanese idiom', have nonetheless 'a distinct perfume of Japan about them', and notes particularly that 'to an occidental mind' THE YOUNG DAIMYO (7*q*) has 'certainly the charm of Japan'. Schwartz (28) finds in the latter comment evidence that Lowell's acquaintance with Japanese tradition was 'at first decidedly superficial', and surely THE YOUNG DAIMYO is among the last of the *Japanese Prints* to evidence anything of Japan but a conventional Western fancy about it. Nonetheless, by August of the year in which this work appeared Lowell's knowledge of the country was sound enough to have arrived at the impressive detail of GUNS AS KEYS (7).

7. GUNS AS KEYS: AND THE GREAT GATE SWINGS. *Seven Arts* 2 (August 1917): 428-51.

A lengthy exploration of the cultural traits of Japan and the United States at the time of Perry's expedition. Lowell's knowledge of Japanese history and art is impressive, and the work captures much of the ambivalence of both peoples at the opening of the 'great gate'. Miner believes the poem 'fails as literature', but finds

in it an important development in the use of Japanese subjects in American poetry. Whistler's Japonisme, ukiyoe, and a 'new knowledge of Japanese poetry and culture', he argues, have in this poem and *The Cantos* (BK57) 'passed out of the realm of technique and into a form of thought', for the 'techniques of imitation' of poets such as Lowell and Pound had to be 'rationalized' in attempts to 'assess the cultural import of the meeting of East and West'. Both Schwartz (28) and Kodama (A59) offer insightful analysis of Lowell's sources (see D2 and D24), though neither notes that the title is adapted from Ficke's SONG OF EAST AND WEST (BG2), or that the repeated allusion to the 'opening' of Japan as a 'Pandora's box' has antecedents in Whitman's BROADWAY PAGEANT (see CA1). Reprinted in *Can Grande's Castle* (New York: Macmillan, 1918; reprint, St. Clair Shores, Mich.: Scholarly Books, 1972). For Lowell's own comments about her intention in the work see 21, and see also 6, 20b, and 23.

a. Part I. Alternates a narrative account of Perry's voyage with eleven verse descriptions of contemporary events in Japan, the latter of which are treated here as discrete works.

1. AT MISHIMA IN THE PROVINCE OF KAI. Schwartz (A18 and BI28) was the first to note that several passages in GUNS AS KEYS are 'manifestly verse reproductions' of well known ukiyoe, and that this passage, for example, is an 'exact reproduction' of 'Kôshû no Mishimagoe', one of Hokusai's *Thirty-Six Views of Mt. Fuji*.

2. THE ROAD IS HILLY. Describes a night scene in summer along the road of the title, which a reference to the 'Tiger Gate' (*Toramon*) places as one of those leading into Edo.

3. NIGI-OI OF MATSUBA-YA. The poem explains that 'Nigi-oi of Matsu-ba' is the name of an *oiran*, a geisha in the Kansai district (see also BH7i). More precisely it would be the name of the woman and of the house for which she works, the Matsubaya, among the most noted in the Yoshiwara of the Edo period. The poem describes an assignation between the woman and her Mitsui-family patron, and his selling of her services to the Director of the Dutch Factory at Nagasaki. As in so many of Fletcher's *Japanese Prints* (BH7) the focus of detail is the beauty of the woman's kimono. Kodama notes that both Utamaro and Hosoda Eisui (fl. 1790-1823) depicted scenes from the Matsubaya in their prints, and speculates plausibly that one of these would have been Lowell's source.

4. ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY STREETS IN THE SANNO QUARTER. Well-realised description of the Sannô Festival held in mid-June in Edo, and continuing in alternate years in present-day Tokyo, at the premises of Hiejinja, the shrine that

the Tokugawa venerated as protector of the city.

5. THE LADIES. Description of courtesans who have come to Asakusa to view peonies.

6. A DAIMIO'S PROCESSION. Describes a procession of daimyô (*daimyô gyôretsu*) on its way to Edo to fulfil the obligation of the rule of *sankin kôtai*, whereby daimyô had to spent alternate years in Edo. A peasant kneels with his forehead to the ground as the parade of shining spears, red coats, and 'yellow mushroom hats' passes. Miner suggests a source in Hiroshige's depiction either of Hakone or Okayama station in his *Fifty-Three Stations of the Tôkaidô*. See also 7a9 below.

7. TIGER RAIN ON THE TEMPLE BRIDGE OF CARVED GREEN STONE. Description of a temple scene in rain, the bells of the pagoda roofs, the 'cheese-rounds of open umbrellas', and the scattering peach blossoms.

8. THE BEAUTIFUL DRESSES. Schwartz traces Lowell's depiction of a geisha dance to the description of an Utamaro print in Edmond de Goncourt's *Utamaro* (see D7), but does not cite the passage. Compare Lowell's 'beautiful dresses / Blue, Green, Mauve, Yellow; / And the beautiful green pointed hats / Like Chinese porcelains' with Goncourt's '*ces femmes coiffées d'étranges chapeaux pointus verts, où le bleu, le vert, le mauve, le jaune rappellent la décoration des porcelaines chinoises*' (1924 ed., Flammarion, p. 17). See also 4f.

9. DOWN THE NINETY-MILE RAPIDS. Another description of a *daimyô gyôretsu*, or procession of daimyô, on passage along the Tôkaidô to Edo to fulfil the *sankin kôtai* (see also 7a6). The reference to the 'ninety-mile rapids / Of the Heaven Dragon River' would be to the stretch of the Tenryû River through Tenryû gorge near the city of Iida. Includes reference to the 'Shogun's decree' (*sankin kôtai*) and the idling away of the winter in the Yoshiwara.

10. OUTSIDE THE DRAPERY SHOP OF TAKETANI SABAI. The 'Arimitsu' cloth of line 3 would be a corruption of *Arimatsu shibori*, cloth dyed in Arimatsu-cho, Nagoya, a district of tea shops that served travellers along the Tôkaidô and sold the traditional cloth. Perhaps brother Percival Lowell had sent a sash or a night-dress to his sister from a shop owned by a Taketani Sabai, for the detail, perfect as it is for the poem, seems too obscure to have found its way into an English-language publication of the period. Reference to the 'Ono Falls' on the Kisokaidô is perhaps to a waterfall on the Ibi River near the city of Ono in present day Gifu Prefecture, near which the Kisokaidô passed.

11. ON THE FLOOR OF THE RECEPTION ROOM OF THE PALACE. It has not before been noted that this description of *seppuku* (ritual suicide) takes its

details—the white quilt, two red rugs, screens of white paper, lanterns, the number and behaviour of attendants—from Mitford's first-hand account of a *seppuku* published in 1871 in *Tales of Old Japan* (see *D4*), which notes as well that the ritual often took place in the 'reception room' of a 'palace'. Lowell's use of the material is restrained, and saves the poem from bathos, but Mitford's prose, early as it is, follows more closely the dictates of what would come to be called Imagism, and remains more powerful, exact, and poignant.

b. PART II. Lowell's description of the events surrounding Perry's arrival at Uruga in July 1853 and his return to Kanagawa the following February, written in what she calls 'polyphonic prose' (read: narrative prose with frequent use of repeated images). The details are accurate and the grasp of period history thorough, though the narrative itself is often breathless. The reference to Perry writing in his cabin an 'account of what he has done' provides a certain source for the work. Perry's journals and notes had been published in 1856 (*D2*). Kodama notes as well that Lowell's friend August Belmont was Perry's grandson, and had told the poet 'many stories' about the Commodore. Other sources are many, if not all ascertainable. The section includes reference to the poet and Neo-Confucian (*shushigaku*) scholar Hayashi Razan (1583-1657), Ise jingū, Kurihama, Kyoto, the 'plum-trees of Kamata and Kinagawa' (Kanagawa), 'Princes' of Idzu (Izu) and Iwami, 'pupils' of Hokusai who lampooned the 'hairy devils' (Perry's men) in ukiyoe, Shinagawa, Shintō, temples at Shiba and Asakusa, Tokugawa Ieyoshi and Iesada (twelfth and thirteenth Tokugawa shoguns), and even to the Taira ghosts after the final and decisive battle of the Gempei wars (see *BK21a*). One can understand the confusion in a letter to Lowell from a Japanese admirer who praised the descriptions of Japan and inquired about the number of years she had lived in the country (see 27).

1. 'Postlude'. Three sections, the first in verse, others in 'polyphonic prose', set in 1903, fifty years after Perry's arrival at Uruga.

2. IN THE CASTLE MOAT, LOTUS FLOWERS ARE BLOOMING. Description of Edo castle grounds in moonlight, with the warriors of the previous century departed; Kodama notes that Lowell bequeathed a copy of La Farge's *Letters from Japan* (1897) to Harvard University Library, and argues convincingly that a sketch and description in that volume is the source of these lines.

3. 1903. JAPAN. Describes a young man's suicide at Kego Falls (*Kegon no taki*) after he had carved into the bark of a tree a message about the impossibility of understanding the universe. Lowell acknowledges in her preface that the suicide note is taken word for word from Naruse Seichi's translation in 'Young Japan'

(D24), and Naruse's essay itself helps explain the lines, which are unusually cryptic for Lowell. Naruse had noted that the suicide of the student of philosophy at Tokyo high school had been like a 'sudden peal of thunder' for the older generation in Japan, for 'to kill oneself because of a philosophical dilemma or a view of life was beyond the reach of their imagination'. The result was renewed fear that 'western culture was poisonous' and a renewed sense of the need to '[return] to the ancient Japan', but 'the outcry was too feeble to turn back the powerful trend of the times'. The suicide 'was only too symbolic of the state of . . . Japanese youth', and 'the heavy flood of European culture was too overwhelming'. Lowell's lines, then, are about the clash of Western and Japanese sensibilities in the fifty years after Perry landed at Uraga, and are sensitive to the loss experienced as the country underwent its 'flood of European culture'. In this regard, her poem turns away from the optimism that characterised earlier American poems about the confluence of East and West, beginning with Whitman's *BROADWAY PAGEANT* and continuing in the most ambitious poems of Fenollosa (see *CA1*), Ficke (*BG2*), Fletcher (*BH7*), and others.

4. 1903. *AMERICA*. Describes an exhibition of works by Whistler (see *BC5*), identified by Ryan (39) as the 1904 Whistler Memorial Exhibition at Boston, attended by 41,000. The title of the first painting Lowell recalls, 'Nocturne—Blue and Silver—Battersea Bridge' is misremembered; she refers instead to the 'Nocturne: Blue and Silver—Battersea Reach' and not to Whistler's painting of Battersea Bridge, based on Hiroshige's 'Fireworks at Ryôgoku Bridge', which is the subject of a later Lowell poem (8z). Miner (A25) notes that these closing lines indicate the degree to which Whistler was associated with Japan, since his work is Lowell's 'sole example of what the West had learned . . . in fifty years of contact' with the country, a point expanded upon in detail by Ryan.

8. *Pictures of the Floating World*. New York: Macmillan, 1919. Reprint, Boston:

Houghton Mifflin, 1927.

Reprints earlier *LACQUER PRINTS* (4 and 5) and expands the sequence. Though Lowell's 'Japanese things' were not well received by all (see especially 37), they were enormously popular. The first edition of this work was sold out in advance of its 24 September publication date. The title is taken from a common translation of ukiyoe. See also 24.

a. *CIRCUMSTANCE*. Durnell (A55) writes that the poem 'bears a close analogy to a haiku by Buson', but does not say which. The work bears close similarity to many Japanese verses about autumn. The dew 'shines red' on the maple leaves, but on the lotus blossom 'has the pale transparenence of tears'. Compare, for example, to Chiyo's

koborete wa / tada no mizunari / beni no tsuyu, in which the dew in a 'rouge flower' becomes transparent when spilled from the flower cup.

b. ANGLES. Durnell is surely right when she suggests a source in ukiyoe, probably by Hiroshige, for this brief description of rain falling.

c. YOSHIWARA LAMENT. Four lines depicting a spring scene and the longing of a woman whose lover does not return to her.

d. THE POND. When Durnell suggests that the poem 'probably owes its inception to Bashô', she presumably has in mind the famous *furuike ya*, frog, pond, sound of water hokku. Lowell's poem is brief—four lines—and does include a frog and a pond, and so probably she would have had the Bashô in mind, though the poem is neither a translation nor adaptation of that poem.

e. THE RETURN. Miner notes the 'subtle' debt to ukiyoe, and that Lowell was more inclined to incorporate the unusual detail from Japanese sources than other poets of the period: 'Only a reader familiar with the block print would know that the composition of the picture . . . —a woman at her toilette with her features depicted only by their reflection in a mirror—is borrowed from an artist like [Hosoda] Eishi'; and 'only . . . Lowell among the Imagists was capable of such a fillip of Orientalia as the metal Japanese mirror'.

f. NUANCE. Miner (A25) observes that in several of the LACQUER PRINTS 'slight changes in imagery or in situation do not disguise the degree to which [Lowell] borrowed many of the short poems she had been reading in translation'. Here, an iris bends under the slight weight of a butterfly, and Miner notes the 'echo' from a Bashô hokku in which a jonquil bends under the slight weight of the year's first snow. See also *g*, *h*, and *r* below.

g. AUTUMN HAZE. Two lines in which the speaker wonders whether what she sees settling 'softly down upon the water' is a dragonfly or a maple leaf; Miner (A25) points out that the conceit is that of Moritake's famous *rakka eda ni*, in which what appears to be a blossom returning to its branch turns out to be a butterfly.

h. PEACE. Miner (A25) again finds an antecedent in haiku, and notes as well that in this poem the haiku 'even proved useful in expressing such contemporaneous events as the armistice which followed the First World War'. In Lowell's poem, a butterfly opens and closes its wings on the muzzle of a cannon; in Buson's *tsurigane ni / tomarite nemuru / kochô kana* the butterfly is asleep on a temple bell.

i. AGAIN THE NEW YEAR FESTIVAL. Five lines that include details associated with *shôgatsu*, the new year: a red lacquer sake cup, bronze lanterns, and the

wind-bells of summer (*fûrin*) corroded and fallen to the ground.

j. TIME. As the speaker gazes into a bronze mirror she sees ‘faintly outlined, / The figure of a crane / Engraved upon its back’. The crane in both China and Japan has long been a symbol of longevity, and indeed was often used for decoration on artefacts such as mirrors.

k. PILGRIMS ASCENDING FUJI-YAMA. The speaker is not disturbed by ‘showers of ashes’ dislodged by the feet of pilgrims ascending Fuji because she knows that ‘at night they fly upward / And spread themselves once more / Upon the slopes of the Honourable Mountain’.

l. THE KAGOES OF A RETURNING TRAVELLER. In the four-line poem the speaker mistakes the sounds of the bearers of a palanquin (*kago*) for the beating of wings in a stand of cryptomeria.

m. A STREET. A hokku-like three lines about a procession of geisha passing before a silk shop called the Matsuzakaya.

n. OUTSIDE A GATE. Two lines derived from Lowell’s keen sense of the imagery, motifs, diction, and tone of hokku, if not from a specific haiku itself: ‘On the floor of the empty palanquin / The plum-petals constantly increase.’

o. ROAD TO THE YOSHIWARA. Again Lowell’s details are perfectly selected to remind of hokku. Along the ‘Nihon Embankment’ of an unnamed river that would be the Sumidagawa, a traveller on his way to an assignation in the Yoshiwara notes the darkening of the road as wild geese pass across the moon.

p. OX STREET. TAKANAWA. Four lines revolving around a central image of melon slices beside an empty cart. Takanawa was a district of Edo and remains a place name in modern Tokyo.

q. A DAIMIO’S OIRAN. The speaker dresses her hair with chrysanthemums when she hears the daimyô’s ‘runners’ shouting to the peasants to ‘get down! get down!’ as the Lord approaches. Lowell was fond of such imagery. Compare 7a6, 7a9, and 8l.

r. PASSING THE BAMBOO FENCE. In NUANCE (8f) Lowell takes over from Bashô the image of a flower bent by the slightest of weights; here a related image returns in a hokku-like two lines: ‘What fell upon my open umbrella— / A plum blossom?’

s. FROSTY EVENING. Four lines that depend on the image of a shadow visible through *shôji*, the ‘paper windows’ of a traditional Japanese house.

t. AN ARTIST. Relies on the legend of the priest and poet Kisen (fl. ca. 810-824), who is said to have composed a thousand poems, but destroyed all but one. Among English-language poets making use of Japanese materials in the first quarter of the century, only Lowell was capable of incorporating such a detail. Kisen is, in fact, remembered for but one poem, though his mention by Ki no Tsurayuki in the

preface to the *Kokinshū* places him in the ranks of the *rokkasen* (see *BC20h*).

u. DAYBREAK. YOSHIWARA. Four lines of advice to those who must depart the Yoshiwara on a misty, grey morning.

v. TEMPLE CEREMONY. Lowell acknowledges in a note that this is a version of a poem by Henjō (c. 816-890), another of the *rokkasen*. Like poems she works from and does not acknowledge in *4e* and *5*, Henjō's tanka appeared in the *Kokinshū* and later in the *Hyakunin isshu*.

w. TWO PORTERS RETURNING ALONG A COUNTRY ROAD. An 'empty *kago* [see *l*] can be carried upon the back of one man', and so the other 'has nothing to do / But gaze at the white circle / Drawn about the flying moon'.

x. THE EXILED EMPEROR. The single image is of the emperor's birds that 'tomorrow . . . will be flown / Many miles across the tossing sea', presumably with the emperor into exile. The emperor in question likely would be Gotoba (1180-1239) or his son Juntoku (1197-1242), both prominent figures in the poetry of their day.

y. CONSTANCY. Again Lowell's detail is remarkable for 1919 and for one who had not been to Japan. Not many outside of the country would have known of the custom of writing one's hopes on a slip of paper and tying it to the branch of a tree at a sacred place, that the gods may grant the wish. Fewer still who had not been to Nara would know of the seven trees of seven varieties growing from a single trunk in a small courtyard amid the great red buildings at Kasugi Taisha. In Lowell's poem, vows of love taken many years in the past remain 'tied to the great trunk / Of the seven separate trees / In the courtyard of the Crimson Temple / At Nara'.

z. FREE FANTASIA ON JAPANESE THEMES. A reverie about climbing sacred mountains, reclining on a balcony in beautiful kimono, singing and playing the shamisen, and other 'Japanese themes'. Miner notes the 'Whistlerian title', and believes the poem demonstrates that Lowell 'consciously attempted to combine Whistler's art and the [Japanese] print'. Of the passage beginning 'I would sit in a covered boat', he notes that only by comparing identical subjects in Whistler's paintings of Battersea Bridge and Hiroshige's 'Fireworks at Ryōgoku Bridge' may one properly understand the 'cross-fertilizing' that has 'taken place between two cultures and three artistic media', for 'all three present the same artistic composition'. Reprinted in *17*.

aa. AT THE BOOKSELLERS. Set in nineteenth-century Japan. The speaker describes the shop and several of the ukiyoe sold there. Schwartz notes a resemblance to lines in Edmond de Goncourt's *Outamaro* (see *D7*). The reference to the publisher 'Tsoutaya' who has grown rich from the prints would be to Tsutaya

Júzaburô, whose seal appears on prints by Utamaro, Toyokuni, Sharaku, and others.

9. Introduction to *Diaries of Court Ladies of Old Japan*, by Sugawara Takasue no Musume, Murasaki Shikibu, and Izumi Shikibu, translated by Annie Shepley Omori and Kôchi Doi. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1920. Reprint, with corrections, Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1961.

By 1920 Lowell was enough of an 'expert' on Japan, and popular enough with the reading public, that she was asked to introduce this translation of *Sarashina nikki*, *Murasaki Shikibu nikki*, and *Izumi Shikibu nikki*. Her tracing of the historical backgrounds of Heian literature and the biographical details of the diarists is remarkably knowledgeable. Minor errors of fact or interpretation arise mainly from her acceptance of the works as primarily autobiographical instead of literary. Heian period 'taste', she contends, achieved a 'cultivation' that 'has never been surpassed by any people at any time'. Includes reference to Ki no Tsurayuki, the *Kojiki*, the *Manyôshû*, Sei Shônagon, the Taira and the Minamoto (see *BK21a*), and the development of tanka and hokku. Omori was a friend of Lowell and occasional visitor at Sevenels, Doi a respected Japanese scholar of English literature. See also *BL22*.

10. Trans., with Florence Ayscough. *Fir-Flower Tablets: Poems Translated from the Chinese*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1921. Reprint, Westport, Conn.: Hyperion, 1973.

Ayscough was a childhood friend of Lowell who for several years lived in China, and with the help of a Chinese professor rendered these classical poems into rough English, which Lowell then worked into verse. The work is important to this study because of its underlying 'pictographic' theory of ideograms, in which each component part of a kanji is treated as a distinct image. Lowell would not have admitted the fact, but the source of the understanding is Fenollosa, and Pound's popularisation of his work (see *BK32*). The method led to various tortured renderings of common words. 'Field and garden' became 'the square enclosures of my field and my walled garden with its quiet paths'; an image that Waley renders 'native pool' became 'the whirled water of meeting streams'. The work was panned by reviewers, including, and particularly, Bynner (see *BE5* and *13*). A selection is reprinted in *14*. See also *16*, *19*, *27*, and *34*.

11. TWENTY-FOUR HOKKU ON A MODERN THEME. *Poetry* 18 (June 1921): 124-27.

In the years before 1920 Lowell experimented at length with Japanese subjects, themes, and motifs, but beyond limiting the length of her 'hokku-like' verse did not attempt to derive form from Japanese prosody. This work, however, reverses the equation. It is free of Japanese content but abides rather strictly by the 5-7-5

syllable pattern of classical Japanese verse, and maintains the form through twenty-four three-line stanzas. Harmer (A51) suggests an 'inspiration' for the poems in Fletcher's *Japanese Prints* (BH7), a plausible point given Lowell's acknowledgement of a debt to that work in a letter to Fletcher of the previous year (19). Reprinted in 12 and 17.

12. *What's O'clock*. Edited by Ada Dwyer Russell. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1925. Published posthumously. Reprints TWENTY-FOUR HOKKU ON A MODERN THEME (11) and includes THE ANNIVERSARY, a second poem of twenty-four three-line stanzas in the 5-7-5 syllable pattern of the hokku, though like the former work the poem does not make use of Japanese subjects. Schwartz (28) believes these poems 'reveal more Japanese influence' than Lowell's earlier work, 'since the adoption of a foreign form . . . surely marks a deeper, more vital influence' than 'mere poetical interpretation' of foreign subjects. The point may on first glance seem accurate, but one should remember that the 'form' of classical Japanese poetry includes much more than a set syllabic pattern, and that if that alone is carried into English the 'adoption of . . . foreign form' is shallow indeed. Few would claim that a fourteen-line poem in Japanese had necessarily 'adopted the form' of the sonnet. Much of Lowell's earlier incorporation of Japanese subjects makes more insightful use of more engaging material, and the 'deeper, more vital' influence from the country may be found there. Miner (A25) notes the use throughout this collection of Pound's technique of super-position (see BK12). The volume was awarded the 1926 Pulitzer Prize for poetry. Both TWENTY-FOUR HOKKU and THE ANNIVERSARY are reprinted in 17. See also 26.
13. *Ballads for Sale*. Edited by Ada Dwyer Russell. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1927. A second posthumous collection edited by Russell, Lowell's companion and literary executor.
- a. TANKA. Adopts the 5-7-5-7-7 syllable pattern of classical tanka, though beyond this bears little relation to Japanese materials.
 - b. PILLAR PRINTS. Seven brief descriptions of *hashirae* which could be either Chinese or Japanese but for the obscure reference in the fourth to the Japanese 'Lady Yasurahi'.
14. *Selected Poems of Amy Lowell*. Edited by John Livingston Lowes. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1927. Reprint, St. Clair Shores, Mich.: Scholarly, 1971. Reprints LACQUER PRINTS (from 8) and selections from *Fir-Flower Tablets* (10).
15. Letters. Quoted in Damon (29), 1935.
- a. To Paul K. Hisada, 13 August 1917 (p. 55). Hisada, according to Damon, was 'a Japanese admirer' of Lowell's work. She writes to him here of her lifelong interest

in his country, which she says is ‘entwined’ with her earliest memories, and of the books and artefacts sent to her from Japan by her brother Percival Lowell (see *D6*). Her language is nearly identical with that she uses three and a half years later writing to another Japanese acquaintance (see *20b*): ‘all through my childhood [Percival’s gifts] made Japan so vivid to my imagination that I cannot realize that I have never been there’.

b. To Theodore Maynard, 16 November 1921 (pp. 578-83). Lowell’s defensive response to Maynard’s *Yale Review* article of the previous January (*25*) questions nearly all his assumptions, including that the art of Japan is ‘remote from us, [and] alien to the texture of our souls’. Lowell finds the comment ‘dogmatic’ and in need of qualification, for ‘to some of us it is not alien at all’. She fears that Maynard may have ‘open[ed]’ himself to ‘the same smile which greeted the remark of that ingenious member of Commodore Perry’s expedition who, in speaking of a colour print by Hokusai, announced that the painter was ignorant of design’.

16. *Florence Ayscough and Amy Lowell: Correspondence of a Friendship*. Edited by Harley Farnsworth MacNair. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1945.

The Lowell/Ayscough correspondence of 28 June 1918 to 17 February 1922 is preoccupied with the publication and reception of *Fir-Flower Tablets* (*10*), and turns frequently to discussion of the ‘pictographic method’ of rendering ideograms. What strikes one above all, however, is Lowell’s nearly pathological desire to upstage the versions and translations of East-Asian literature of Pound (especially *BK15* and *24*), Fenollosa (whose name she misspells throughout), Bynner (*The Jade Mountain*, 1929), and Waley (see *D26*), and the fact that Ayscough’s knowledge of Chinese is rudimentary and Lowell’s non-existent. Reviewed by Bynner in *BE13*. Reprints *27* with additions.

17. *A Shard of Silence: Selected Poems of Amy Lowell*. Edited by G. R. Ruibley. New York: Twayne, 1957.

Reprints *FREE FANTASIA ON JAPANESE THEMES* (*8z*), *TWENTY-FOUR HOKKU ON A MODERN THEME* (*11*), and *THE ANNIVERSARY* (see *12*).

18. †‘The Correspondence of Amy Lowell and John Gould Fletcher’. Edited by Raynal Barber Bell. PhD thesis, Texas Christian University, 1974.

A work that almost certainly would include letters pertinent to this study, but which is neither abstracted in *DAI* nor available in reprint. In at least one letter to Fletcher (*19*) Lowell acknowledges a debt to *Japanese Prints* (*BH7*).

19. To Fletcher, July 1920. Quoted in Katz (*35*), 1981, p. 137.

Lowell has been invited to lecture on ‘Oriental poetry’ at the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, and asks Fletcher’s help with her preparation. Regarding

Japanese poetry, she is 'at sea', and does not know of 'any good translations' except those of Hearn (see *D9b*). She recalls Fletcher's preface to *Japanese Prints* (*BH7*), and wonders if he could recommend translations of Bashô, the *Manyôshû*, and the *Kokinshû*, or a source of 'biographical material on . . . Japanese poets'. She finds Chamberlain's Japanese translations (see *D5a*) to be 'quite as bad as Giles's of Chinese', and does not want to use works that 'have absolutely no flavour of the originals'. She believes that Fletcher knows much more about these matters than she, and that he is 'the only person who has ever . . . really explained the object of the hokku', and so she has 'adapted' his understanding whenever she has 'had occasion to refer to that form'. It might be noted that Waley's *Japanese Poetry* (*D26a*) had appeared in 1919, was in 1920 by far the most accurate English translation of Japanese verse, and remains respected and in print today. Lowell had been stung by Waley's criticism of *Fir-Flower Tablets*, however, and writes here as if neither he nor his work existed.

20. Letters. Quoted in Kodama (*A59*), 1984.

a. To Ficke, 20 April 1916 (p. 47). Lowell thanks Ficke for his gift of *Chats on Japanese Prints* (*BG5*), and adds that it has 'inspired' her to write a number of little "hokku" poems—for no reason whatever except that you put me so in the mood'. These presumably would be the 'hokku' that appeared in *LACQUER PRINTS* (4). See 7 for evidence that Lowell borrowed from other of Ficke's writing about Japan.

b. To Miyaoka Tsunejirô, 13 January 1921 (pp. 39-40). Miyaoka was Percival Lowell's secretary in Japan, and visited Sevenels with him during a trip to the United States in 1883, when Miyaoka was seventeen and Amy Lowell nine. Thirty-eight years later she recalls the visit here in a letter of thanks for Miyaoka's recent gift of a 'picture book' from Japan. In reciprocation she sends a copy of *Can Grande's Castle* (see 7), which she notes makes 'some reference' to Japan, and was written 'out of a sort of atavism and after much reading of Japanese literature', which she 'ardent[ly]' admires. Her recollection of the importance of Japan to her early imagination recalls language she had used in a letter of three and a half years earlier to another Japanese correspondent (compare *15a*): 'The prints and picture books like the little one which you have just given me, and which my brother Percival used to send across the Atlantic all through my childhood, made Japan so vivid to my imagination that I cannot imagine that I have never been there'. These 'imbued' Lowell with a 'love' for Japan that Miyaoka's visit 'strengthened', and she is sure that she will 'always feel a bond drawing' her to the country. Includes reference to William Sturgis Bigelow.

21. Letter (1919). Quoted in Ryan (*BI39*), 1997, p. 375.

What Lowell ‘mean[t] to give’ in the postludes to GUNS AS KEYS (7, see especially 7a11 and b4), she writes, ‘was the effect that each country [Japan and the United States] had upon the other. In the Japanese section, how difficult it was for the Oriental to assimilate the Occidental habits of thought, how he broke in the effort; in the American part, how, in conquering Japan for our commerce, as we thought, we had ourselves been conquered on the aesthetic plane, and our habits of thought insensibly modified by contact with the Japanese’.

22. †Unpublished Materials.

a. Amy Lowell Papers. Houghton Library, Harvard University. Includes copies of Lowell’s outgoing letters and letters to Lowell from more than a thousand correspondents, including Aldington, Ayscough (see 16), Damon (see 29 and CA8), Doi Kochi, H. D., Ficke, Fletcher, Pound, Sandburg (see CA6), and, from Japan, her brother Percival Lowell.

b. Other materials. Lowell’s letters to other poets under study here may be found in the Aiken Papers at the Huntington Library (*BA20a*), the Bynner Papers at Dartmouth (*BE22b*), the Fletcher Papers at Arkansas (*BH23a*, and see also *BI18*), and the Pound Papers at Yale (*BK90a*). A significant collection of Lowell papers is also held at the Department of Poetry and Special Collections, Library of the State University of New York at Buffalo.

Secondary Materials

23. M[onroe], H[arriet]. ‘Miss Lowell’s Polyphonic Prose’. Review of *Can Grande’s Castle* (see 7). *Poetry* 13 (1918): 97-102.

Monroe finds that GUNS AS KEYS (7) is hampered by its ‘mass-swift rushings from paddle-wheels to smoke-plumes, [and] from America to Japan’.

24. Reviews of *Pictures of the Floating World* (8), 1919-20.

a, *Booklist* 16 (1919): 81. Notes that the poems are ‘seldom translations’ but nonetheless have ‘a touch of the Chinese and Japanese’.

b. *New Republic* 20 (1919): pt. 2, p. 2. Finds LACQUER PRINTS ‘influenced by oriental pictures and oriental legends’ and inclusive of works ‘in the brief form adapted from the Japanese . . . hokku’. In this way they ‘derive from the orient in a double way’.

c. S[eiffert], M[arjorie] A. ‘The Floating World’. *Poetry* 15 (1920): 332-37. Seiffert believes the LACQUER PRINTS to be ‘fashioned after Japanese models in a “quasi-oriental idiom”’ that is ‘carefully wrought, highly polished, and sometimes a little hard’. Lowell handles this ‘form of poetry’ well, but ‘her treatment does not

differ . . . greatly from that of several other poets who “do the hokku into English”. Though this is a ‘much over-rated form, fit to be the vehicle of only the tiniest facets of emotion’, its ‘charm’ is that ‘when well done . . . the economy of its images releases the imagination of the reader to fill in the pictures with something to him significant’. This may be ‘ruined’ by ‘rigidity . . . conventional imagination, or a lifeless subject’, but some of Lowell’s poems ‘carry magic in every word’.

OUTSIDE A GATE (8*n*) is among those specifically cited in this regard.

25. Maynard, Theodore. ‘The Fallacy of Free Verse’. *Yale Review* 11 (1921): 354-66.

Maynard’s lively argument that free verse represents ‘a false view of the nature of poetry’ includes reference to Lowell’s ‘hokku’ and asserts that her verse is ‘as delicate, as deliberate, and as limited as the art of Japan—but it is an art remote from us, one alien to the texture of our souls.’ See 15*b* for Lowell’s response.

26. M[onroe], H[arriet]. ‘Rubies in a Gate of Stone’. Review of *What’s O’clock* (12). *Poetry* 27 (1925): 154-58.

Monroe is perceptive for the date in noting that ‘the hokku in English is . . . a highly artificial form, whatever it may be in Japanese’, and becomes ‘something of a stunt, with an effect doubtless worlds away from its oriental feeling and atmosphere’. Lowell ‘uses it like . . . [a] lady confiding her resignation to a three-stringed lute’, and the ‘effect’ she achieves is ‘in a level minor key, with no crescendos or climaxes’.

27. Ayscough, Florence. ‘Amy Lowell and the Far East’. *Bookman* (New York) 63 (1926): 11-18.

An appreciation of Lowell’s ‘interpretations of the Farthest East’ by her friend and collaborator on *Fir-Flower Tablets* (10). Notes a 1917 letter to Lowell from a ‘Japanese admirer’, perhaps Hisada (see 15*a*), who was so impressed by Lowell’s ‘descriptive power’ in bringing Japanese subjects to life that he assumed she had lived for years in the country. Includes discussion of the importance of Percival Lowell (D6) in shaping his sister’s fascination with things Japanese. Expanded in 16.

28. Schwartz, William Leonard. ‘A Study of Amy Lowell’s Far Eastern Verse’. *Modern Language Notes* 43 (1928): 145-52.

Insightful analysis of Lowell’s use of Japanese and Chinese materials. Schwartz is particularly keen in noting Japan-related sources for particular poems and passages, including lines from Edmond de Goncourt’s studies of Utamaro and Hokusai that Lowell translated and adopted word for word but did not acknowledge (see D7). Finds finally that ‘if we ever graft Far Eastern branches upon the stock of English poetry, we will turn back to Amy Lowell’s Oriental verse with the

gratitude and respect due an inspired explorer'. Incorporates notes about Lowell from Schwartz's earlier 'L'Appel de l'extrême-Orient dans la poésie des États-Unis' (A18).

29. Damon, S. Foster. *Amy Lowell: A Chronicle, With Extracts from Her*

Correspondence. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1935. Reprint, Hamden, Conn.: Archon, 1966.

This biography by a long-time friend and fellow poet remains a standard work and offers valuable insight into the milieu of the Boston literary establishment in the first quarter of the century, including its preoccupations with the 'oriental'. Refers often to Lowell's Japanese interests (see index), and provides a useful account of how the artefacts brother Percival Lowell (D6) sent from Japan helped stir Lowell's lifelong interest in the culture. See also 15.

30. Watanabe, Shōichi. 'Imagist and Haiku—with Special Reference to Amy Lowell'.

Eibungaku to eigogaku (Sophia University) 6 (1967): 108-30.

A lively and contentious work that moves from well-observed notes about Lowell's 'inadequate information of Japan' and 'essentially not Haiku-like' poems to larger points about the 'homogenization' of culture and 'standardization of civilization' in the twentieth century.

31. Kawano, Akira. 'Amy Lowell and Haiku' and 'Amy Lowell and Carl Sandburg—

Especially in Relation to Japanese Prints, Tanka, and Haiku'. *Fukuoka kyōiku daigaku kiyō* 22/1 (1973): 39-47; 24/1 (1974): 57-65.

Both essays rely on general assertions that the poets under study took an interest in Japanese forms. The Lowell material finds similarities between her work and Japanese poetry and is largely unacknowledged borrowing from Miner (A25). The central point about Sandburg (see CA6) is that he 'took great interests in Japanese block prints, tanka and haiku', but the evidence presented is speculative.

32. Gould, Jean. *Amy: The World of Amy Lowell and the Imagist Movement*. New York:

Dodd, Mead, 1975.

Gould's critical biography is useful to this study for its notes about Lowell's relationship with her brother Percival Lowell during his years in Japan, but Damon (29) focuses more directly and more frequently on her larger Japanese interests.

33. Ruihley, Glenn Richard. *The Thorn of a Rose: Amy Lowell Reconsidered*. Hamden, Conn.: Archon, 1975.

Includes a chapter contending that the 'antecedents' of Imagism are in Zen Buddhism, but Ruihley's understanding of both Imagism and Zen is idiosyncratic. Includes some misinformation—Bashō was not a monk, no evidence links T. E. Hulme

with haiku by 1907—and a variety of suspect judgements: few would agree that Lowell was a ‘contemplative’, that her poem THE JAPANESE WOOD-CARVING (1a) demonstrates ‘the suchness of things as they stream endlessly from the Great Void’, or that Pound ‘contributed little or nothing’ to the development of Imagism.

34. Precosky, Donald A. “Make Ezra Pound and the Whole Caboodle of Them Sit Up”: Florence Ayscough and the Lowell-Pound Feud’. *Four Decades of Poetry, 1890-1930* 2 (1979): 204-09.

An insightful look at the acrimony between Lowell and Pound, and Ayscough’s unwilling role in it, particularly regarding the translation of ideograms (see 10). Quotes letters written by Lowell showing that among her complaints about Pound’s ‘Chinese verse’ was that he was working with Fenollosa’s manuscripts recorded from Japanese sources.

35. Katz, Michael. ‘Amy Lowell and the Orient’. *Comparative Literature Studies* 18 (1981): 124-40.

A sympathetic overview of Lowell’s Asian interests: ‘Although she may have failed more often than she succeeded’ in her use of Japanese and Chinese materials, she ‘incorporate[d] this richness . . . into much of her work’, and ‘helped to popularize far eastern verse with the public and . . . spread its influence throughout post-Imagist English and American poetry’. Although she ‘did not consistently write great poetry, many of her poems are excellent examples of . . . the Oriental influence upon Western poetic form’. Includes notes about Lowell’s relationship with Aldington, H. D., Fletcher, Flint, and Pound, and notes that among works in Lowell’s library were Aston’s *History of Japanese Literature* (see D13) and Noguchi’s *Spirit of Japanese Poetry* (D15e6). See also 19.

36. Yamaguchi, Emiko. ‘Amy Lowell: Imagism and Orientalism’. *Kinran tanki daigaku kenkyû shi* 14 (1983): 47-68.

Yamaguchi finds that Lowell had an ‘Oriental aesthetic consciousness’. Includes the odd suggestion—made previously by Ruihley (33)—that Lowell’s later poems were written under the influence of the ‘philosophy of Zen’.

37. Lawrence, D. H. To Lowell, 23 March 1917. In *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence and Amy Lowell, 1914-1925*, edited by E. Claire Healey and Keith Cushman. Santa Barbara: Black Sparrow, 1985.

The last of the Imagist Anthologies includes Lowell’s LACQUER PRINTS (5) and poems by Lawrence. Before publication, H. D. had sent Lawrence copies of Lowell’s poems, and in his letter to Lowell about them he anticipates the response of some later critics of Lowell’s *japonaiserie*, and does not mince words: ‘Don’t do Japanese things, Amy, if you love us. . . . I am so disappointed with this batch you have

decided to put in, it isn't you at *all*, it has nothing to do with you, and it is not real. Alas and alas, why have you done this thing? . . . Do write from your *real* self, Amy, don't make up things from the outside, it is so saddening.'

38. †Tay, William. 'Ukiyo-e: Waka, Haiku, and Amy Lowell'. In *East-West Comparative Literature: Cross-Cultural Discourse*, edited by Tak-wai Wong. Hong Kong: Department of Comparative Literature, University of Hong Kong, 1993.

Unable to consult. OCLC lists only one copy available at a research library in the United States, at the Yenching Library at Harvard University.

39. Ryan, Marleigh Grayer. 'GUNS AS KEYS: James McNeill Whistler as a Metaphor for Japan in a Poem by Amy Lowell'. In *Currents in Japanese Culture*, edited by Amy Vladeck Heinrich. N.Y.: Columbia UP, 1997.

Demonstrates the degree to which Whistler was associated with Japan in the early years of the century, and traces the uses to which Lowell put his work in GUNS AS KEYS (7). Includes reference to A JAPANESE WOOD CARVING (1a), LACQUER PRINTS (see 4, 5, and 8), Lowell's strained relationship with Pound, and the influence of Percival Lowell on his sister's lifelong interest in Japan.

40. †Yoshihara, Mari. 'Women's Asia: American Women and the Gendering of American Orientalism, 1870s-WWII. PhD thesis, Brown University, 1997. Abstract in *DAI* 58/7: 2711A.

According to the *DAI* abstract includes a chapter on Lowell that 'analyze[s] how [her] discursive, cultural, and . . . political positions shaped her relationship to, and representation of, Asia'.

- See also A5, 7, 8, 11, 12, 14-16, 18, 19, 23, 25, 27, 29, 31, 35, 40, 42, 46-48, 51, 52, 55, 57, 59, 65, 67-70, 72, BA4, 6, BB19c, BE5, 13, BH15, 22c-d, 29, 35, BK59, 86, 88, 105, 126, 128, 181, 188, and CC2.

BJ. William Plomer, 1903-1973

Plomer and Laurens van der Post arrived in Japan from Durban, South Africa in October 1926 aboard the steamer *Canada Maru*, to embark upon a fortnight tour sponsored by the Osaka company that owned the ship, in gratitude for assistance Van der Post had given two Japanese journalists who had been the subject of racist insults in Pretoria. When the *Canada Maru* pulled away from Kobe for its return to Durban at the end of the fortnight, however, Plomer was not on board. At 25, his most important asset a letter of introduction to Blunden, he had decided to remain in Japan. In the following months, assisted by Blunden and Ichikawa Sanki, Plomer secured first one and then a better teaching post at Tokyo, and found the city congenial for writing. He completed there his first collection of stories (3) and his second novel (5), both set in Japan, and the poems of his earliest collections of verse, *Notes for Poems* (2, 1927) and *The Family Tree* (4, 1929), both of which contain 'notes from [the] Japanese landscape'. These volumes reveal an easy familiarity with the Japanese milieu of the twenties and an earnest interest in Japanese literature and cultural history, but also, more than other writing in English of the period, the growing sense of desperation in Japan as the state became increasingly repressive. By March 1929 Plomer had become concerned by the degree to which he was cut off from the world outside Japan, and in that month, with an ambivalence he recalled keenly for the rest of his life (see especially 12), he departed Japan for England and was never again in the country. Japan would return often to Plomer, however, through the remainder of his life, in poems through the years (see 7, 9, and 16), poignant recollections during and just after the war (see 11-13), the most fully-realised chapters of his autobiography (see 10, 12, and 24), and a late series of remarkable formal appropriations of Japanese literary and dramatic methods, in collaboration with Benjamin Britten, in the 'parables for church performance' *Curllew River* (18, 1964), *The Burning Fiery Furnace* (19, 1966), and *The Prodigal Son* (21, 1968), still the most striking English adaptations of the *nô*. Plomer's interlude in Japan constituted but a small portion of his life, but in the life of his work ultimately it became as central as his native South Africa and his adopted England.

Primary Materials

1. †'An Afrikaner in Japan'. *Natal Witness*, 2 October, 6 November 1926; 12 February, 12 March, 19 March 1927.

Cited in Alexander (40). Plomer was required to present journalist's credentials before Mori Katsue (see 7 and 10a) would agree to take him to Japan, and so Van der Post hastily arranged with the editor of *Natal Witness* for Plomer to be

appointed 'special correspondent to Japan and the Far East'. These articles, described by Alexander as 'pedestrian', recount the journey aboard the *Canada Maru* and Plomer's impressions during his initial five months in the country.

2. *Notes for Poems*. London: Hogarth, 1927.

Many poems in Plomer's first collection of verse are set in South Africa, but six take their subjects from Japan. According to Alexander (40), Blunden read these and encouraged Leonard Woolf to publish the work. In addition to the poems noted, another, PLOMER'S CHRIST, according to a note following the text was written at Kami Nerima (see 10b). See also 28a.

a. LINES WRITTEN IN A GARRET. Plomer lived for a time in a Japanese-style room at the Kikufuji Hotel (see *BD166j*), also Blunden's address, but by the winter of 1926 had moved to a less expensive room at another Tokyo hotel, and suffered from the cold. The latter is probably the 'garret' of this brief poem, which concerns the 'pleasures' that 'fall to the lot of the poor', including 'Snorts of debauch in the room next door, / The sound of a flute, the sight of falling snow, / And somebody . . . murdered in the room down below'. A note places the setting in Tokyo. By the end of February, with the prospect of the income he would gain from the Tokyo *gaikokugo gakkô* (foreign language school, see 10b), Plomer had moved from the 'garret' to Kami Nerima.

b. SNOW. The winter of 1926-27 was the coldest in living memory in Tokyo. The Taisho emperor had died on Christmas day, the temperature plummeted, and snow fell throughout a grey and austere *shôgatsu*. By late February more than thirty centimetres covered the city. The tone of this brief poem, however, is in contrast to the general mood. The speaker muses happily about his past and future while the snow falls, and a 'companion' smiles at the memories. The work was probably written at Kami Nerima, in which case the companion would have been Sumida (see 10b). They had taken the house together in late February. In *Double Lives* (10) Plomer recalls the 'delicious' winter there, the 'dry snow like sugar' spread 'thickly on the landscape and outlin[ing] the bare branches of paulownias . . . in the garden'.

c. EARTHQUAKE. The speaker is alarmed when the house 'oscillates / Like a boat'. The earthquake would have been that of 7 March 1927, in which two thousand died. Plomer was visiting an acquaintance in Mikage. His brief account in *Double Lives* repeats details from the poem.

d. VERSES. Two quatrains that according to a note are 'spoken by a character in an unpublished work'; the second, 'To Japan', requests that if the speaker die in the country he should be given no tears or mourners, but 'music . . . and Asiatic

mirth, / The flute called shakuhachi and the drum'. The 'unpublished work' would perhaps be reference to the manuscript that became *Sado* (5)

e. ELEGY: WRITTEN IN A JAPANESE LANDSCAPE. Four cryptic quatrains about 'a funeral, / That no one understood', perhaps for a suicide. Often details in Plomer's poems from Japan return in his autobiographical prose, but nothing in this work is further illuminated by anything in his later published writing.

f. NOON POEM: AMONG THE MAUSOLEA AT HEIRINJI. The speaker speculates about the mausolea of the title on a hot summer day. Heirinji is a temple widely known for its bamboo groves, and associated with the Tokugawa, particularly Ieyasu, in what is now Saitama prefecture.

3. *Paper Houses*. London: Hogarth, 1929. Reprint, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1943 (see 11).

A collection of short stories about Japanese subjects, dedicated to Sherard Vines. Plomer's own assessment of the work in *Double Lives* (10) is as accurate as any: it 'provides . . . detailed and accurate reporting on a few phases of Japanese life and character', and though 'the canvas is small . . . the painting is careful'. The work appeared in Japanese translation before Plomer departed the country, and he noted later that he received congratulations from Japanese acquaintances on his 'insight into the character of the female of the [Japanese] species, towards whom their attitude was of course disdainful,' but 'of the Japanese male' they thought him 'less understanding, no doubt because, regarding themselves as superior entities, they did not like being analysed or criticized'. See also 28a, 29, and 30b, and 41.

a. Prefatory Notes. Plomer begins by contrasting himself with Hearn (see also *i*, 10a, and 27a2). Some Japanese acquaintances 'have been good enough to express . . . the hope' that he 'might become "a second Lafcadio Hearn"', but Plomer is content to be himself, for 'the more the unfortunate Hearn tried to be a Japanese the more he proved himself to be . . . European'; Hearn's best work is 'an exquisite retelling of old stories' of Japan, but mainly his 'indiscriminate japanegyrics' are 'an insecure and degenerate-buddhistic fool's paradise of scented shadows'. Plomer's own work attempts no more than to 'search for an honest approach to a very few aspects of the Japanese character, in which are involved so many complications and contradictions'. He 'admits' that he is 'an admirer of the Japanese', but he 'disbelieves' in 'their tendency to nationalistic paranoia and . . . politico-religious superstitions', which are 'more insidious and locally almighty than those of nearly all other countries . . . and which, if persisted in, will have terrible results'. At present, however, Japan offers to the world 'the memory of a clean old culture', and an 'object-lesson' about 'the danger of isolation from the rest of humanity'.

Includes reference to Gould's study of Hearn (see *D9c*), Chamberlain's *Things Japanese* (see *D5b*), Bryan's *Civilization of Japan*, (see *BD20*), Pierre Loti's *Madame Chrysanthème*, Waley's *Tale of Genji* (see *D26c*), the 'little masterpieces' *Hôjôki* (see *CA13b*) and Kenkô's *Tsurezuregusa*, the artists Nonomura Sôtatsu (fl. ca. 1625-43), Sesshû Tôyô (1420-1506), and Maruyama Ôkyo (1733-95), and to various places around the country, including Osaka, Nara, Ise, and Yokohama. Written in Tokyo, 1928.

b. 'Nakamura'. The title character, a chauffeur in Izu, drives a geisha, a sumô wrestler, and a farmer through the mountains toward Shuzenji from Itô, and the events that occur become 'one of the most romantic modern legends of [that] part of the country'. Plomer notes in *Double Lives* (*10*) that the work is modelled on the 'psychological studies' of Akutagawa Ryûnosuke (1892-1927, see also *i* below). Reprinted in *26*.

c. 'The Portrait of an Emperor'. About blind obedience to authority, a particularly Japanese sense of responsibility for something over which one has no control, and the reverence of a petty school official for a portrait of the emperor. A bitter commentary about the 'politico-religious superstitions' Plomer discusses in his prefatory notes. Reprinted in *14*, where a note identifies the year of composition as 1927.

d. 'A Surplus Woman'. Set aboard a ship carrying passengers from London to Japan, including a young English missionary and the 'surplus woman' of the title, on her way to become the governess for 'a Japanese millionaire'.

e. 'A Brutal Sentimentalist'. A Japanese diplomat convalescing from an unspecified illness in England becomes introspective about the Japanese sense of duty to the emperor, patriotism, and the brutality that grows from these, and 'confesses' about the traits to an English friend. The title character is one of several Japanese men in Plomer's work who illustrates what Plomer in *Double Lives* (*10*) calls the 'dualism of the Japanese nature'. 'It would have been convenient', he writes there, 'to divide the Japanese into Thugs and Gentles, but too simple, and erroneous besides, for the thugs were often largely gentle, and the gentles often tainted by the traits or tenets of thugs'. He goes on to discuss this work, in which he 'tried to realize a not impossible conflict between the two strains in one breast'. Miner (*A25*) notes a resemblance here to analyses of the Japanese character in the fiction of Mori Ôgai (1862-1922).

f. 'A Piece of Good Luck'. Sympathetic account of a Japanese country girl, whose 'piece of good luck' is to have the opportunity to go to Tokyo to be sold into servitude at a second-rate hotel. The scenes in the hotel are among the most

striking in the Plomer canon, and no doubt derive details from his stay at the Kikufuji (see *BD166j*), which like the hotel in the story was in Sumida-ku. Includes scenes at a street fair in Asakusa and a fictionalised temple in the heart of the city, where the main object of worship is a stone phallus prayed over to induce fertility. Reprinted in *14*.

g. 'The Sleeping Husband'. The conceit is that a Japanese woman, staying at the foreign speaker's home while her family's belongings are being packed for a move, writes an autobiographical tale while her husband is sleeping beside her, and the next day leaves it behind, where it is discovered, translated into English, and set forth here. The theme is the cruelty of men toward wives and daughters, and the strength of women in the face of this. Reprinted in *14*.

h. 'Yoka Nikki: An Eight-Day Diary'. Recounts a foreign narrator's journey from Tokyo to Hokkaido with a Japanese companion, 'N'. Miner (*A25*) notes that the work is an example of that 'peculiarly Japanese genre, the fictionalized diary', but Alexander (*40*), drawing on Plomer's letters and notebooks, disagrees that it is fictionalised, and notes that Plomer took such a trip to Hokkaido with a student named Honda in the summer of 1927. In either case the model is surely the Japanese *nikki* (travel diary), and Plomer's contribution to the genre is among the most engaging of his work about Japan. Includes extended description of the natural beauty of Hokkaido, and reference to the Ainu and to many specific locales on the island. Several passages extol the virtues of Japanese hot springs, which Plomer writes are among the greatest 'achievements' of the civilisation.

i. 'Mother Kamchatka'. Miner is surely correct in finding the source of this long satire on 'the worst sides of Japanese life' in Akutagawa's *Kappa* (1927, see also *b* above), and calls this work 'the most extraordinary literary echo' in Plomer's writing about Japan. An Englishman, Mr. Mainchance, and a Japanese, Count Hibachi, are led on a tour of the island nation of Kamchatka, a transparently disguised Japan, providing Plomer opportunity to lampoon the more patently absurd of the country's myths about itself and its cults of militarism, Emperor worship, and vagueness. Includes satirical treatment of Hearn, in the guise of 'Cadwallo Tern', who 'was very far sighted, but . . . could only focus on the remote past', and of much else, from Tokyo Imperial University (The University of Taboo) to Japanese literature (Kamchatkan literature 'is confined to elegant, natural objects—the moon, the pleasures of flowers and drunkenness, the shortness of life. . . . Nearly all other subjects are taboo'). Plomer probably is not overstating the case when he writes in *Double Lives* (*10*) that if the work had been read and understood by 'some chauvinist fanatic' its author might not have left the country

alive. By the time the work was published Plomer was on his way to England.

4. *The Family Tree*. London: Hogarth, 1929.

Poems noted are from a section titled 'Notes from a Japanese Landscape with Figures'; two others not noted here are connected to Japan only by their inclusion in the section. See also 28a.

a. BUDDHA. Description of images of the Buddha, with their 'antigothic smiles' and 'calm delirium of prophetic certainty'.

b. FISHES OF THOUGHT AND WATERFALLS OF FEELING. In praise of carp swimming against a current to reach some instinctively-understood goal. A note refers to Chamberlain's *Things Japanese* (see D5b) and regards the poem as 'an extension' of the Japanese idea that carp symbolise vigour.

c. JAPANESE LOVE. Among poems in the published record this work is Plomer's only experiment with the syllabic counts of Japanese verse. Of sixteen lines, fourteen are five or seven syllables, and a similarity to contemporary translations of Japanese poetry is underlined by what for Plomer is a rare lack of end-rhyme. The subject is a tender meeting between a foreign man and a Japanese woman. He lies in a traditional room on the 'woven grass' mats; she enters, kneels, and places beside his pillow a 'branch of white azaleas / Crystal-dropped with dew'. Later revised as WHITE AZALEAS (16a).

d. INCOMPATIBLE. Plomer's work from Japan often is marked by its sympathy for Japanese women forced by circumstance into lives of despair. The subject here is a young woman forced to wed a farmer from a different part of the country. The poem recounts the desperation of her daily life and, finally, her death in childbirth.

e. TWO HOTELS. Plomer's evocation of the ambience of two extraordinarily different Japanese hotels.

1. THE HOTEL MAGNIFICENT. The establishment of the title is frequented by rich Americans and those who would 'hobnob' with them. The poem captures the pretensions both of the place and of the people, and contrasts advertisement-copy fantasies with the reality of Yokohama harbour in the twenties: "Old-world craft," with New World craftiness / The new prospectus says, "continually ply / Beneath these very windows"—but no naked eye / Eagerly straining from this decorated draughtiness / Sees more than choking motor-boats beneath a smoky sky'.

Reprinted with slight revisions as HOTEL MAGNIFICENT: YOKOHAMA, 1927 in *The Dorking Thigh and Other Satires* (London: Cape, 1945), *Borderline Ballads* (New York: Noonday, 1955), and in 16.

2. THE ABURAYA AT SHINANO. The hotel of the title is in the mountains of

Nagano prefecture, at the foot of the volcano Asama. Plomer's lines focus on the desolation of the region and the decay of the place, set in contrast to the reveries of the daughter of the house, a 'buxom rustic poetess of seventeen' who dreams of the days when the nearby town Komoro was a post-station on the road to Edo. Plomer notes in *Double Lives* (10) that he visited Asama in the summer of 1928. Reprinted as THE ABURAYA in 9 and 16, the latter of which includes a lengthy note about the hotel and its surroundings.

f. AT HISAMURA. Plays with the idea that the large stone phalluses still found in and around Shintô complexes in the Japanese countryside indeed have power. A local policeman demands their removal, but the villagers refuse. When a short time later he dies unexpectedly, 'Who could doubt / The Divine Intervention? / The villagers / Redoubled their devotions, / Which continue as before'.

g. LAKE. During his years in Japan Plomer identified more with Japanese friends than with the foreign community, and his writing from the country frequently turns an ironic eye to the latter (see especially 4e1 and 5). Here the setting is Lake Chûzenji, renowned in Japanese literature for its stillness and natural beauty, but by the twenties a playground for the wealthy, particularly the wealthy and foreign, on their weekend breaks away from Tokyo: 'The patience of Nature with money and voices! / They say that no one has ever found the bottom. / The mountain stands firm on its quivering peak, / In hairy hollows waifs of mist remain. // Luminous the leaves, and hushed the evening air, / a midwife motors underneath the trees'. Revised as AT LAKE CHUZENJI (16).

h. AUTUMN NEAR TOKYO. A loving portrait of an autumn scene in the Japanese countryside. An old woman harvests rice while persimmons 'fatten overhead', and 'leaf-rich wood smoke aspires / To fade into the candid sky'. Plomer's sympathies are with the old, who think of winter, and 'all the days that can return no more', a focus that shifts when the poem appears revised thirty-one years later (16).

i. THE PAULOWNIA AVENUE. Describes 'the fratrophobe' Minamoto Yoritomo (1147-99), victorious general in the Gempei wars (see BK31a), 'pale with spleen' as he is carried down the avenue of the title in his palanquin. The unstated reference is to Yoritomo's fear of the popularity of his brother Yoshitsune (1159-89), whose military brilliance during the wars assured both Yoritomo's ascendancy and his jealousy. Yoshitsune's exploits are the subject of retellings in the nô, kabuki, and bunraku (see BK17g, for example), but the 'spleen' captured here in Plomer's precise details eventually prevailed, when Yoritomo's retainers captured Yoshitsune and forced his suicide. Reprinted with a note of explanation in 16.

j. JAPONAISERIE. Contrasts natural motifs of traditional Japan with the

realities of the late twenties: 'A sparrow leaves a springboard twig / And powdered sugar falls', but 'arsenal chimneys trace / Sky-writing slow on frozen air' and 'The sacred Fuji, pale as a pearl, / Is ruled across with telegraph wires'. Reprinted in *16* with a brief note of explanation.

5. *Sado*. London: Hogarth, 1931. Reprint, New York: Oxford UP, 1990.

Plomer's novel set in Japan in the mid-twenties traces the relationship between English painter Vincent Lucas and Sado Masaji, a Japanese university student, from a few days after Lucas's arrival in the country until just before his departure the following autumn. That the work is largely autobiographical is clear from Plomer's non-fiction accounts of the same period (especially in *10* and *15*). The characterisation of Sado is recognisably drawn from Fukuzawa Morito (see *10c*), and the work is the first in which Plomer directly addresses homosexuality. Includes beautifully-realised descriptions of the sights and scenes of Tokyo in the twenties, an evening in a geisha house on the Sumida, a picnic outing to a rural village, a summer festival, along with loving accounts of the 'Japanese way of living' and an ominous subtext of nationalism and patriotic arrogance. According to Alexander (*40*) Plomer began the work in Tokyo in 1929, but struggled with it, and eventually destroyed 50,000 words. Miner (*A25*), after discussing the exoticism of writing about Japan in the early years of the century, writes of *Sado* that 'one is moved to sigh with relief, at last, over a realistic novel with a Japanese setting'. Reactions to the work by Virginia Woolf, Stephen Spender, and E. M. Forster are noted in Alexander. An American edition appeared under the title *They Never Come Back* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1932). See also *28a*, *30*, and *41*.

6. 'Mr. Blunden's Essays'. Review of *The Mind's Eye* (*BD42*), by Edmund Blunden.

Spectator 152 (May 1934): 708-710.

Plomer arrived in Japan with a letter of introduction to Blunden from Roy Campbell (see *40*, p. 110), was helped by Blunden in various ways (see *2* and *10b*), and for a time lived at the Kikufuji Hotel while Blunden was in residence there (see *BD166j*). Privately, Plomer was not above lampooning the older man whose character was so different from his own (see *27a1*), but publicly his praise was warm. He notes here Blunden's popularity among the Japanese, for 'not wanting in judgement' they are 'well able to recognise the genuine', and of the 'number of Englishmen of talent' who have sojourned in the country, few have been more 'appreciated'. In return, Blunden, 'with an eye and ear attuned to the simplicities and subtleties of behaviour and landscape that reveal so much and hint at so much more', has captured in his essays 'something of the finer essentials of the atmosphere of Japan', and Plomer is pleased to find him 'guiding a firm pen in

praise of a much abused race'. See *BD29* and *BD51* for Blunden's equally approving appraisal of Plomer's writing from the country.

7. CAPTAIN MARU. In *Visiting the Caves*. London: Cape, 1936.

Plomer's verse evocation of Mori Katsue, captain of the *Canada Maru*, the ship that in the autumn of 1926 bore Plomer and Van der Post to Japan. Plomer and Mori became close friends, and Mori helped Plomer in innumerable ways during his years in Japan, but from early on Plomer was troubled by his militant nationalism. The poem recounts the voyage and offers admiring portraits of 'Maru' both as 'traveller always cool and clean' and at home, in 'old gown and clogs / Scrambling along the rocky shore', but the most memorable image, in closing, is ominous: Maru 'has appeared to someone in a dream / Or rather a nightmare, menacing, a giant, / With no back to his head, uttering a taunt— / It is the challenge of his race, the short man scorned / Not satisfied with power, but mad for more'. The 'someone' is Van der Post, who in 1935 had written Plomer of the dream, which is described in Van der Post's *Yet Being Someone Other* (38). Mori figures prominently in the Japanese sections of Plomer's autobiographical writing (10 and 24), and is recognisable in the figure of Captain Sakurai in *Sado* (5). In spite of Plomer's ambivalence here, the friendship was affectionate, and lasted for the remainder of Plomer's life. The fullest account of Mori and his love for Plomer is in Van der Post, whose work is dedicated to the Captain 'with gratitude and affection', and brief biographies appear in *Sano* (36b) and *Alexander* (40), the latter of whom in 1985 interviewed Mori, then a vigorous 95, in Tokyo. The poem includes allusion to Saigō Takamori (1827-77), among the leaders of the overthrow of the Tokugawa, who later rebelled against the Imperial government and gained legendary status for his honour in defeat. Reprinted in 9 and 16, the latter, with revisions and notes, as CAPTAIN MARU: A NATIONALIST.

8. Ed. *A Japanese Lady in Europe*, by Haruko Ichikawa. London: Cape, 1937.

Plomer's abridgement of a draft translation of the diary of the wife of Ichikawa Sanki, kept while Ichikawa was Albert Kahn Travelling Fellow in Europe in 1931-32. Plomer's brief introduction outlines his changes to the manuscript.

9. *Selected Poems*. London: Hogarth, 1940. 2nd ed., 1946.

Reprints THE ABURAYA (4e2) and CAPTAIN MARU (7) and includes the noted poem, which had not appeared in an earlier collection. A later South African edition of Plomer's *Selected Poems* (1985) does not include work related to Japan.

a. THOUGHTS ON THE JAPANESE INVASION OF CHINA, 1938. In spite of the events of the late thirties Plomer could not write of Japan without fond remembrance. This work opens with the evocation of a domestic scene, and recalls

details Plomer had savoured a decade earlier, the ‘taut paper and clean wood [that] enclose / A neat, sweet domestic place / Where slant sun and magic snows / Alter the shadow on a well-loved face’. But even in his earlier writing on Japan Plomer perceived a ‘dualism’ in the ‘Japanese nature’ (see especially 3e and 10c-d), and the poem turns to images of the brutality of the Imperial Army in China, and finds that ‘shy fingers end in claws, / Behind soft lips are teeth that bite, / And a vast uneasy longing roars / Up like a bomber through the night’. Alexander notes that later, as the Pacific War raged, Plomer gave a series of talks about Japan on the BBC, but that these nearly had been rejected because they were so ‘soft’ on the Japanese (40, p. 263).

10. *Double Lives: An Autobiography*. London: Cape, 1943. Reprint, Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries, 1971.

Opens with an epigraph in romanised Japanese and English translation of a verse by Hitomaro: ‘As the *yû* cloth is dyed fast and deep / Which ties the forelocks of the men / In the land of Hi, / So is my heart coloured with love: / How can I forget?’ The closing four-chapter section, ‘Not by Eastern Windows Only’, concerns Plomer’s life in Japan, and is a remarkable account for the date. Hatred of the country in England was at a peak, but Plomer’s writing is lyrical and loving, and tinged with the sadness that comes from memory of a happiness that has been lost in the years. Three decades after publication of the work Plomer undertook revision of his autobiographical writings, and *The Autobiography of William Plomer* (24) appeared soon after his death. The four chapters on his life in Japan in that work correspond to those here. See Blunden’s review in *BD51*.

a. ‘The Voyage’. Recounts the days before and during the voyage to Japan on the *Canada Maru* (see 7) and the whirlwind tour that followed, with Mori and Van der Post, from Moji to Kobe, Osaka, Nara, Kyoto, Arashiyama, Momoyama, Hieizan, Tokyo, Nikko, Ise, Hakone, Lake Chûzenji, and ‘several other places’, in ‘the most strenuous fortnight’ of Plomer’s life. He recalls that before the voyage his ‘ignorance of Japan and the Japanese was profound’. He had read Loti, ‘a few books by or about’ Hearn, and ‘one or two dubious novels’, but ‘lacked sufficient curiosity or opportunity to enquire further into the nature, habits and surroundings of the Japanese’. Includes reference to the ‘classical lamentation’ of a shakuhachi played shipboard at night, its ‘evocation of what the Japanese call *aware*’ (from *mono no aware*, ‘the sadness of things’, an intermingling of sadness or loneliness and beauty), and to Plomer’s early introductions to the ‘the nefarious Japanese cult, or religion, of emperor worship and militarist nationalism’. The visit to the geisha house arranged by Mori recalls a description of a similar

evening in *Sado* (5). For a more detailed account of the same events, recalled vividly after more than half a century, see Van der Post's *Yet Being Someone Other* (38).

b. 'Kami Nerima'. Having seen off Mori and Van der Post on the departing *Canada Maru* at Kobe, Plomer was 'alone in Japan'. He had little money, no friends, and only a few words of the language. He made his way back to Tokyo to seek out the company of Blunden, 'that fine poet and good-hearted man' (though see 27a1), who arranged his appointment to the faculty of the Tokyo *gaikokugo gakkô* (foreign language school) and introduced him to Ichikawa Sanki, who in turn arranged a better job at Tokyo *kôtôgakkô*, an elite school that prepared students for entrance to the Imperial University. After living for a time at the Kikufuji Hotel, Blunden's address as well (see *BD166j*), and then at a less expensive establishment yet (neither of which, notably, are mentioned here), Plomer moved to Kami Nerima, then a picturesque village outside Tokyo, where he shared a traditional Japanese house with a student named Sumida. Their life during this time was 'good', Plomer recalls, with 'periods of not uncongenial work' and 'long holidays in which to explore and savour the country and cultivate private life'. He describes various travels, to Kamakura, Tarumi, Mikage, Hiroshima, Miyajima, and Hokkaido, and his friendships with Sherard Vines and with Sumida and his fellow students. Plomer loved both the natural beauty of Kami Nerima and the excitement of Tokyo, a city 'electrical with life and . . . of inexhaustible variety'. His writing here makes clear the degree to which he accepted and savoured the customs and traditions of Japan and the company of Japanese friends and acquaintances.

c. 'Higashi Nakano'. When Sumida's parents arranged their son's marriage, Plomer moved closer to the city, to another traditional house, in Higashi Nakano, in late 1927 still 'peaceful, with quiet byways among gardens full of evergreens'. There he 'did a great deal of reading and writing . . . and a great deal of merrymaking'. A new companion, Fukuzawa Morito, like Sumida a student at the *kôtôgakkô*, is recognisable in the character of Sado Masaji in Plomer's novel *Sado* (5). They shared the house with a young woman 'who had had a stormy adolescence and was glad of a haven', and frequent guests, young Japanese whose 'society' Plomer enjoyed or who 'needed a temporary refuge from family or other troubles'. Fukuzawa was a lover of Japanese literature, and introduced Plomer to important works ancient and modern—Saikaku and Natsume Sôseki are particularly noted—and the two often attended the bunraku, nô, and kabuki, where Plomer learned that 'the art of acting' in Japan 'has attained perfection'. Includes loving recollections of the pleasures of the Japanese bath and of sake, excerpts of letters to Plomer from

Japanese friends, and a description of the ‘two poles or antitheses of the Japanese character’, represented by Fukuzawa and Mori, recalling similar passages in *Sado* and ‘The Brutal Sentimentalist’ (3e). Remarkably, one of Plomer’s neighbours at Higashi Nakano was Yone Noguchi, ‘lean and sardonic-looking’ with ‘an air of having burnt his candle at both ends’, author of ‘inveterate’ poems composed ‘in a bizarre English of his own’, but nonetheless ‘sensuous and novel’ (see especially *D15e1* and 4), and of ‘monographs on Utamaro and other artists’ (see *D15e* and e8) that Plomer believes ‘are possibly of more lasting value’. The last news Plomer had of Noguchi, he writes, was that the old man was ‘a confirmed xenophobe’.

d. ‘The Torch to Ties’. Though in Japan Plomer savoured ‘the pleasures of society and solitude, of travel, of the theatre and the bath’, and believed for a time that he might make a life in the country, writing ‘much and originally’ of its people, ultimately he felt compelled to ‘tear [himself] away’, and ‘the pangs were great’ (see also 12). He was early and keenly aware of a ‘double life’ in Japan (see particularly 3e, 9, and 10c), and if his ‘love’ for the country was ‘an infinite enrichment’, his ‘hatred’ was no less profound, an awareness that with the hindsight provided by the forties he knows was ‘justified’. Includes passing reference to work by Bashô and Basil Hall Chamberlain (see *D5*), and accounts of journeys in the summer of 1928 to Lake Kawaguchi and the ‘dreadful mountain-resort Karuizawa’. The book ends with a lyrical passage about what Japan meant to Plomer, written during the height of British and American hatred of the country: ‘Civilization has many dialects but speaks one language, and its Japanese voice will always be present to my ear, like the pure and liquid notes of the bamboo flute in those tropical evenings on the Indian Ocean when I heard it for the first time, speaking of things far more important than war, trade and empires—of unworldliness, lucidity and love’.

1 1. New introduction to *Paper Houses* (3), 1943.

Wilson and Allen (*A64*) note rightly that the 1943 reprinting of Plomer’s stories of Japan, at a time the country had ‘become a hated enemy’ of Britain, is in itself remarkable, and Allen adds in a later essay (41) that Plomer’s new introduction is ‘singularly at variance with [the] anti-Japanese feelings of the time’. Plomer recalls his years in the country fondly, the ‘towns’ with their ‘wonderful theatres’ and ‘interesting shops’, the ‘easy, unrestricted, and comfortable’ travel, the ‘accumulations of a long civilisation to study and enjoy’, but ‘above all’ the ‘lively and companionable’ people, ‘often good to look at, clean and polite, generous if they liked you, faithful as friends, and capable of deep and violent emotion’.

- 1 2. 'Through Siberia in a Trance'. In *Choice*, edited by William Sansom. London: Progress, 1946.

Plomer remembers his March 1929 journey from Japan to England on the Trans-Siberian Railway. When he said goodbye to Fukuzawa (see 10c) at Shimonoseki he 'went into a kind of trance' that lasted throughout the journey, in part because he missed his 'familiar companion' and had 'torn [himself] from the life in Japan' he had 'grown accustomed to'. Reprinted as the first chapter of 15, and as chapter 22, 'A Passage to Europe', in 24.

- 1 3. 'Thy Neighbour's Creed'. *Listener* 35 (April 1946): 469-70.

A short story that recounts a young foreigner's visit to Hiroshima in the summer of 1927, and the omens that return to haunt him after the atomic bombing of the city eighteen summers later. The climactic scene takes place on a hot evening at a festival beside the river, where the narrator glimpses momentarily in the crossbeams of two searchlights the smoke from a distant bonfire, which 'in the windless air . . . had risen like a tall column and had flattened out at the top', motionless above the city. Plomer and Sumida (see 10b) visited Sumida's family home at Hiroshima in the summer of 1927, and Plomer in fact had seen such a 'curious domed cloud . . . floating over the city', an 'ominous sight' that he recalled 'vividly' after reading an eyewitness report of the mushroom cloud that rose above the city on the day the world came to know of Hiroshima (40, p. 250). Alexander suggests that more than Plomer's other writing of Japan the work shows the degree to which 'even at this time of general vengefulness towards the Japanese, he felt little but compassion for them'. Makes use of repeated allusions to the sacred island of Miyajima in Hiroshima Bay, which become interwoven with the larger themes of the story. Reprinted in 14 and 26. See 41.

- 1 4. *Stories of Japan*. In *Four Countries*. London: Cape, 1949.

Reprints 'Portrait of an Emperor' (3c), 'A Piece of Good Luck' (3f), 'The Sleeping Husband' (3g), and 'Thy Neighbour's Creed' (13). See 32.

- 1 5. *At Home: Memoirs*. London: Cape, 1958.

Plomer's second volume of autobiography (see also 10) begins with his departure from Japan and reprints, as chapter 1, 'Through Siberia in a Trance' (12).

- 1 6. 'Poems Written in Japan'. In *Collected Poems*. London: Cape, 1960. Enlarged ed., 1973.

Reprints TWO HOTELS (4e), THE PAULOWNIA AVENUE (4i), JAPONAISERIE (4j), and, slightly emended, CAPTAIN MARU: A NATIONALIST (formerly CAPTAIN MARU, 7), along with the poems noted below. Others in the section have no internal connection with Japanese subjects. See 33 and 41.

a. WHITE AZALEAS (formerly JAPANESE LOVE, 4c). Plomer's revision emphasises the Japanese syllabics by omitting a line and breaking the remaining fifteen into three-line stanzas that appear on the page like period translations of hokku. Other revisions tighten imagery, and the work is altogether more satisfying than the original.

b. AT LAKE CHUZENJI (formerly LAKE, 4g). Plomer's emendations are substantial. LAKE lampoons the foreign community at play, but here Plomer's focus turns to the resignations of an individual character, and the farcical tone of the original darkens considerably.

c. AUTUMN NEAR TOKYO. A significant revision of 4h. The fourth stanza is new, and the focus in closing lines has shifted. Plomer was twenty-seven when the poem first appeared, and the pastoral landscape he evoked in opening lines led to a sympathetic rendering of the losses felt by the old as winter approaches. Here, nearing sixty himself, his sympathies are with the young and their hopes for the future, 'Arrows into the night / That bowstring song lets fly, / [Their] longings to be strong!' Plomer reads the work in *William Plomer Reading His Poems With Comment at the Recorded Sound Studios, London, England, December 1, 1961* (Archive of Recorded Poetry and Literature, Library of Congress, 1962).

17. *Conversations With my Younger Self*. Barnet [Hertfordshire]: Stellar, 1963.

A 'conversation' between Plomer at fifty-nine and his 'younger self', part of which takes place while the latter is resident in Japan. The younger man is treated with 'hospitality, kindness, and courtesy' by the Japanese, but it is a time of 'strain and crisis' for a country that is 'torn between the past and . . . future' and 'under . . . violent pressure and threat of change'. The younger Plomer feels great sympathy particularly for the young of Japan, in their 'hopes and despairs and bewilderment, and . . . their awful lack of freedom of speech and even of movement'. He has grown accustomed to Japanese life, and formed strong emotional bonds, but he knows that if he remains too long he will become 'permanently displaced', for he is 'isolated' and 'completely cut off' from Europeans of his own 'age, kind, and inclinations'. He asks his older self to assess his 'writings about Japan', and the older voice comforts him with assurances that he writes of the country 'without patronizing or sentimentalizing' and has 'foreshadow[ed] the danger and folly of Japanese militarism'. Originally a radio broadcast, 12 December 1962, on the BBC Third Programme, with Plomer reading the part of his older self. Reprinted in 25.

18. CURLEW RIVER: A PARABLE FOR CHURCH PERFORMANCE. Music by Benjamin

Britten. London: Faber Music, 1964. Reprint, 1983. Sound recording, London: London, 1965.

Plomer's libretto and Britten's music combine here to constitute a work that is among the most striking incorporations of Japanese literary and dramatic form in the English tradition. Plomer and Britten had been friends since the thirties, and collaborators on several projects, and so naturally when Britten and the tenor Peter Pears planned a trip to Japan in 1956 they turned to Plomer for advice about what to see. Plomer 'strongly recommended the Japanese theatre in its various forms, Kabuki, Bunraku, and nô', and described a nô play, 'enlarging upon the emotive effect of its strict stylisation, and imitating some of the formal gestures of the actors' (22). In February Britten and Pears attended two Tokyo performances of SUMIDAGAWA, and the effect on Britten was profound. Back in England he asked Plomer to provide a libretto for 'an English version'. Plomer was intrigued, but knowing that the nô 'depend[s] entirely upon its *mise en scene*, archaic music, all-male cast, and rigidly formal production down to the last detail of mask, costume and movement', thought the form 'hardly transferable to the Western operatic stage'. Britten persisted, however, and Plomer later recalled his acquiescence: 'like the poets Yeats and Waley . . . Britten had been enchanted by the Nô, as I had been enchanted before him, so what was the good of protesting?' (22). The result is a remarkable conjoining of traditions in the retelling of the tale of the madwoman in search of her lost son. The setting is transferred from the Kanto plain to pre-Conquest East Anglia, and the ritual overtones are Christianised, but the ritual effect itself remains, as do many of elements of the nô: the structure of the plot, the mythic setting at a holy place in the remote past, the purely symbolic use of stage properties and mask, the marriage of text, music, and stylised movement, the collaboration of performers, chorus, and orchestra, the all male cast, in its first performance the curtainless projecting stage made of natural hand-crafted wood, the opening and closing formal procession of players along a *hashigakari* (here a church aisle), the chorus and musical instruments at critical moments speaking for the characters, the climactic prayer culminating in a representation of union with divine presence. Neither the nô nor opera may proceed without the text, but as the text is not the opera neither is it the nô. Pound's nô (see particularly *BK24*) separated for the West the nô text from the nô itself, but Plomer and Britten begin to re-sew the seam here. The first performance, in June 1964, was at the medieval Church of Orford in Suffolk, as part of the Aldeburgh Festival, with Pears as the Madwoman. See 27*d* and 40 for notes about Plomer and Britten's correspondence about the work, 22 for Plomer's public account of this correspondence, A44 for the best study of the relationship between the play and the nô, 19 and 21 for other Plomer and Britten 'church dramas' based on the techniques developed here, and

see also A39, BJ28a, 36a, 39, 41, BL253, and D23.

19. THE BURNING FIERY FURNACE: SECOND PARABLE FOR CHURCH PERFORMANCE.

Music by Benjamin Britten. London: Faber Music, 1966. Reprint, 1983. Sound recording, London: OSA, 1967.

Plomer and Britten's second 'church drama' takes its subject from the Biblical Book of Daniel, not from Japanese sources, but follows the conventions derived from the *nô* in *CURLEW RIVER* (18). Plomer's notes to the Faber Music edition trace similarities between the work and *CURLEW RIVER*, and comment on the relationship of both to the *nô*. The earlier drama was 'generated by the strong response, at quite different times, of the composer and the librettist to performances in Japan of the medieval *Nô*-plays', and while 'it would have been impossible either to transpose or imitate either the highly stylised Japanese production or the traditional subtleties of the *Nô*', Plomer and Britten discovered that they could 'adapt the use of a small, projecting, curtainless stage', the 'functioning together of performers and orchestra without a conductor', and the 'formalised production', all of which are carried over into this work, which was first performed at the Church of Orford at the Aldeburgh Festival in June 1966. See also 21.

20. Interview. By Peter Orr. 22 September 1964. In *The Poet Speaks*. Edited by Orr.

London: Routledge and Paul, 1966.

Includes discussion of the role of Japan in shaping Plomer's writing and attitudes. It was in Africa and Japan, he believes, where his 'earliest and strongest emotions as a writer' were felt.

21. THE PRODIGAL SON: THIRD PARABLE FOR CHURCH PERFORMANCE. Music by

Benjamin Britten. London: Faber Music, 1968. Reprint, 1986. Sound recording, London: Decca, 1970.

Plomer and Britten's third 'church drama' relies on the same conventions adapted from the *nô* as the first, *CURLEW RIVER* (18), though like the second, *THE BURNING FIERY FURNACE* (19), draws its subject from Biblical rather than Japanese sources. Plomer's notes to the Faber Music edition remind that 'like Christianity itself' the three 'church operas' are 'ultimately of Asian derivation', as 'plot and production make . . . plain', and even 'the music itself has not been uninfluenced by the composer's travels in Asia'. First performed at the Church of Orford at the Aldeburgh Festival, June 1968.

22. Programme notes for the Festival of the City of London performance of *CURLEW RIVER* (18). July 1968.

Plomer recalls his advice to Britten about seeing the *nô* while he was in Japan, his own doubts about the feasibility of adapting SUMIDAWAGA to the 'Western operatic stage', and finally his acquiescence to Britten's repeated entreaties to attempt the project (see notes at 18). He includes further notes here about the *nô* itself, tracing briefly its development and the refinements brought to it by Zeami, particularly 'that supreme kind of beauty' to which the word *yûgen* applies, a 'beauty hinted at or half revealed, elusive but significant, and tinged with a wistful sadness'. Reprinted in 25.

23. To Earl Miner, ca. 1967-70. Quoted in Miner (A47), 1971-72.

The 'church operas' (18, 19, and 21), Plomer writes, 'are not imitations of *nô* plays, but without the strong responses . . . to the *nô* theatre' by both Plomer and Britten 'they wouldn't have come into being'. Miner's suggestion that Plomer 'took Britten to a Tokyo performance of the *nô* play' SUMIDAGAWA is a misunderstanding. Plomer recommended to Britten that he attend the *nô* while in Japan, but the two were not there together (see 22). According to Miner, Plomer writes that Britten's 'feelings about *nô* before seeing the play were . . . negative', but SUMIDAGAWA stirred him to a new understanding of possibilities inherent in the form. The letter is presumably in the Miner papers at UCLA (CB3).

24. *The Autobiography of William Plomer*. London: Cape, 1975.

During 1972 and 1973 Plomer undertook the rewriting of his autobiography. He worked through *Double Lives* (10), making stylistic changes to all chapters, but his death in September 1973 cut short the project before he had reworked *At Home* (15). This work combines in one narrative sequence the rewrite of the former and a reprint of the latter. Chapters 18-22, 'A Passage to Asia', "'Gone Native'", 'Dangerous Thoughts', and 'Not Through Eastern Windows Only', correspond to the four chapters of part III in *Double Lives*, and include the same detail, stance, and tone, if not always the same syntax and paragraph divisions. Chapter 23 reprints 'Through Siberia in a Trance' (12) under the title 'A Passage to Europe'. See also 37.

25. *Electric Delights*. Selected and introduced by Rupert Hart-Davis. London: Cape, 1978.

Reprints *Conversations With my Younger Self* (17) and under the title 'The Church Operas' Plomer's programme notes for the Festival of the City of London performance of CURLEW RIVER (22).

26. *Selected Stories*. Edited by Stephen Gray. Johannesburg: Philip, 1984.

Reprints 'Nakamura' (3b) and 'Thy Neighbour's Creed' (13).

27. Letters. Quoted in Alexander (40), 1989.

a. To Leonard Woolf. The letters noted and others to Woolf from Japan are in the Hogarth Press Archives at the University of Sussex; copies are among the Plomer Papers at Durham (28a).

1. 20 November 1926 (p. 130). Written from the Kikufuji Hotel, home in the winter of 1926 both to Plomer and Blunden (see *BD166j*). Publicly Plomer had only warm words for Blunden (see 6, *10b*, and Plomer's notes in *BD180*), but here his praise is undercut. Plomer believes Woolf 'will be amused to hear' that he is staying in the same hotel as Blunden. He finds Blunden 'a careful scholar and a decent little man with good sense', but his verse is 'too much like *The Blunden Mercury*' (see *BD1*), and Plomer does not share his 'enthusiasms for village cricket and Leigh Hunt'. Still, Blunden has been 'amiable' to him, and so Plomer does not 'want to cut his throat' even if he and Blunden are 'horses of different colours'.

2. 20 June 1927 (pp. 140-41). Plomer notes that he has been reading Hearn, whom he finds 'an intelligent, industrious & tender-hearted journalist' with a 'second-rate mind . . . neither wide enough, nor properly sharpened'. He was 'one of the few writing outsiders who have had any comprehension of the Japanese character', Plomer believes, but was 'afraid of the future'. Two years later Plomer announces that he has no interest in being the 'second Hearn' others want him to be (*3a*), but here he seems up to the task: '[Hearn's] future is my present', he writes, 'so I have a job to do'. The novel-in-progress mentioned in passing would be *Sado* (5). The letter accompanied Plomer's submission to Woolf of the manuscript of *Notes for Poems* (2).

3. 14 December 1929 (p. 163). Less than a year after his return to England Plomer writes that he has been invited to return to Japan, to the chair of English Literature at Tokyo Imperial University. The salary is good, £900-£1000 a year, more than he has 'ever been offered or [is] ever likely to be offered again', and the appointment would include 'travelling expenses both ways and the chance to make an additional £200-£300 without much effort'. As he would do again twenty years later with a similar offer, however, he declined. Oddly, both invitations would have been to replace a departing Blunden (see *40*). According to Alexander, Plomer was invited to Japan in 1957 as well, as part of a 'literary delegation' sponsored by the British Council (*40*, p. 308), but again he declined. Van der Post writes of other, personal, invitations, from Mori (see 7 and *10a*) and 'the host of [Plomer's] old pupils who remembered him with love', but Plomer 'would not heed' them, and his 'refusal to go back' saddened Van der Post (*38*, pp. 336-37).

b. To Laurens van der Post, 25 February 1927 (pp. 132-33). From his new lodgings at Kami Nerima (see *10b*) Plomer writes to Van der Post of the Kikufuji.

He 'had a bad time there for various reasons', chief among which were that he 'was without friends, books, clothes, or money'. He had been ill between Christmas and the New Year and the cold had been 'intense'. For evidence that the move to Kami Nerima had Plomer in better spirits about the coldest winter on record in Tokyo, see *2b*.

c. To Rupert Hart-Davis, 28 February 1945 (pp. 246-47). Plomer takes a 'black view' of the 'Japanese war'. He is 'inclined to think' that the Japanese 'will have to be killed one by one', though he hopes he is wrong. In 1989, according to Alexander, the letter remained in the possession of Rupert Hart-Davis.

d. To Benjamin Britten. The letters noted and others from Plomer to Britten are in the Britten-Pears Museum, Aldeburgh. In addition to those noted others quoted in Alexander include details of the preparation of *CURLEW RIVER* (*18*, see index). For notes about Britten's letters to Plomer see *40*.

1. 14 May 1956 (p. 300). The previous day Britten, just back from Japan, had written to Plomer of his enthusiasm for the country and, specifically, the *nô*. Plomer responds that 'it is a very great pleasure' for him, though 'not . . . a surprise', that Britten's reaction had been 'instant & strong', and then comments about his own response to the country: 'You see now how fortunate I was to be able to live there for a couple of years in my twenties. It struck me as a gong or bell is struck, & the vibration set up in me will last till I drop.'

2. 2 October 1958 (p. 301). Busy schedules from 1956 to 1958 had prevented Plomer and Britten from working as they would have liked on the planned adaptation of *SUMIDAGAWA* (see *18*), but in late 1958 the work began to take shape. Plomer notes here that his 'mind begins to run on Sumida River', and he discusses the use of Japanese personal and place-names in the libretto. At this stage, as is clear here and also in Britten's letters to Plomer (see in *40*), the plan was to retain the Japanese setting.

3. 21 October 1958 (p. 302). Plomer writes that he has progressed with the libretto, beginning with a rapid rewording of the Japanese original, and he has found the language 'assuming great simplicity'.

4. 17 April 1959 (p. 303). In his letter to Plomer of 15 April, Britten had abruptly changed his idea about retaining the Japanese setting of the adaptation of *SUMIDAGAWA*, fearing that the work would seem 'a pastiche of a Noh play', and suggesting that it should be transformed into a 'Christian' setting. Plomer is not surprised here that Britten has decided to '[set] fire to [their] kimono', and agrees that the work with a Japanese setting would likely become a 'pasticcio grosso', but he finds 'electrifying' the thought of 'transposing the story to Christian terms'.

The letter proceeds, however, with insightful suggestions about how such a ‘transposition’ might be undertaken.

28. †Unpublished materials.

a. William Plomer Papers, Durham University Library. The largest Plomer archive includes diaries, manuscripts, drawings, notebooks, drafts of the ‘church operas’ (18, 19, and 21), material relating to the composition and publication of *Notes for Poems* (2), *Paper Houses* (3), *The Family Tree* (4), *Sado* (5), and other works, approximately six hundred books from Plomer’s library, many with marginal annotations, and letters to and from many correspondents, including copies of the letters to Leonard Woolf from the Hogarth Press Archives (see 27). According to Alexander a diary note for 28 June 1965 in notebook B10 includes remarks about Waley (see D26).

b. Other materials. Alexander (40) notes that Plomer was an inveterate letter writer, that ‘many thousands survive’, and that for many years after his stay in Japan he maintained correspondence with Japanese friends, and Morris (36a) reports that Plomer’s correspondence with Mori Katsue (see 7 and 10a) spanned ‘fifty years or so’. Nothing in the published record, however, identifies the location of Plomer’s letters to Japanese acquaintances, and the major libraries of Tokyo have no record of them. The likelihood is that many were lost during the war and that others remain in private hands. See also 26 and 27d.

Secondary Materials

29. Reviews of *Paper Houses* (3), 1929.

In addition to reviews noted here see comments about the work by Blunden (BD29) and Quennell (30b).

a. Sheean, Vincent. *New York Herald Tribune*, Books section, 2 June 1929, p. 14. Sheean believes that Plomer ‘has an artist’s attitude toward . . . those strange stylized Japanese landscapes’ that he ‘describes so well’. His work ‘is not the familiar mixture of cherry blossoms and Yoshiwara’, but instead ‘a strongly felt response to the quality of Japanese life’.

b. *Bookman* (London) 76 (1929): 88. The stories ‘indicate a real knowledge of Japanese character—perhaps as good a knowledge as can be attained by any European’.

c. Unsigned. *Life and Letters* 2 (1920): 481. Finds that the work is ‘a rather ramshackle collection of Japanese stories and impressions’, but Plomer’s ‘sympathetic but severely unsentimental portrait of modern Japan . . . makes [it] worth reading’.

d. *New Statesman* 32 (1929): 742. The reviewer believes that Plomer writes better of Africa than of Japan, for the former is 'in his blood', the latter 'only on his dissecting bench'.

e. *New York Times*, 28 July 1929, p. 6. Plomer's work is 'different' than most writing on Japan because of its 'unsensational beauty' and 'attempt through the guise of fiction to adumbrate certain peculiar spiritual and mental attitudes of the Japanese'.

f. *Saturday Review of Literature*, 9 November 1929, p. 372. The reviewer advances the odd thesis that Plomer's evocation of Japan is compromised because it does not treat the subject as earlier Western writing had done. Plomer 'makes the mistake of not writing as a Westerner interpreting the East', and his book 'resolutely excludes not only all glamour, but all sense of exoticism and novelty as well'. As a result 'we fail to learn as much about Japan from [the work] as [Plomer] expects us to'.

g. *Spectator* 142 (1929): 603. Finds that each of the stories 'portrays, in subtly amusing manner, some aspect of Japanese life', but that 'it is difficult to see the real purpose that underlies [Plomer's] chaff of cynicism'.

30. Reviews of *Sado* (5), 1931.

a. Harwood, H. C. *Saturday Review* (London) 152 (1931): 359. Harwood finds the value of Plomer's work in its 'attempt . . . to describe Young Japan'. In this regard the novel is 'more serious and . . . sane than any other' Harwood has seen that addresses the topic.

b. Quennell, Peter. 'New Novels'. *New Statesman and Nation* NS 2 (1931): 442. Quennell notes that Plomer's writing about Japan 'never tumbles into the quagmires of the picturesque', and while 'few fields are so prolific of absurdities as the social scene in twentieth-century Japan', and 'it is easy work—perhaps too easy—picking them out', Plomer evokes more completely than any writer Quennell has read 'all that is pathetic' in the life of young Japanese. Perhaps only readers who had 'set foot on Japanese soil' may realise how 'penetrating' Plomer's observations are in *Paper Houses* (3), and this work is 'kindlier if not more tolerant' than most that address the subject.

31. Deutsch, Babette. 'A Contemporary Mind'. Review of *The Five Fold Screen* (1932).

Nation (New York) 135 (1932): 373.

Plomer's poems in *The Fivefold Screen* do not make use of Japanese materials, but Deutsch nonetheless turns to consideration of Japanese poetry in reviewing them, finding that the 'chief lesson' of Japanese verse is its ability to achieve with 'small

means' a 'capacity for bringing home to the reader the peculiar quality of a given hour', but that Plomer 'has not quite mastered' this.

32. Envers, John. Review of *Four Countries* (14). *Canadian Forum* 29 (1949): 70.

Envers notes that Plomer's stories 'remind us of the injustices of Japanese domestic life, of the terrible domination of suicide in that country, and of Emperor worship'.

33. Causley, Charles. Review of *Collected Poems* (16). *London Magazine* 7/8 (1960): 76-79.

Causley finds that the 'secret' of Japan 'eludes' most Western poets, including Plomer. The *japonaiserie* in this collection is 'scratched as if with thin, dry icicles on the side of Mt. Fuji', and 'nowhere matches' the prose accounts in Plomer's *Double Lives* (10).

34. Hosillos, Lucila. 'The Exotic Imitation: The Japanese Poetry of William Plomer'.

Hikaku bungaku 20 (1967): 31-46. Reprint, *Dillman Review* 20/1 (1972): 46-64.

Hosillos begins with the proposition that Plomer is not a 'first-rate' poet, then moves to generalisations about the 'imprint' of Japanese art and poetry, particularly the haiku, on his writing. She does not seem aware of *CURLEW RIVER* (18) or the other 'church operas' (19 and 21), and in spite of the title her study addresses the 'exotic' only in passing.

35. Doyle, John Robert, Jr. *William Plomer*. New York: Twayne, 1969.

The first biography of Plomer includes references throughout to his years in Japan and their effects on his writing (see index), but in this matter and others Doyle's work is superseded by Alexander (40).

36. [Thoughts of Plomer]. *Eigo seinen* 120 (1974): 820-21.

Responses to Plomer's sudden death on 21 September 1973, each of which looks back at his life from the standpoint of his relationship with Japan.

a. Morris, John. 'William Plomer 1903-1973'. Morris, Plomer's friend of three decades, spent many years in Japan, and upon return to England was the first Japanese Programme Organiser at the BBC. His thoughts here focus on the importance of Japan in shaping Plomer's life and work. Plomer came to the country 'in a spirit of youthful adventure', not intending to remain, but 'like so many Englishmen in those days, having arrived . . . found it impossible to tear himself away'. His works written in Japan (2-5) make use of 'Japanese themes', but 'in everything he subsequently wrote', as well, 'a strong and lasting Japanese influence' remains. Morris particularly notes in this regard Plomer's love of 'the extreme repose of the classical Noh', and its manifestation in *CURLEW RIVER* (18),

which he finds ‘an outstanding example of real cultural contact’ and ‘a highly original re-thinking in English terms of an extremely stylised and difficult art form’.

b. Sano, Eiichi. ‘Plomer to Mori senchō’ (Plomer and Captain Mori). Sano, Plomer’s student during the twenties, went on to become a respected scholar of English literature and editor of a Japanese edition of Plomer’s work. Here he traces briefly Plomer’s years in Japan and in general terms his fifty year relationship with Mori Katsue (see 7 and 10a).

c. Kajiki, Ryūichi. ‘Plomer sensei no omoide’ (A remembrance of Plomer). Like Sano, Kajiki had been Plomer’s student in the twenties and went on to become a respected scholar of English literature, eventually holding the chair in English at Meisei University in Tokyo. His brief remembrance here focuses on Plomer’s sympathy for his students, and on a reunion between Kajiki and Plomer in London in 1964.

37. Spender, Stephen. Review of *The Autobiography of William Plomer* (24). *New York Times Book Review*, 27 June 1976, pp. 6, 10, 12, 14, 16.

Spender believes Plomer’s ‘guardedness’ in both life and work was ‘affirmed’ in Japan, and that his ‘Japanese style of living’ and relationship with Fukuzawa Morito (see 10c) offer evidence that ‘differences of race or class so far from filling [Plomer] with a sense of his own superiority, or of alienation, stimulated his vital imaginative sympathy’. Spender’s relationship with Plomer may be traced to 1930 and Plomer’s lecture on modern Japanese literature before the university English club at Oxford, given at the invitation of Spender, then the twenty-year-old secretary of the club (40, p. 164). Spender himself travelled to Japan in the fifties, but the only published result is a brief essay, ‘Notes on My Ignorance of Japan’ (*Japan Quarterly* 5 [1958]: 37-42).

38. Van der Post, Laurens. *Yet Being Someone Other*. London: Hogarth, 1982.

The final chapters 4-7 of Van der Post’s long and lyrical autobiography are preoccupied with his relationship with Japan, and focus often and lovingly on Plomer and details of his reaction to the country and the people. The work is dedicated to Mori Katsue (see 7 and 10a), ‘with gratitude and affection’.

a. ‘The Ship and the Captain’. This chapter and ‘Full House’ (b) are important supplements to Plomer’s account of identical events in ‘The Voyage’ (10a). Van der Post’s keen memory and sense of detail after more than half a century are remarkable. No part of the narrative differs significantly from Plomer’s, though with more than eighty pages devoted to the journey itself Van der Post’s account is considerably more detailed. Includes frequent portraits of Plomer aboard ship, his

warm relationship with Mori, and his anticipations of what awaited in Japan.

b. 'Full House'. Seventy further pages that correspond to events Plomer describes in 'The Voyage', these about the two frantic weeks of touring Japan after the *Canada Maru* arrived at Moji. Again Van der Post's narrative does not differ in substance from Plomer's, but provides far more detail. Like Plomer's account, Van der Post's ends at Kobe harbour, with Mori, Van der Post, and the *Canada Maru* pulling away toward the open sea, and Plomer on the shore looking 'disturbingly' like a 'Dickensian . . . orphan seeking food and asylum in the slums of a great city'. Van der Post's memory of the parting characterises both the tone of the work and its treatment of Plomer: 'William had never lacked courage, but he had never possessed it in greater measure than in that autumnal sunset moment of farewell. What made the parting even keener was a premonition . . . that it was a double farewell: we were not only saying goodbye to each other but also to a William whom neither of us would ever see again, and whom the England to which he was committing himself with such a conscious determination would never know. He vanished from view to a farewell blast on the *Canada Maru's* horn with that bass note of the irrevocable which only ship's sirens command.'

c. 'The Shadow in Between'. Includes details of Van der Post's nightmare about Mori that found its way into the cryptic closing lines of Plomer's CAPTAIN MARU (7).

d. 'The Sword and the Flower'. Largely about Van der Post's capture and imprisonment by the Japanese Imperial Army in Indonesia, but as the book draws to a close (pp. 337-39) it focuses again on Plomer, Mori, and Japan, this time in connection with Plomer's sudden death in 1973. Includes poignant details of responses by Japanese friends, Mori's journey to England at the age of eighty-three to 'pay . . . respects to William's ashes', and subsequent events that led to a monument to Plomer, in the form of a white lilac, being transplanted in Japan.

39. Mayer, Mark. 'A Structural and Stylistic Analysis of the Benjamin Britten "Curlew River"'. EdD thesis, Columbia University Teacher's College, 1983. Abstract in *DAI* 44/5: 1370A.

Examines Plomer's adaptation of SUMIDAGAWA and finds that 'far more than a mere pastiche from the Japanese, CURLEW RIVER [18] demands the movement and stylization of Nô'.

40. Alexander, Peter F. *William Plomer: A Biography*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1989. By far the most detailed study of Plomer's life and work. Chapter 7, 'Japan, 1926-1929', is based largely on Plomer's accounts in *Double Lives* (10) and Van der Post's in *Yet Being Someone Other* (38), but draws frequently as well on Plomer's

letters (see 27) and other unpublished materials, and interviews conducted in Tokyo with several of Plomer's former students and a ninety-five-year-old but still vigorous Mori Katsue (see 7 and 10a). Includes details of Plomer's relationship with Blunden, Fukuzawa Morito (see 10c), Kirkup (see CA14c), Vines, and Waley (see index), and a detailed account of the development of CURLEW RIVER (18) based on the Plomer/Britten correspondence as the work was planned and developed (pp. 300-06). Notes a 1949 Foreign Office letter to Plomer inviting him to succeed Blunden as United Kingdom Cultural Attaché in Tokyo (p. 265; see also 27a3), and includes photographs of Mori in 1926 and Plomer with his students at Tokyo *kôtôgakkô* in 1928. Incorporates 'A Study of the Origins of Britten's CURLEW RIVER' (*Music and Letters* 69/2 [1988]: 229-43).

41. Allen, Louis. 'William Plomer and Japan'. In Cortazzi and Daniels (CC8), 1991. Allen places Plomer among those 'observers of Japanese life' who received from a 'brief stay' in the country an 'impression so profound and disturbing that it . . . lasted the rest of their lives', in Plomer's case 'confirming' a 'dislike for . . . puritanism', a 'determinism', and a 'disbelief in progress'. Allen emphasises the degree to which Plomer's fiction (3, 5, and 13) anticipates the rise of Japanese militarism, but finds the verse of the Japan section of *Collected Poems* (16) 'not very different from the sort of lyric, half-affectionate, half critical', that is the 'staple' of English poets in Japan, including Enright (see CA14b), Kirkup (see CA14c), and Anthony Thwaite. The latter point is accurate enough, but fails to note that if the 'genre' has become a 'staple', Plomer might be considered its father. His poems from Japan precede those of Enright, Kirkup, and Thwaite by nearly three decades. Includes discussion of the development of CURLEW RIVER (18). See also A20, 22, 25, 28, 39, 42, 44, 47, 64, 73, BD28-29, 35, 51, and BL253.

BK. Ezra Pound, 1885-1972

Pound's work owes more to understanding of Japan than generally has been acknowledged, and has been more influential in shaping understanding of Japan in Britain and the United States than has been imagined, but even the first of these points requires more than a brief headnote to explain.

Rethinking Pound and Japan: The Hokku, the Nô, and *The Cantos*

As early as February 1909 Pound was visiting Binyon at the British Museum Print Room and expressing interest in Binyon's work on Japanese art (see especially *BC34a*), and by April of that year he had joined the 'Poet's Club' at weekly meetings in Soho, where according to Flint (*A3*) the 'Japanese tanka and haikai' were much in the air and among the forms considered promising in the aim of revitalising an English poetic that all present agreed had gone stale. During this period Pound hardly could have been unaware of the discussions of Japanese art and aesthetics that appeared frequently in the *Times* (see *BL257*), and he would have known of Gordon Craig's journal *The Mask*, which from its inception in March 1908 regularly featured discussion of the Japanese theatre and principles of art (see *D17*). He read Binyon's *Flight of the Dragon* (*BC9*) soon after it appeared in 1911 (see *BK18*, *140*, and *148*), and by that summer was in correspondence with Noguchi (see especially *D15a*). Shortly thereafter he almost certainly had read Chamberlain on Japanese poetry (*D5*, see *A51*), and perhaps Hartmann's early experiments with English tanka and hokku (see *D12e*) and the idiosyncratic studies of Japanese poetry and drama that Hartmann had published in *Reader Magazine* and the *Forum* (*D12c-d*). In the April 1913 *Poetry* Pound published 'In a Station of the Metro', and in the 6 June *T.P.'s Weekly* his first discussion of how he had arrived at that work in a turn to Japanese poetry (*4*). He met Mary Fenollosa in September 1913—probably this was arranged by mutual acquaintance Noguchi—and was in possession of her late husband's manuscripts in November. That winter, his first with Yeats at Stone Cottage, his work was with Fenollosa's nô (see especially *CB1* and *D10*), and his reading was Dickins (*D3*, see *BK13a*), Aston (*D13*, see *BK77d*), Brinkley (*D14*, see especially *BK77g*), and Stopes (*D23*, see especially *BK152*). Pound was 'getting the orient from all quarters', he wrote to Dorothy Shakespear (*BK77c*), and in the following months this would continue in fortuitous ways. Noguchi, whose 'What is a Hokku Poem?' (*D15e5*) had appeared in *Rhythm* in January 1913, and who was preparing the Oxford lectures that John Murray would publish as *The Spirit of Japanese Poetry* (*D15e6*), visited Stone Cottage that

winter, and through the following year, 1914, Pound worked with the Japanese materials he had found among 'old Fenollosa's treasures' (BK59a). *Nishikigi* appeared in *Poetry* in May (BK8), 'The Classical Drama of Japan' in the October *Quarterly Review* (13). In the June issue of *Blast* (BK10) and the *Egoist* of August (BK11) Pound allied his own Vorticist aesthetic with Whistler's conceptions of Japanese art, and in the September *Fortnightly Review* outlined the Japanese 'sort of knowing'— 'super-position' he called it—that had led him to 'In a Station of the Metro', and for the first time (but not the last) suggested that the structure of the *nô* provided a way to imagine that a 'long imagiste or vorticist poem' would be possible (BK12, and see also 17f and 87). Early in 1915 at the Café Royal Pound met the dancer Itô (see especially BL93 and 94), and then Itô's friend, the painter Kume (see especially BK82c2 and 174), and they helped in what ways they could, in part by dancing, with his work on the *nô*. By the following December when Pound first wrote to his father of the 'big long endless poem' he had undertaken (see BK70a) his most important sources of information of Japan were in place. He had turned to them at the beginning of his endless poem, and would do so again and again through the remainder of his life.

Some of the effects of all this in Pound's poetry of the period have been well-documented. By his own accounts of 1913 and 1914 Japanese poetry and art were important models in the development of his Imagist and Vorticist poetic, and the *hokku*-derived technique of super-position may be traced not only through his poems of this period, particularly those collected in *Lustra* in September 1916 (20), but also, used in increasingly complex ways, through the body of his work (even the *Pisan Cantos* [56] are 'full of *hokku*', Hugh Kenner found in 1951 [97]). The best account of this remains Earl Miner's in *The Japanese Tradition in British and American Literature* (A25, and see also BK100), but that Imagism in general and Pound's work of this period in particular owe to his understanding of the *hokku* (or *haiku* as it is more commonly called now) is acknowledged both in the standard critical studies of Pound (see, for example, BK97, 123, 171, and 188) and of Imagism (see A19, 51, 54, and BK96), and by the end of the century has become a critical commonplace. In spite of the attention given the *haiku* in studies of the development of Pound's Imagist poetics, however, it is not the Japanese form that most instrumentally informs his work. For that one must turn to the *nô*.

From the beginning critical response to Pound's adaptation of Fenollosa's *nô* manuscripts has ranged from the derisive (BK93a, 177b) to the eulogistic (BK93c, 93g, 194), but generally the work has been regarded an interesting failure. This is an assessment sound enough if the primary standard by which it is judged is the accuracy of the translation itself. Where it is right it is beautifully right, but often it is not

right at all, and occasionally it is wrong in grandiose ways. This is a sin usually forgiven Pound's Li Po, but not often his Zeami, and the critical tendency has been to relegate the latter to a secondary status. In 1917 Eliot found Pound's nô of considerable value to English literature (BK92b), and was smitten enough with Pound's discovery of a 'unity of image' in the nô plays that soon Eliot was at work on a verse drama of his own that explored its possibilities (see CA10), but by 1918, and more famously, Eliot declared the nô work 'not so important' as *Cathay* (15), to be 'rank[ed] among [Pound's] translations' and not, like *Cathay*, among the 'original work' (BK94). Others concurred, more or less, and then in 1953 the most influential voice in Pound criticism confirmed the discourse, in language strikingly like Eliot's. The nô plays are 'somehow less successful' than *Cathay* because 'there is less of Pound in them', Hugh Kenner wrote in his introduction to his edition of Pound's translations. If we put a passage from Pound's nô 'beside . . . *Cathay*' we 'sense a remoteness', Kenner thought, 'a sense on Pound's part that he is doing something exotic, thin, appreciated rather than lived, that just prevents the *Noh* sequence from standing, as *Cathay* does, with his finest original work' (BK98).

Pound himself is responsible for some of this. *Cathay* appeared in April 1915, but that the nô was his greatest enthusiasm from the autumn of 1913 through 1916 is undeniable, and during this time Pound himself did not 'put the [nô] work under the category of translation' but believed rather that he was engaged in a 're-creation' (59b). He wrote in 1914 that the nô is 'as intense . . . as the ancient Greek drama of Athens' (13b), and in 1915 placed it 'unquestionably' among 'the great arts of the world' (17b). Thrice between September 1914 and May 1915 he noted that the construction of the nô pointed the way to a 'long imagiste or vorticist poem' (12, 17f, 87), and by early 1916 he was writing enthusiastically to his parents that he was 'doing some "Noh"' of his own (70b and see also 81a-b), a comment one writer took in 1976 to be a reference to the early cantos (see 147), but in fact Pound, following Yeats (see especially BL12), was indeed doing some nô of his own, two comic fragments based on an understanding of the kyôgen (81c-d) and an adaptation of the legend of Tristan and Yseult closely modelled on the mugen nô (81f). Pound's work with Fenollosa's nô continued to appear through 1916, *Awoi no Uye* (*Aoi no Ue*) in the *Quarterly Notebook* of June (22), *Kakitsuhata* (*Kakitsubata*) in the *August Drama* (23), and finally in book form, first in September, at Yeats's request, in *Certain Noble Plays of Japan* (21), and then in January 1917 in '*Noh*' or *Accomplishment* (24), which collected the earlier-published re-creations and added fragmentary versions or synopses of several other plays. In 1916, a year after *Cathay* and some months after he had begun work on *The Cantos*, Pound turned his thoughts to the nô in a preface he had prepared for a reading

of Alfred de Musset's *Supper at the House of Mademoiselle Rachel* (81e). The plays provided a method for 'reconstructing . . . the past' that gave him 'the closest parallel to [his] thought', he wrote.

By early 1917, however, something had changed. Pound had devoted the better part of three years to the work that appeared in *Certain Nobles Plays* and '*Noh*' or *Accomplishment*, but the reviews were mixed. The London *Nation* wondered if 'our own past [is] so empty a granary, that we must transplant an exclusive, hieratic, allegorical, and chaste Oriental drama of the fourteenth century to generate a new literature' (92a), and an anonymous reviewer in *Asiatic Review* berated Pound for being 'unacquainted with Japanese affairs', denounced his 'poetical licenses', and enumerated his 'errors' (93a). Pound would have been stung by this. *Cathay* had generated its own controversies, but a prolonged chorus of praise in the avant-garde journals and letters from acquaintances had allowed him to dismiss as reactionary the odd faultfinding elsewhere. But beyond Yeats's unrestrained enthusiasm (see especially *BL11*) and Eliot's initial reaction the acquaintances Pound most would have liked to have approved were silent about his work with Fenollosa's *nô*, and as the reviews came in even much of the praise would have put him off. O. W. Firkins in the New York *Nation* could not conceal his enthusiasm for the 'spell' of the 'lyric modulations' of Pound's 'plaintive rendering[s]'. They were 'like the rosy wreath which Celia returned to Ben Johnson', and led Firkins to wonder 'how much of [the] fragrance is assignable to the rose, and how much to the lips that have breathed upon it in its passage' (93g). This alone would have set Pound to wondering about the wisdom of what he had done.

By January 1917 he had begun to distance himself from his 'Japanese things', and to extol the virtues of a new method more closely allied with China. He called it 'ideogramic'. Reacting not to the poems of *Cathay* but rather to the Fenollosa essay that later would see print as 'The Chinese Written Character as a Medium for Poetry' (32) Pound wrote to John Quinn two days before '*Noh*' or *Accomplishment* appeared that he found 'China . . . fundamental, Japan . . . not'. Japan was 'a special interest, like Provence, or 12-13th century Italy (apart from Dante)', but China was 'solid' (59e). Pound returned both to the point and to the metaphor in August, in review of *Certain Noble Plays* and '*Noh*' or *Accomplishment*. The 'Japanese stuff has not the solidity . . . of Rihaku' (Li Po), he wrote in *Little Review*, and 'is not so important as the Chinese' (28), an assessment that no doubt contributed to Eliot's abrupt *volte-face* about the work in the following months. To Iris Barry Pound wrote that he no longer 'believed in' *nô*. It was 'too fuzzy and celtic, even too "90s"' (83). And to Quinn again in June 1918 he wrote that '*Noh*' or *Accomplishment* was 'unsatisfactory'. Pound did not believe that

‘anyone else [would] come along to do a better book on Noh’, and he continued to find ‘beautiful bits in it’, but in the end it was ‘too damn soft’ (59f).

The lines contain, perhaps, a certain foreboding. Regarding the ‘better book on Noh’ could Pound have been aware by this date that Binyon’s young assistant at the British Museum, Arthur Waley, had turned his attention from the Chinese to the Japanese classical literature, and was preparing his own book on the nô? Waley’s first nô translations appeared in *Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society* in 1920, then in March 1921 *Nô Plays of Japan* (D26b), the most knowledgeable translation of the form to have appeared in a European language. In a bibliography Waley reviewed earlier translations and noted that ‘wherever Mr. Pound had adequate material to work upon he . . . used it admirably’, but beyond this Waley was dismissive. ‘*Noh*’ or *Accomplishment*, in spite of Pound’s admirable use of Fenollosa’s material, was ‘fragmentary and inaccurate’. Pound would have been stung again. He did not respond to Waley, and but for three allusions over the years (in 34, 38a, and 42) did not mention the nô again in print until 1938. In a rare turn to the plays in his correspondence of the period Pound wrote to Glenn Hughes in 1927 to inquire about whether a Japanese acquaintance of Hughes might be able to revise his nô work so that it would be ‘copper-bottomed and . . . correct in every way’. Pound himself ‘had not the philological competence necessary for an ultimate version’, he wrote, and so without a knowledgeable revision the work would remain but ‘scattered fragments left by a dead man, edited by a man ignorant of Japanese’ (59g).

Important Pound scholars, Donald Davie, Herbert Schneidau, and John Tytell, among others, often turning to these comments, have written dismissively of Pound’s nô (109, 110, 178), and others have in effect ignored it. The most influential study of Pound’s work, Kenner’s *Pound Era* (128) of 1971, devotes two of six hundred pages to the plays. And so the tradition of relegating the nô to a secondary status in the Pound canon has continued. Pound scholars know that ‘China is fundamental’, the nô ‘too damn soft’, and Pound’s work with it the ‘fragments [of] a dead man, edited by a man ignorant of Japanese’. To dismiss the work on the basis of Pound’s assessment of 1917, however, or even to elide it in a study of the important sources of Pound’s poetics and methods of representation, represents a serious misunderstanding.

The first point to be made in this regard is that to read much into Pound’s distinctions between China and Japan during this period mistakes the degree of his understanding of either. Many sources were available, and Pound’s intuition about them was in particular matters remarkable. But particularly regarding Japan even the best of European and American scholarship was in its infancy, and Pound did not have information enough to draw extensive conclusions. Between 1915 and 1917 he

understood bits and pieces, regarding particular conceptual principles in the *nô* more than any contemporary writer in English, but he was no expert nor claimed to be, the occasional overflowing of bravado aside. Pound knew more than most in Britain and the United States, and more of Japan than China, but rightly we do not read *Cathay* for its exacting scholarship, nor should we '*Noh*' or *Accomplishment*, nor should we dismiss the importance of the *nô* in Pound's work because for a time he believed it less 'solid' than Li Po. In the article 'Chinese Poetry' published in April 1918 (30), three years after *Cathay*, Pound mistakenly draws every example from the Japanese, and even twenty years later, in a chapter on Chinese history in *Guide to Kulchur* (45f), he admits that 'to separate what is Chinese and what Japanese needs more knowledge' than he has or is 'ever likely to come by', and adds not unreasonably that he is not alone, that virtually the whole of the West exists 'in a thick fog of ignorance' about both civilisations.

A second point is closely related, and anticipated in Eliot's 1918 turnabout regarding Pound's work with the *nô*. The only evidence Eliot provides that '*Noh*' or *Accomplishment* is less 'solid' than *Cathay*—note Pound's metaphor in Eliot's evaluation—is not about Pound's *nô* but rather his audience. The 'attitude' of the *nô* plays 'is less usual to us' than that of the Chinese poems, Eliot wrote, and he was right. Pound in *Cathay* may have been 'the inventor of Chinese poetry for our time', as Eliot so famously put it a few years later (in 39), but the point addresses a stylistic and conceptual rather than a historical matter. Li Po and Wang Wei had been around in translation in England for more than a century. What is remarkable about *Cathay* is not that it brought Chinese classical verse to English—many other popular monographs published in London had done that—but that Pound was able to make the voices and stances and even the occasions of the poems resonate with contemporary European preoccupations, and in a contemporary idiom. But the *nô* was different. Pound himself had written in 1914 that it was among the 'least known arts of the world' (13a), and if the 'world' is accounted Europe and America this is correct. The first mention of the plays in a European publication, by Algernon Mitford, interpreter at the British Legation at Edo (see D4), appeared forty-two years before Pound received Fenollosa's manuscripts. Fenollosa was the first American to discuss the *nô* in print, Pound the second, and it was largely his work that brought the plays to the attention of readers in Britain and the United States.

But not only was the *nô* unfamiliar to British and American audiences. It was also, as Pound put it in 1915, among the 'most recondite' of the world's arts (17b). He could bring voice to the Bowmen of Shu and England heard its sons at war in a far country and longing for home ('Will we be let to go back in October?'), but how to

bridge the conceptual gap that divides English from *nô*? Mitford was fluent in Japanese and aided by a helper trained in the tradition but had found the plays ‘utterly unintelligible’; Chamberlain, first professor of Japanese philology at the Imperial University at Tokyo, believed the ‘manner of representing’ in the *nô* so ‘peculiar’ that an accurate English version would be ‘impossible’; Aston, author of the first history of Japanese literature in a European language, was as puzzled by the plays as Mitford and as sure of the impossibility of their translation as Chamberlain; and Stopes, collaborator on the first monograph on the *nô* in English, found it necessary to forewarn her readers of ‘the extreme remoteness’ of the form ‘from everything to which we are accustomed’.

In the beginning Pound would not have been aware of what he was getting into, but then, extraordinarily, he was. Not many of his readers followed the intuition, however. The *nô* is a ‘form of perception’, Pound wrote in 1915, as ‘precise’ as any ‘scientist’s statement’, but Europeans were ‘still so bound by Aristotle and Aquinas’ that they could not accept the very different nature of the categories of perception implicit in the *nô* plays (87). Pound himself had found *Takasago* (88*d*), ‘incomprehensible’ until he began to understand its ‘perfect . . . construction’, which relied on a ‘sense of past time in the present’ unlike anything in European dramatic convention (88*c*). But how to bridge the gap? Yeats found the plays congenial because he perceived in them a parallel to the legends of the Irish countryside and his own preoccupations with the spirits of the dead ‘dreaming back’ their passions in the world of the living (see especially *BL13*), but few readers were so intimately acquainted with Swedenborg and Soho mediums, and in any case Yeats was no bellwether of popular taste. Most didn’t get it, or like Firkins got the wrong thing. The fact in the end is that most who read Pound’s *nô* simply did not understand it. ‘We in the West are not in a position . . . to arrive at a full appreciation’ (93*e*) one contemporary reviewer put it, another that the work is ‘alien to our habitual atmosphere of art’ (92*a*). This has not changed in significant ways through the years, even for many who have in influential ways turned attention to Pound’s work. In this regard it is true that his *nô* was unsuccessful. Whether the error lies in the work or the reader remains an open question, though, and in any case to say that Pound’s *nô* has not been widely understood is not to say that it did not figure in important ways in things to come.

The idea that the *nô* was of minor importance to Pound has grown in part from lack of understanding of the *nô* itself, but it also misreads much of Pound. Between 1913 and 1916 he made large claims for the plays, and even as he expressed the doubts of 1917 he reserved praise for particular ‘bits’ of the work. Had he found

nothing in Fenollosa's notes but the 'truly Homeric laughter' at the end of *Kagekiyo* (21a), he wrote in his review of 'Noh', he 'should have been well paid for the three years' he devoted to the plays (28). The silence about them in following years reflects disappointment in their reception, Pound's inability to make them 'copper-bottomed', and many other preoccupations, but then his enthusiasm for the *nô* returned, one might say with a vengeance, sometime before *Guide to Kulchur* appeared in 1938.

That work marks the re-emergence of the interest, in the chapters 'Tradition, II' and 'Savoir Faire' (45b and d), but in dozens of other instances between 1938 and 1942 Pound turned to the *nô* and his sense of its importance for the European tradition. During most of this time he was in Rapallo and cut off from sources of information of Britain and the United States, and from outlets for publication in English. Shortly before the war he had begun a correspondence with a young Japanese poet, Kitasono Kat[s]ue, whose magazine *VOU* Pound greatly admired (see especially D29), and it was largely in correspondence with Kitasono and as the unlikely 'Italian Correspondent' for the *Japan Times* of Tokyo, a position arranged by Kitasono, that Pound set forth his views on the *nô* and much else during this period. As much of this writing as has been found has been collected by Kodama Sanehide in *Ezra Pound and Japan* (82), and other documents in which Pound turned to the *nô* during these years, transcripts of his broadcasts for Rome Radio, have been made available by Leonard W. Doob in "*Ezra Pound Speaking*" (76).

What one comes away with in reading Pound on the *nô* in these volumes is unmistakably that he had come once again to believe that the plays represented something profoundly missing in Britain and the United States, but also, as in other matters, that his increasing isolation led finally to ideas obsessive and little short of delusional. Recurring themes are that the West needs a set of bilingual or trilingual editions of the *nô* (48, 49, 51, 82b5) and a set of films of the entire *nô* canon (49, 76e, 82b4, 82b14, 82e2), that *Aoi no Ue*, *Kagekiyo*, *Kumasaka*, and *Nishikigi* are of particular beauty (51, 53, 73b, 73e), that Kume, who had helped with the *nô* work of 1915, was well-remembered, well-loved, and badly missed (53, 55, 76e, 82b4), but also that the fourteenth-century Japanese drama demonstrated that twentieth-century Japan was a high civilisation wrongly forced into war (76b, 76c, 82d), and that the war itself might be brought to an end if only the United States and Japan might be persuaded to make a simple trade: Guam for 'one set of color and sound films of the 300 best Noh dramas' (76e, 82b14, 82d). Pound raised the issue quite seriously both on Rome Radio and in a letter to the Japanese Ambassador to Rome. No new insight into the *nô* is to be found in his writing of these years, only the renewed enthusiasm, and ultimately this would be of small significance but for one thing. Pound's love of the *nô*

and belief in its regenerative possibilities is still there, mitigated by loss and mediated in more remarkable ways, at Pisa. Donald Davie wrote in 1964 that Pound's *nô* was a 'blind alley' (109), but what Davie could not see from where he stood was that twice thirty years apart that alley opened out into *The Cantos*.

Pound told Donald Hall in 1960 that he began *The Cantos* 'about 1904', but his earliest unmistakable reference to the poem dates from 1915. 'I am . . . at work on a cryselephantine poem of unmeasurable length which will occupy me for the next four decades unless it becomes a bore', he wrote to Milton Bronner in September, and then in December to his father of the 'big long endless poem' (70a) he had begun. The 'problem' at the beginning, Pound told Hall, had been 'to get a form—something elastic enough to take the necessary material'. There are indications that he worked to find this form for some time, and references that indicate abortive starts on the poem—Dorothy Shakespear refers to his 'long poem' in a letter of December 1911, for example (see 77, p. 82)—but the best evidence is that Pound's work on the poem we now call *The Cantos* began in 1915, at the height of his early infatuation with the *nô*, and that for a time he believed he had found in the plays the form for which he had been searching.

The earliest of Pound's cantos to see publication, the 'Three Cantos' (27a-c) that appeared in *Poetry* in the summer of 1917, arrived on Harriet Monroe's desk accompanied by a letter from Pound in which he told Monroe that the work in progress would have 'roughly the theme of *Takasago*'. He 'hope[d] to incorporate more explicitly in a later part of the poem' (70c) the 'story' of that play. The theme of ^{the}*nô* in question is the mystical power and longevity of love ('What thou lovest well remains'), and indeed Pound incorporated allusion to the story into the poem, both in canto IV (31) and the lyrical close of XXI (38). In both cases he set the purity of love represented in *Takasago* in counterpoint to European tales of spiritual corruption and brutality (see 31 and 38 for further commentary). The connection to the *nô* in 'Three Cantos' is more than thematic, however, and may be traced to Pound's intuition of 1915 that the *nô* relies on a 'sense of past time in the present', and the understanding of 1916 that led him write that this method of 'reconstructing the past' provided the 'closest parallel' to his thought.

The first of the 'Three Cantos' opens with an invocation to Browning about the historical methodology of *Sordello*, and includes key lines about Pound's own methods that both Ronald Bush (145) and James Longenbach (183) have equated with the methods of the *nô*: 'Ghosts move about me / Patched with histories'. In each of the 'Three Cantos' the voice of the Poundian persona, like the *waki* in the plays of the *mugen nô*, calls forth the spirits of the dead bound to a place sanctified by history and

myth, Sirmio during the Italian Renaissance (I), the Dordogne Valley (II), the land of Circe and the underworld of the *Nekuia* (III), and as 'Pass each in his appropriate robes' (III), 'Ancient in various days, long years between them' (II), they emerge into the world of the poem, coming to life in what Peter Nicholls has called a 'compound tense' (204), Pound's 'sense of past time in the present' that he had written underpinned the 'perfect construction' of the *nô*. The places themselves and the colours and moods associated with them provide the 'unity of image' Pound believed central to the *nô* and had written opened the way for a 'long imagiste or vorticist poem', and twice at key turns images from the *nô* plays themselves inform the lines. In the address to Browning in I the narrative voice explicitly becomes the redeeming angel of *Hagoromo*: 'What's left for me to do? / Whom shall I conjure up; who's my Sordello, / . . . / Whom shall I hang my shimmering garment on / Who wear my feathery mantle, *hagoromo* . . .?'; and in II, in a turn that foreshadows the use of the pines of *Takasago* in cantos IV and XXI, the nobility of the ghost of *Kumasaka* is set in counterpoint (and in super-position) to images of the corruption of El Cid and the Portuguese court of Afonso. In 'Three Cantos' a representational principle deriving from Pound's work with the *nô* provides a means to infuse time present with the historical and mythological past, and the *nô* itself is a part of the mythos, representing an ideal of redemption in art and a nobility of spirit that is set beside manifestations of the gods of Tuscany, figures rising from the dismantled castles of Valencia, and 'news of Troy'.

The method of 'Three Cantos' is not the method of *The Cantos*, however, or at least not the cantos that followed for many years. Canto IV, with its recollection of the pines of *Takasago*, first appeared in print in 1919 (31), and in 1921 canto VII returns to understated allusion to the *nô* (see 34), but in these and other cantos of the period the explicit voice of the poet is subsumed in the text, and the settings that in 'Three Cantos' were explicitly imaginative—'I walk Verona (I am here in England)'—are more directly (not to say conventionally) represented. Then in a 1925 revision that with minor exceptions established the text we now know as the beginning of *The Cantos* (35) the *nô*-like method and even allusion to the *nô* has disappeared from cantos I-III as well. The first-person voice, when it appears at all, but in passing at the beginning of canto II and the opening of III, Pound sitting on 'the Dogana's steps' in Venice, is not the 'I' of the poet but rather of his characters, Odysseus, Acoetes, and others. The setting forth of the voices, the rapid movement from one to the next orchestrated by a disembodied narrator, reminds more of Eliot than of the *nô*. Of the 'Three Cantos' only the close of III, the *Nekuia* section, remains largely intact, and is provided primacy of place as the opening of the poem ('And then went down to the ship'). The sacred places

remain but more disparately so—Ithaca to Troy to Thebes to Venice and Burgos in nine pages, with a voyage toward Naxos on the way—and while the voices of the historical and mythical past still inhabit the lines the living voice in communion with them, which in the *nô* redeems ancient passions in time present, has disappeared.

It is tempting to attribute this re-vision to Pound's dissatisfaction with the *nô* after 1916, and surely this would have entered into the equation as the opening of the poem was recast, but other and better-known factors are important as well. Not least among these is that by the time of his revision Pound had encountered other models that suggested ways of binding together the disparate pieces of the poem, most notably in *The Waste Land* and *Ulysses*. If the *nô* had figured no more in *The Cantos* than the scattered predictive notes of 1915 and 1916 and the abandoned representational strategy of 'Three Cantos' it would amount to little but an interesting footnote. But at Pisa the invocatory voice returns, and the haunted imaginative space within which the spirits crowd around, and then again, more centrally than before a part of tone, theme, and the complex web of association of *The Cantos*, the *nô* returns to Pound after he has returned to the possibility of a *Paradiso*, in the final *Drafts & Fragments of Cantos CX-CXVII* (72).

The return to the 'compound tense' of the *nô* is marked in LXXIV, the first of *The Pisan Cantos* (56), by the re-emergence of Pound himself into the poem, and by the lines that characterised the method of 'Three Cantos', cut in the 1925 revision but recalled here, from the wreckage of Europe, after thirty years: "Ghosts move about me" "patched with histories". The sacred place is Taishan, first among the holy peaks of China, source of life and the place to which the souls of the dead return, conflated with a peak visible to Pound on the horizon, 'from the death cells in sight of Mt. Taishan @ Pisa'. Even more than in 'Three Cantos' the lines and the imaginative space from which they arise are haunted. In canto VI the story of Cunizza da Romano had been narrated, but at Pisa she appears in Pound's room, watching. The mistresses of Sigismundo and Cavalcanti stand before him. Dionysus is hailed, welcomed, and directly addressed, Venus-Aphrodite invoked in his name, and the 'new subtlety of eyes' enters Pound's tent. And in this haunted space Pound returns to the world in which he discovered it. The apparitions are often from the *nô* itself: Kannon, Buddhist goddess of compassion whom Pound first encountered in *Tamura* (LXXIV, LXXVII, and LXXXI); again the redeeming spirit of *Hagoromo*, come to Pound as a 'corona of angels' at sunset in the clouds banked on Taishan (LXXIV, LXXIX and LXXX); the ghosts of the warriors of *Kagekiyo* and *Kumasaka* (LXXIV); the safeguarding man/god of *Suma Genji* (LXXIV); the *hannya* of *Aoi no Ue* (LXXVII). As earlier in the poem manifestations from the *nô* are set in counterpoint to European tales of deceit—'Greek rascality against Hagoromo /

Kumasaka vs/ vulgarity' (LXXIX)—but more than before they are interwoven into the associational texture of the poem. Kannon is conflated with Venus-Aphrodite, Suma Genji with the gods of Eleusis, the 'nymph of Hagoromo' presides over the central theme of divine incarnation and the central image of divine light. It is the imaginative space into which the apparitions enter, though, that most remarkably returns *The Cantos* to the *nô*. In a 1915 postscript to his re-creation of Fenollosa's *Suma Genji* (17e) Pound wrote of the priest of that play that he sought 'even in a vision' to see 'the beauty lost in the years' and 'the shadow of the past in bright form'. Of the dramatic construction of the play he wrote that it relies on 'the suspense of waiting for a supernatural manifestation—which comes'. In both cases he might as well have been writing of *The Pisan Cantos*.

The cantos that follow those written at Pisa, published in *Rock Drill* (65) and *Thrones* (66), were written at St. Elizabeth's Federal Hospital for the Insane in Washington, D.C. These consolidate historical and economic themes and twice in lyrical passages turn to the *nô* (see 64 and 66a), but not in crucial ways. Before returning to *The Cantos* at St. Elizabeth's Pound had published a version of the *Trachiniae* 'for Kitasono Kat[s]ue' that he hoped might be added to the repertoire of a *nô* troupe in Japan (see 61), but it is fittingly in the closing cantos, written after his return to Italy, that the *nô* returns most importantly to his work.

The 'presiding supernatural presence' of *Drafts and Fragments*, Wendy Stallard Flory has demonstrated (see 186), is the compound spirit who 'clad in a memory' dances and sings of the 'ancient [but lost] splendours' of love in the *nô* *Kakistubata* (see 23), and other presences from the *nô* illuminate the lines as well, and even more than Greek and Dantean themes provide the associational thread that binds the close of the poem together. *Kakistubata*'s tale of loss and redemption informs CX, the fragment CXV, and CXVI, and resonates throughout the sequence (see especially 72a, d, and e for commentary). The world of *Aoi no Ue*, haunted by a spirit of rancour so powerful it became manifest as a demon (see 22), is invoked in CX and echoes throughout the poem's close, providing the central image of the central theme of the expiation of jealousy and hatred (see 72a, b, and c for commentary). Ono no Komachi, symbol in the Japanese tradition and in the *nô* of the ephemerality of beauty and the ravages of vanity and pride (see 17c-d), presides over those themes at the close of Pound's poem as well, and conflated with Aoi and the moon represents as well the redemptive power of forgiveness (see 72a and e). Together these and other associations from the *nô* are central to the close of the poem, and therefore ultimately, retrospectively, instrumentally, to the larger universe of *The Cantos* itself. Peter Stoicheff, in the most detailed study to date of *Drafts & Fragments* (202), does not miss the point. At the

close of *The Cantos* and nearing the close of his own life Pound identifies with the spirits from the *nô*, Narihira's 'My body / Is not my body, / But only a body grown old', Kakitsubata's contemplation of her own apparition on earth as 'the cracked husk of the locust' (both in 23), the longing to rectify the past of *Nishikigi* (8), the 'beauty lost in years' of *Suma Genji* (17e), the exorcism of jealousy of *Aoi no Ue* (22). Stoicheff's comment on the closing lines of canto CX summarises the point: they return to

the belief that respect and ritualistic prayer can transcend the pains of darkness, jealousy, self-recrimination, sin, and old age, as in their Noh counterparts, not beneath the poem's foreseen paradisaic culmination in the eternal light of the sun, but beneath the Noh moon that is its symbolic reversal, as *Drafts & Fragments* is *The Cantos*' (p. 99).

In the last complete canto, CXVI, Pound calls his poem a 'palimpsest'. It is an apt metaphor. Seen in this way—texts inscribed upon texts, one erased to make room for the next—the *nô* must be seen to have been there all along, informing in its crucial way the beginning of the poem, put under erasure in 1925, and then re-inscribed, the text visible again through the pages and the years, transformed but unmistakably recognisable at Pisa, and then again, come full circle, at the poem's close. In this regard one must take small exception to Stoicheff, or rather to his choice of a word, or rather to put his word itself under erasure and to inscribe over it another: the symbolic reversal of *Drafts and Fragments* at least in regard to the *nô*, perhaps in other ways yet unexamined, is also a symbolic return to the place the poem began half a century before, and it is in analysis of the nature of this returning, a reading of *The Cantos* against the text that was there all along, that the study of Pound's debt to what he understood to be of Japan will most profitably go forward.

In addressing Pound and Japan in even in an introductory way one important issue remains, the degree to which Pound's Japan became the Japan of later poets and others in Britain and the United States. This perhaps as much as his own mediation of Japanese subjects places Pound at the centre of the study, and raises even more compelling questions about the nature of influence. The record in the matter is clear, even if it can only be outlined here. Regarding the *nô* Kodama Sanehide no doubt was correct when he wrote in 1994 that the versions of the plays that appeared in '*Noh*' or *Accomplishment* remain 'the most widely read and influential translations' in any language (201, p. xi), in spite of the errors and oversights and omissions, in spite of Waley and a dozen later editions that are 'copper bottomed' (even if we no longer believe that a translation can be 'correct in every way'). And it is mainly Pound's *nô*

that is mediated in Yeats, and then via Yeats passed along to Bottomley (CA3), Binyon (BC22), Sturge Moore (CA9), Eliot (CA10), Wallace Stevens (CA7), Robinson Jeffers (CA11), Paul Goodman (CA12), Kenneth Rexroth (CA13c), Ulick O'Connor, and others, and from each of these on to others, so that intermingled with the 'influence of the nô' on the English stage is Pound's nô, with the slant of light that came to him from Fenollosa, who himself could not read the plays in Japanese, slanted further, and then further, and then again and again, until the influence of one literary tradition on another finally appears to be little but a variation on the question of intertextuality.

Likewise the non-dramatic poetry. At least one rather clever Japanese writer has denied that the 'form of super-position' has anything to do with the Japanese tradition (see A40), but Pound's technique discovered in what was probably a French translation of the hokku (mediated by how many degrees of separation?) essentially became Japanese poetry for British and American writers and readers. It was adopted intact, and in verse that has been argued to be 'influenced by Japan' (and who could disagree?), by Aiken (BA7), Aldington (BB1, 6, 7, 9), Fletcher (BH2a, 6e, 7x), Lowell (BI12), Sandburg (CA6), and many others, including hundreds if not thousands of 'haiku poets' who have written in English. Beyond this Pound's undecorated free-verse line characterises to this day the style of even the most scholarly of English translations of Japanese classical verse. Compare, for example, two translations of a famous tenth-century tanka by Sakanoue no Korenori, poem 31 in the *Hyakunin issu*. Sakanoue's poem in romanised Japanese reads: *asaborake / ariake no tsuki to / miru made ni / yoshino no sato ni / fureru shirayuki*. For William N. Porter in 1909, in the widely-admired *Hundred Verses from Old Japan* (see D20), the English for this was:

The mountain village solitude
 In winter time I dread;
 It seems as if, when friends are gone,
 And trees their leaves have shed,
 All men and plants are dead.

But for Stephen D. Carter, in a widely-admired recent English anthology of Japanese verse, *Traditional Japanese Poetry* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1991), Sakanoue's poem in English is different:

In a mountain home
 the loneliness increases
 in the winter time—
 when one knows that people too
 will vanish with the grasses

It would be impossible to trace a text-by-text link between Pound and Carter's Sakanoue, and it is possible even to imagine that Carter has not read Pound, but who

cannot hear Pound's voice in Carter's representation of Sakanoue's? The point could be made in regard to the English versions of virtually any classical Japanese poem pre- and post-'Station of the Metro', *Cathay*, and *Lustra*. Porter's style was carried forth for a few years by stalwarts for whom poetry in English even if it represented poetry in Japanese meant rhyme and conventional metre, E. Powys Mathers (*D25*) and Miyamori Asatarô (*D27*), mainly, but the style was rendered archaic by Pound in a few months in 1915 and 1916, and what little resistance was mounted thereafter, which would have disappeared soon enough anyway, was dispatched quickly by Waley, who adopted Pound's line in his translations of Chinese verse (see *BH15*), and then in 1919 in *Japanese Poetry* (*D26a*), and then in verse passages in *Nô Plays of Japan* and *The Tale of Genji* (*D26c*), and that was that.

It would not be wrong in this regard to extend Eliot's line about *Cathay*. Pound invented Japanese poetry for our time, too. But the point may be put differently, and should be, at a time when we know more about, or at least write more about, intertextuality. A more accurate way to say it is that Pound was among the most important of Japanese influences in Anglo-American verse of the first half of the twentieth century. It is in part this sort of inversion, finally, that this Pound section and this bibliography in general tries to provide data enough to begin to be able to describe.

Notes:

a. Pound and China.

It is impossible to draw a strict line between Pound's Chinese and Japanese interests. The listing here includes those 'Chinese' works that have clear sources in Japanese materials, and studies of them that focus on their Japanese origins, and strictly excludes all others. Thus, *Cathay* (15), Pound's versions of Chinese poems filtered through Fenollosa and his Japanese teachers, is noted, while his Confucian translations, arrived at variously from earlier English translations from the Chinese, Judith Gautier's French, and other non-Japanese sources, are not. Likewise, Cheadle's study of the Confucian translations (205) is included for its attention to the relationship between Pound's Confucianism and the *nô*, while Kenner's 'The Invention of China', the arguments of which might be applied to Pound's Japanese interests but in the study itself are not, is not.

b. Page references and textual problems.

Pound's versions of the *nô* and the cantos relevant to this study are listed according to date of first publication, but page references in annotations have been adjusted to the versions most readily available, the *nô* section of the enlarged

edition of *The Translations of Ezra Pound* (60) and the enlarged thirteenth printing of the New Directions *Cantos of Ezra Pound*, 3rd ed. (see 57). The difficulties of establishing a definitive text of *The Cantos* are immense, and are only considered here when they are directly related to this study. Readers wishing fuller guidance are referred to Barbara Eastman's *Ezra Pound's 'Cantos': The Story of the Text, 1948-1975* (Orono, Maine: National Poetry Foundation, 1979), Peter Makin's 'The State of the Text', in *Pound's Cantos* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1985), and Richard Taylor's 'The History and State of the Texts', in *A Poem Containing History* (Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1997). All interested in these matters await publication of Taylor's *Variorum Edition of The Cantos of Ezra Pound*, many years in preparation, which will appear from Cambridge University Press.

c. Reprint information.

All primary-list periodical publications through 1990 are reprinted in *Ezra Pound's Poetry and Prose Contributions to Periodicals*, 11 vols., edited by Lea Baechler, A. Walton Litz, and James Longenbach (New York: Garland, 1991).

Primary Materials

1. Flint, F. S. [and Pound]. 'Imagisme'. *Poetry* 1 (March 1913): 198-200.

A statement of 'facts' about *Imagisme* that Flint has 'gleaned' from 'an *imagiste*', Pound, whose draft Flint rewrote for the publication (see Gallup [107] C73a and C1900). As with Pound's famous 'Don'ts for an Imagiste' (2), which follows this work in the same issue of *Poetry*, no direct mention is made of Japanese poetry in justification for the poetics outlined, but a correspondence to Pound's understanding of Japanese poetics is unmistakable, and on evidence provided both by Flint (see A2 and A3) and Pound himself (see especially 3, 4, and 12), as well as by later critics—Miner's 'Haiku and the Image' (A25, pp. 123-27) is particularly good on this point, but see also, for example, Hughes (A19), Harmer (A51), and Coffman (96)—Japanese poetry in general and the 'hokku' in particular had along with other influences provided a theoretical foundation for the principles outlined here, including the three 'rules' of Imagism, 'direct treatment of the "thing," whether subjective or objective', 'to use absolutely no word that [does] not contribute to the presentation', and 'to compose in the sequence of the musical phrase, not the sequence of the metronome'. Note might be made as well that if the dates Pound provides in 'Vorticism' (12) are correct, his understanding of the 'hokku'-derived 'form of super-position' and his 'hokku-like sentence' that became

IN A STATION OF THE METRO (3)—first printed in the following issue of *Poetry*—preceded the composition both of this work and the ‘Don’ts for an Imagiste’.

2. ‘A Few Don’ts for an Imagiste’. *Poetry* 1 (March 1913): 200-06.

‘An “Image”’, Pound writes, ‘is that which presents an intellectual and emotional complex in an instant of time’, and the would-be poet who wants to draw sustenance from this insight will escape ‘many a crime of production’ if he avoids the ‘don’ts’ (and obeys the do’s) Pound outlines here, including several which parallel lessons he elsewhere allies with interest in Japanese poetry: ‘Use no superfluous word, no adjective, which does not reveal something’; don’t ‘[mix] . . . abstraction with the concrete’, for ‘the natural object is always the *adequate* symbol’; and ‘use either no ornament or good ornament’. As in the definition of Imagism that precedes this work in *Poetry* (1), Pound does not directly invoke Japanese poetics in justification of Imagist principles, but see notes at 1 for reference to work by Pound and others that ties both the definition of the image and the ‘don’ts’ to principles in part derived from and justified by his understanding of Japanese poetry, particularly the ‘hokku’. Reprinted in 29. For notes about the influence of the work see *BG5g* and *BH2*.

3. IN A STATION OF THE METRO. *Poetry* 2 (April 1913): 12.

The first publication of perhaps the most famous lines in the Pound canon—‘The apparition of these faces in the crowd: / Petals on a wet, black bough’—closes a twelve-page selection of the first verse Pound published following the now-famous definitions of Imagism that had appeared in *Poetry* the previous month (1 and 2). In the later ‘How I Began’ (4) and ‘Vorticism’ (12) Pound describes the process by which he arrived at his ‘hokku-like sentence’, and draws instrumentally on an understanding of the ‘hokku’ that had allowed him to intuit the ‘form of super-position’, which he found characterises the ‘beauty’ of this ‘Japanese sort of knowing’. Many critics after Pound himself have discussed the relationship between the ‘form of super-position’ and the hokku, but the best treatment remains Miner’s (A25, pp. 112-23), which traces the device and Pound’s variations on it throughout his work, in APRIL and GENTILDONNA (5), ALBA and THE BATH-TUB (see 6), LIU CH’E (7a), FAN-PIECE, FOR HER IMPERIAL LORD (7b), TS’AI CHIH (7c), MAUBERLEY (33), *The Cantos* (57), and others; Miner’s ‘Absorption of Japan into Twentieth-Century Poetry’ (A25, pp. 156-201) describes and analyses the widespread imitation and adaptation of the super-pository technique in work by Aiken, Aldington, Bynner, Flint, Fletcher, Lowell, Archibald MacLeish, Stevens (see CA7), William Carlos Williams, and others. See also Aldington’s PENULTIMATE POETRY (BB1) for a parody of the Metro poem and the technique of

super-position, Kanaseki (*A40*) for a denial that the *discordia concors* of super-position has anything to do with haiku, *Lustra* (*20*) for other poems employing the technique of super-position, and, for related discussion, *BH13*, *BK82a1*, *111*, *185*, and *196*. The poem is reprinted in *20*, *37*, *39*, *58*, and *74*.

4. 'How I Began'. *T.P.'s Weekly*, 6 June, 1913, p. 707.

Pound's description of how he arrived at IN A STATION OF THE METRO (*3*) is well-known from his 'Vorticism' essay (*12*), but the discussion here precedes that work by fifteen months. He describes the scene in the Metro and his inability to capture it properly until 'only the other night, wondering how I should tell the adventure, it struck me that in Japan where a work of art is not estimated by its acreage and where sixteen syllables [*sic*] are counted enough for a poem if you arrange and punctuate them properly, one might make a very little poem which would be translated about as follows:—The apparition of these faces in the crowd; / Petals on a wet, black bough—And there, or in some other very old, very quiet civilisation, some one else might understand the significance.'

5. APRIL and GENTILDONNA. *Poetry* 3 (November 1913): 54.

Pound was quick to put to use the hokku-derived 'form of super-position' (see especially *3* and *12*) in poems longer than two lines, and these works, reprinted in *Lustra* (*20*), provide particularly good examples: 'Three spirits came to me / And drew me apart / To where the olive boughs / Lay stripped on the ground: // Pale carnage beneath bright mist'; 'She passed and left no quiver in the veins, who now— / Moving among the trees, and clinging / in the air she severed, / Fanning the grass she walked on then—endures: // Gray olive leaves beneath a rain-cold sky'.

6. ZENIA. *Smart Set* 41/4 (December 1913): 47-48.

A poem in eleven brief sections that Pound later printed as separate poems, first in *Lustra* (*20*). Two of the sections, II, which became ALBA, and VII, which became THE BATH TUB, rely on the technique of super-position (see *3* and *12*), though in both cases the super-posed image comes at the beginning and not, as in earlier manifestations of the technique, at the end. In the three lines of 7, 7, and 9 syllables of section II Pound may be playing as well with hokku syllabics; Miner (*A25*) finds that in the opening super-posed image of 'a bath tub lined with white porcelain' in section VII Pound is 'parody[ing] his own super-pository technique'.

7. Poems. In *Des Imagistes*. New York: Boni, 1914.

In many of Pound's short poems published in 1913 and 1914 one can trace his experimentation with lessons that on his own evidence he had learned from the 'hokku' (see especially *12*), as in the following works from the first Imagist anthology, all of which are condensed adaptations of Herbert Giles's translations

from the Chinese (collected in *History of Chinese Literature* [London: Heinemann, 1901]), and all of which are reprinted in *Lustra* (20).

a. LIU CH'É. Six lines that rely as directly as IN A STATION OF THE METRO (3), APRIL, and GENTILDONNA (5) on the 'hokku'-derived technique of super-position.

b. FAN-PIECE, FOR HER IMPERIAL LORD. Pound plays not only with the 'form of super-position' but also with the syllabics of hokku, condensing Giles ten lines of iambic pentameter to three lines of 5, 7, and 7 syllables. Miner (A25) finds that the work 'comes closer than perhaps any other attempt to meriting the title, "a haiku in English"'. See also 111.

c. TS'AI CHIH. Again Pound's self-conscious setting forth of a single-image poem—that 'present[ation of] an intellectual and emotional complex in an instant of time' (see 2)—reads like a translation not of the Chinese verse from which the poem derives, but of a hokku, from which Pound has learned some of the important lessons of Imagism (see especially 3 and 12): 'The petals fall in the fountain, / the orange-coloured rose-leaves, / Their ochre clings to the stone'.

8. NISHIKIGI ('Translated from the Japanese of Motokiyo [Zeami] by Ernest Fenollosa').
Poetry 4 (May 1914): 35-48.

The story of Pound's acquisition of the Fenollosa manuscripts is well documented (see 68 and 86d for Pound's own version), as are the sparks of enthusiasm that flew between Pound and Yeats as they discussed the notebooks, in some cases, as with this play, collaborating on their editing (see especially 175). This version is Pound's first publication of his work with the manuscripts, and among his most successful renderings of the nô. The tale is of the apparition at the village of Kefu of two spirits long dead, tied to the place by the unreconciled sorrows of their lives. Years earlier a young man had offered to his beloved the *nishikigi*, painted sticks of wood representative of his love, but they were refused, and now in grief both spirits wander near the young man's grave, separated in death as in life. Resolution comes as a travelling priest to whom they have appeared encourages the re-enactment of the offering of the *nishikigi*, this time accepted, and 'though it be but in a dream' the spirits are betrothed, released, and disappear with the coming of dawn. French, in introduction to his own more scholarly translation of the work, is dismissive of Pound's version (see 125, p. 83), but other commentators have been more favourable. Tsukui (167) enumerates small errors and outlines a general failure to present the Buddhist overtones of the original, but finds the play 'the most thorough and complete translation' among Pound's versions of the nô; Miyake (191) undercuts even this criticism in her argument that Pound's 'mistakes' are in

fact an intended conflation of the Fenollosa text with the ‘dawn songs’ and ‘cult of the light’ of medieval Provence. The work has been called ‘the greatest poem of “our time”’ and its verse ‘the most beautiful . . . ever produced by an American’ (194), and its influence has been profound. Yeats recognised in the tale a correspondence to an Irish legend (see *BL15b* and *BL38b1*), and turned repeatedly to this parallel in development of his belief that ‘the dead are near’ and ‘dream back’ their passions in the world of the living (see especially *BL13* and *BL15a*). His play most closely modelled on the *nô* draws both structure and theme from NISHIKIGI (see *BL14a*), and critics have traced shadows cast from NISHIKIGI in the Crazy Jane sequence (*BL33*), RIBH AT THE TOMB OF BAILE AND AILLINN (*BL36c*), and PURGATORY (*BL44b*). Pound himself returned to the work in a verse dramatisation of the story of Tristan and Yseult largely derived from it (*81f*), and more importantly as a structural model for *The Cantos*. The work as much as any other from the *nô* sparked Pound’s understanding that the ‘ghosts patched with histories’ (see *27a*) of the *nô* provide a method for ‘reconstructing the past’ (see *81e*) alien to the Aristotelian and Aquinian ‘categories’ of the West (see *87*), and that the *nô* revolves around a ‘unity of image’ and ‘emotion’ (*12* and *17f* and *87*) that might make possible the ‘long Imagiste poem’ he had planned from as early as 1904. This leap from the aesthetics of a distant tradition to the necessities of modernist verse may be traced from the earliest ‘Three Cantos’ (*27*) throughout the poem, particularly as the spirits of the gods and of the dead incarnate at Taishan at Pisa (see *56a*) and in the final *Drafts & Fragments* (*72*), the end of the poem and the last verse Pound wrote. One may not claim responsibly that *The Cantos* would not have been written but for Pound’s acquaintance with the *nô*, that Yeats would not have continued to write verse drama, or that what we call modernist poetry would not have taken root in Britain and America, yet all these would have developed differently had not Mary Fenollosa given Pound her late husband’s manuscripts, and had he not found in this play and others contained there embers and sparks that had not before been seen by poets writing in English. See *104*, *153*, *177a* and the Furukawa and Yamaguchi texts noted at *BL109* and *D10d* for evidence that the translations from which Pound worked were more the effort of Hirata Kiichi than of Fenollosa, *59a-b*, *69*, *77f*, *88a* for evidence of Pound’s enthusiasm for the work in his correspondence of 1913-14, *177* for transcription of the Fenollosa-Hirata draft from which he worked, and *A Guide* (*201*) for a comprehensive glossary of Japanese names and terms, transcription of Pound’s draft version at Yale (see *90a*), and ‘Notes on the Fenollosa-Hirata Draft Translation’; and see also *BE8*, *BJ18*, *BK9*, *13b*, *17f*, *23*, *30*, *70a*, *76b*, *76e*, *81e*, *88a*, *89*, *90b*, *93g*, *185*, *202*, *207*, *BL11*, *22*,

34, 57h, 102, 114, 170, 181, 201, 217, 236, 243, and 250.

9. Helmholtz, Bastien von [Pound]. Review of *Poetry: A Magazine of Verse*. *Egoist* 1 (June 1914): 215.

Pound's pseudonymous review includes mention of his own version of NISHIKIGI (8), to which attention should be called because 'It is beginning to be whispered that Ernest Fenollosa was one of the most important men of his time'.

10. 'Vortex'. *Blast* 1 (June 1914): 153-54.

Elsewhere Pound equates Vorticism with lessons that may be learned from Japanese art and poetry (see especially 12), and here his quotation from Whistler to illustrate Vorticist principles—'You are interested in a certain painting because it is an arrangement of lines and colours'—anticipates his equation of Vorticism with Japanese art in 11.

11. 'Edward Wadsworth, Vorticist'. *Egoist* 1 (August 1914): 306-07.

In his defence of Vorticism and the Vorticist painter Wadsworth, Pound defines Vorticism in part as a reliance on 'arrangement of space and line', and cites Whistler and Japanese art as important antecedents: 'I trust the gentle reader is accustomed to take pleasure in "Whistler and the Japanese." Otherwise he had better stop reading my article until he has treated himself to some further draughts of education. From Whistler and the Japanese . . . the "world," that is to say, the fragment of the English-speaking world that spreads itself into print, learned to enjoy "arrangements" of colours and masses.' See also 12.

12. 'Vorticism'. *Fortnightly Review* NS 96 (September 1914): 461-71.

Pound's most fully-formed definition of Imagist and Vorticist principles arrives at two remarkable conclusions about Japanese literature and its possibilities for enlivening Anglo-American verse. First, he describes his derivation of the 'form of super-position' from the 'hokku', a 'one-image' poem with one 'idea' super-posed 'on top of' another, citing in example Moritake's 'The fallen blossom' (*rakka eda ni . . .*) and Pound's own 'hokku-like sentence' that had appeared earlier as IN A STATION OF THE METRO (3). Pound was able to distil this poem from a longer work of 'secondary intensity', he writes, after having understood the 'beauty' of this Japanese 'sort of knowing'. Secondly, at the beginning of a long footnote, Pound cites the *nô* in evidence of the possibility of a 'long imagiste or vorticist poem', an idea to which he would return in later critical writing (see also 17f, 87, 112, 161, and 165): 'In the best "Noh" the whole play may consist of one image. I mean it is gathered about one image, enforced by movement and music. [So] I see nothing against a long vorticist poem'. These perceptions of the super-posed image of the hokku and the unity of imagery of the *nô* are now taken for granted in both Western

and Japanese scholarship (though see *A40*), but had not been noted before in Europe or America, and both have changed the course of twentieth-century verse in English. The 'form of super-position' may be traced throughout Pound's work and that of many of his contemporaries and followers (see notes at 3), and effects of the intuition that a long poem may be 'gathered about one image' may be traced not only in *The Cantos*, but the work of Eliot, Yeats, and others (see especially *BK92b* and *BL11* and *12*). Reprinted in *Gaudier-Brzeska* (New York: Lane, 1916; reprint, New York: New Directions, 1970). For related commentary see also *A2*, *BH4a-b*, *BK1*, 4, 10, 11, 14, 145, 160, 171, 185, 195, *BL191*, 192, and *D15e5-6*.

13. 'The Classical Drama of Japan' ('Edited from Ernest Fenollosa's manuscripts by Ezra Pound'). *Quarterly Review* 221 (October 1914): 450-77.

The second publication of Pound's work with the *nô*, largely organised around his version of Fenollosa's essay on the *nô* (see *177b*), with the plays serving as 'illustrations'. Along with *NISHIKIGI* (8) and *KAGEKIYO* (21a) the work later forms part III of *'Noh' or Accomplishment* (24). *A Guide to Ezra Pound and Ernest Fenollosa's Classic Noh Theatre of Japan* (201) includes helpful 'notes for readers', comprehensive glossaries of Japanese names and terms, and transcription of the Fenollosa drafts from the Pound archive at Yale (*90a*), the versions from which Pound worked. As is apparently true of all of Fenollosa's *nô* manuscripts, these had been prepared by Fenollosa with considerable help from Hirata (see especially *BL109*), relying primarily on the Japanese texts prepared by Ôwada Tateki (see *D8*). See also *77h*.

a. [Pound's introductory note]. In honorific terms Pound describes what will follow and his role in it: 'By one of the more unexpected turns of chance there has come into my possession a most interesting and . . . unique set of documents relating to one of the greatest and least-known arts of the world, generally called *Noh* (accomplishment). These papers consist of notes and lectures by the late Ernest Fenollosa, sometimes Imperial Commissioner of Arts in Tokyo. Professor Fenollosa's life was one of the romances of scholarship. It might not be too much to say that he saved Japanese art to Japan; he did at least as much as any other single person. So far as possible, I shall print these documents as they stand.' A footnote refers readers to earlier works on the *nô* by Dickins (*D3*), Brinkley (*D14*), and Stopes (see *D23*). In private correspondence the previous January Pound had written that 'earlier attempts to do Japanese in English are dull and ludicrous' even if 'the poor scholars have done their bungling best' (*59b*), though this was written only after he had solicited and was refused Stopes's aid with the editing (see *152*). As for the assertion that 'so far as possible' Pound will 'print [the]

documents as they stand', his editing, conflation of ideas, omissions, and additions in these and other versions of the *nô* have been a matter of public record since the 1987 publication of Murakata's transcriptions of Fenollosa's manuscripts at Harvard (see 177), and transcriptions of the manuscripts from which Pound worked, now in the Pound archive at Yale (90a), in *A Guide* in 1994. The most insightful work about the nature of Pound's editing of these and other *nô* manuscripts is by Miyake (187, 191, and 192), though see also 112, 117, 132, 142, 144, 153, 167, 169, and 177b.

b. 'Fenollosa on the Noh'. The manuscript from which Pound worked was a draft of the fifth of seven lectures Fenollosa presented at Washington, D.C. in 1903, describing the historical background and development of the *nô*—a 'form of drama, as primitive, as intense, and almost as beautiful as the ancient Greek Drama of Athens'—and emphasising both in the original and in Pound's edited version that the *nô* should be of a 'practical significance and even inspiration for us [in the West], in this weak, transitional period of our . . . poetic life', for 'we cannot escape . . . even if we would, a stronger and stronger modification of our established standards by the pungent subtlety of Oriental thought, and the power of the condensed Oriental forms'. Includes summaries of DOJOJI, ATSUMORI, and NISHIKIGI. See Murakata (177b) for disgruntled notes about the nature of Pound's emendations to the Fenollosa draft.

c. KINUTA. A wife despairs at her husband's delay in returning home from the capital, dies in resentment, and the passions of her ghost are expiated. *Kinuta* is a block of wood upon which cloth is stretched for pounding with a wooden mallet to give it softness, an image here of the woman's bitterness as she and her maid work the cloth that the husband might hear the sound and return to her. Pound's version is not among his successful renderings from the *nô*. Tsukui (167) finds that particular passages demonstrate his 'excellence as a poet-translator', but takes five pages to enumerate errors, and Miyake (191) finds this the 'one important Noh . . . that Pound could not convert' to his 'Greek-Egyptian-Dantean Mysteries in Noh'. See also 77e-f.

d. HAGOROMO. Pound's rendering of the story of the celestial spirit who descends to earth from 'the palace of the moon' and dances to regain her 'feather mantle' (*hagoromo*) from the mortal who has found it is generally accurate and powerful, in spite of an inexplicable reversion to prose in the most lyrical passage at the end. The work is among the *nô* that stays with Pound and is incorporated into the complex of *The Cantos*, in 'Three Cantos' I (27a) and cantos LXXIV (56a), LXXIX (56d), LXXX (56e), and CVI (66a). What strikes Pound is the purity of spirit of the

tennin, the celestial dancer, who in response to doubts about whether she will perform her dance if the *hagoromo* is returned speaks the line that for Pound is central: 'Doubt is of mortals; with us there is no deceit' (see 56d-e and 85). The *hagoromo* is returned, and the moon-spirit, 'for the sorrows of the world', performs her dance, singing of the mystical interrelationship between heaven and earth. Several critics have found the play a source for Yeats's THE ONLY JEALOUSY OF EMER (see BL14b). Two earlier translations Pound might have known are Noguchi's prose adaptation in *Summer Cloud* (D15e2) and Revon's French in *Anthologie de la littérature japonaise* (see D21). See Yoshida for discussion of the way images from the work are incorporated into *The Cantos* (174b and in 201), and for related material see also BJ18, BK17f, 24g, 70a, 76e, 77f, 77h, 82c2, 89a, 135, 137, 141, 173, 179, 185, BL11, 102, 131, 162, 223, and D26b. Reprinted with slight emendations in 21 and 24.

14. 'Affirmations II: Vorticism'. *New Age* 16/11 (January 1915): 277-78.

Pound 'for the third or fourth time' has been 'called upon to define [Vorticism] quietly, lucidly, [and] with precision' (see also 10-12), and as in earlier definitions turns to Japanese art, in hoping that the Vorticist 'search for form-motif will lead us to some synthesis of western life comparable to the synthesis of oriental life which we find in Chinese and Japanese painting'.

15. *Cathay*. London: Mathews, 1915.

A collection derived from Fenollosa's notebooks that relies on Japanese materials only to the extent that the Chinese poems recreated in English by Pound had been filtered through Fenollosa, his teacher Mori Kainan, and his student and friend Ariga Nagao, who prepared for Fenollosa English versions of the poems that were the subject of Mori's lectures. Though the collection sullied Pound's reputation among Sinologists, its influence has been profound, as noted by Eliot in his often-quoted declaration that Pound is 'the inventor of Chinese poetry for our time' (Introduction to Pound's *Selected Poems* [39], p. 14), and by Fletcher in the contention that publication of the collection was the central moment in the development of the 'new poetry' (see BH15). Before *Cathay* European-language translation of East Asian verse had been rhymed and tightly-metered, characterised by Herbert Giles in work from the Chinese and Dickins (D3), Mitford (D4), Aston (D13), Chamberlain (D5a), and Porter (D20) from the Japanese. After *Cathay* these translations seemed a failed attempt to fit vibrant traditions into small and decorative English containers, Li Po as balladeer, Bashô as epigrammatist. Hearn (see D9b) and Noguchi (see especially D15e6) must be credited with having tried to enlarge the container, but neither had Pound's skill.

The undecorated free verse of *Cathay* made it impossible for later writers to think of the East Asian literary tradition in the ways that had pertained before. The work is reprinted in 37, 39, and 60, and selections appear in 58 and 74. See also A7, BA7, BH2b, 25g, BK26, 86, 94, 98, 102, 109, 123, 133, and D10 and 20.

16. 'Affirmations IV: As for Imagisme'. *New Age* 16/13 (January 1915): 349-50.

Pound's attack on 'bad *vers libre*' (read: as written by Amy Lowell and her followers) draws a parallel between contemporary poetics and 'Rihaku's' (Ch., Li Po) complaint that 'imitators of Kutsugen [Ch., Ch'ü Yüan] couldn't get . . . underlying rhythm into their *vers libre*'. Pound offers a Japanese transliteration of lines from Li Po to support the point, but Hesse (151) argues that his interpretation of Li Po is a misunderstanding. Reprinted in 73.

17. 'The Classical Stage of Japan: Ernest Fenollosa's Work on the Japanese "Noh"'.
Drama 5 (May 1915): 199-247.

The third publication of Pound's work with the Fenollosa/Hirata *nô* materials is reprinted in slightly emended form as parts I and II of 'Noh' (24). The manuscripts from which Pound worked are lost. In recent years Miyake 'sent . . . letters to all the libraries in the United States holding Pound's or Fenollosa's mss [as] listed in *American Literary Manuscripts*', but in response 'heard no good news' (192). As with the other work on the *nô* that appears in 'Noh', useful 'notes for readers' and comprehensive glossaries of Japanese names and terms may be found in *A Guide* (201). See also 8 and 70a.

a. [Introductory note]. In a brief introduction of Fenollosa's career Pound writes 'the Japanese sections of [Fenollosa's] notes . . . are in themselves enough to form the basis for a new, or at least a revised understanding of the Japanese genius'.

b. 'The Classical Stage of Japan'. A fragmentary but mainly accurate introduction to the social and historical development of the *nô*, derived largely from Fenollosa's diary notes, which according to *A Guide* (201) are in Fenollosa notebooks 2 and 3 at the Yale archive (90a). Though based on Fenollosa, Pound's hand is evident in comments and asides, including the assertion that 'the life of . . . Fenollosa was the romance par excellence of modern scholarship', the mistaken contention that when Fenollosa died in London 'the Japanese government sent a warship for his body' (see 82c3 and 103), and assertions that 'the *Noh* is unquestionably one of the great arts of the world . . . quite possibly one of the most recondite' and 'is a theatre of which both Mr. Yeats and Mr. Craig [see D17] may approve'. Pound notes that he has 'read what others have written in English about these plays', and cites directly Stopes's *Plays of Old Japan* (see D23) and

Brinkley's 'Oriental Series' volume III, a reference to *Japan, Its History, Arts and Literature*, vol. 3 of *Oriental Studies* (D14). In a note to a passage about the 'Noh of spirits' (mugen nô), one can hear conversations that would have taken place at Stone Cottage between Pound and Yeats, and which would have significant repercussions in the later work of both: the plays of the mugen nô 'are the most interesting because of their profound and subtle psychology and because of situations entirely foreign to our western drama, if not to our folklore and legend' (see especially *BL15b* and *BL38b1* for Yeats's contention of the same point). Includes Pound's first mention of the 'listening to incense' of the court of fourteenth-century Japan (see also *45a* and *77g*), knowledge of which Pound attributes to Brinkley. The practice is here equated with the art of allusion, and found 'comparable to the art of polyphonic rhyme' in feudal Provence. Reprinted as the introduction to 'Noh'.

c. SOTOBA KOMACHI. Though Pound's versions of this work and another about the fall and ultimate salvation of the legendary beauty and poet Ono no Komachi are unsatisfactory as translation, they nonetheless reveal understanding of the sorrow and pathos of her story. The young Komachi's beauty and elegance are familiar to all in Japan, but her life ended in solitude. Her manifestations on the nô stage are meditations on loss, the brevity of earthly beauty, and the ravages of vanity. Both here and in KAYOI KOMACHI (*d*) her spirit is released from its torment by acts of forgiveness and redemption. Pound's version of SOTOBA KOMACHI is roughly a fifth the length of the original, and misunderstandings of detail are evident even in the fragment presented. See Tsukui (*167*) for notes about omissions, unsuccessful condensations, and inaccuracies, and the suggestion that the Fenollosa manuscripts themselves were probably 'incomplete and fragmentary' for this play, TAMURA (*i*), and TSUNEMASA (*j*), all of which in Pound's versions omit significant portions of the original. See also *22*, *72*, *72a*, *89*, *142*, *186*, *197*, *201*, *BL33*, *148*, and *D26b*.

d. KAYOI KOMACHI. An old woman peddling seeds and fruits turns out to be the ghost of Komachi, unable to release herself from knowledge that her youthful vanity caused the death of her most ardent lover, Shôshô. As she is about to be blessed by a travelling priest to whom she has appeared, the ghost of Shôshô intervenes, but through the prayers of the priest and re-enactment of the tragic moment of their lives the spirits are joined and assuaged. Pound's version of the work is more complete than his rendering of SOTOBA KOMACHI (*c*) but nonetheless fragmentary, and at a critical juncture Shôshô questions Buddhism instead of, as in the original, embracing its redemptive message. Most commentators have seen this

as an error, but Miyake argues that the ‘idiosyncrasy’ of Pound’s version is, if not intentional, at least consistent with larger themes that may be traced through his canon, including motifs from Dante and the Eleusinian Mysteries (187, 191, and 192), a line of argument also followed by Wells (197). Longenbach (183) notes that an ‘Irish . . . lilt’ in this first publication of the work is edited out of the version in ‘*Noh*’ (24), and suggests from this that in 1915 Pound ‘was still intent on embodying the link both he and Yeats sensed between the *Noh* and Irish folk literature’. See Flory (186) for a compelling argument that the spirit of Komachi informs the *Drafts & Fragments* sequence of *The Cantos*, particularly in CX (72a) and CXVI (72e), and Eide (BL148) for suggestion that ‘shadows’ of Ono no Komachi are evident in Yeats’s Crazy Jane poems (BL33). See also 22, 72, 89, and 201.

e. SUMA GENJI. Again Pound’s version is fragmentary—critics have particularly noted the omission of frequent allusions to *Genji monogatari*—but nonetheless captures the central image of the work, the divine manifestation of Genji at Suma, the desolate sea village where as Prince Genji he had lived in exile and despair. The spirit, the ‘soul of the place’, appears in glorious garments on the ‘sea-marge’ at Suma, ‘from the vaulting heaven’ descended to ‘set a magic on mortals’, made manifest in a god-dance beside the waves. Pound’s postscript notes that the work relies on the ‘suspense of waiting for a supernatural manifestation—which comes’. To appreciate this, he adds, one must put oneself in ‘sympathy’ with the priest to whom Genji appears, ‘eager to see “even in a vision” the beauty lost in years’. He equates the ‘psychology’ of the work with ‘spiritistic séances’ and Yeats’s studies of Irish folklore and the occult, underlining the relationship both he and Yeats intuited between the *nô* and what Yeats later would call the ‘*Anima Mundi*’ (see especially BL13). Genji appears in the waves as a divine presence at Pisa, called forth along with Kannon, Venus-Aphrodite, and other ‘supernatural manifestations—which come’ in a key passage of canto LXXIV (56a). In discussing the relation of the play to *The Cantos* Niikura argues, following Miyake, that Pound conflates Genji with the Eleusinian Mysteries, and that ‘seen in this way, SUMA GENJI forms part of the central imagery in the . . . structure of *The Cantos*’ (see 201). See also Stoicheff’s argument (in 202) that the central theme here of ‘beauty lost in years’ informs the closing of *The Cantos*; and see related material at 17f, 133, and 185.

f. [Commentary]. Pound interrupts presentation of the plays with further commentary about the ‘very great art’ of the *nô*, including notes about staging, the ‘fusing’ of words with musical performance and ‘ceremonial dancing’, and extended quotes from Fenollosa’s notes of particular conversations with Umewaka Minoru,

but the importance of the commentary lies in Pound's own observations about the structure of the *nô*. The plays may seem to 'lack . . . construction', he writes, but in fact evidence 'a very severe construction', which he says he will 'present in a future article' to accompany the text of TAKASAGO. His following comments outline some of his understanding of the 'construction' of the *nô*: if the works seem 'to "go off into nothing" at the end' we must remember that they are provided a 'unity of emotion' by the final dance, and evidence as well a 'Unity of Image', for the better works 'are . . . built into the intensification of a single Image: the red maple leaves and the snow flurry in NISHIKIGI [8], the pines in TAKASAGO [88d], the blue-grey waves and wave pattern in SUMA GENJI [17e], the mantle of feathers in . . . HAGOROMO [13d]'. In a footnote Pound returns to the point he had made earlier in 'Vorticism' (12, and see also 87, 112, 161, and 165): 'This intensification of the Image, this manner of construction, is very interesting to me personally, as an Imagiste', he writes, for 'these plays are . . . an answer to a question that has several times been put to me: "Could one do a long Imagiste poem, or even a long poem in *vers libre*?"' The article on *nô* structure promised to accompany the text of TAKASAGO was not published during Pound's lifetime, but has recently been discovered and printed (see BK88c), and casts light on the construction of Pound's 'long Imagiste poem', which was under composition at the latest seven months after publication of this commentary (see 70a). Even before the article was discovered, however, critics had established a firm link between Pound's comments here, the early *Cantos*, and those written at Pisa and after. See especially Slatin (108), Bush (145 and 161), and Longenbach (183) for discussion of the 'sparks' that 'flew' between Pound's editing of the *nô* and the beginning of *The Cantos*, and Eliot (92b) and Yeats (see especially BL11 and 12) for evidence that Pound's perception of a 'unity of image' in the *nô* had repercussions for modernist verse beyond those that can be traced in Pound's work alone.

g. KUMASAKA. As in his versions of KAYOI KOMACHI (d) and AOI NO UE (22), Pound slights or misunderstands important Buddhist elements in this work, the central theme of which is the salvation of the spirit of the title character, who had died at the hand of the young 'Ushiwaka[maru]', the name by which Minamoto Yoshitsune (see BJ4i) was known as a young man. Like Pound's versions of SHŌJŌ (h), TAMURA (i), and GENJŌ (24c) the translation is entirely in prose. What struck Pound in the work was that 'Kumasaka's spirit returns to do justice to the glory of Ushiwaka and to tell of his own defeat'. Pound's admiration for the nobility of this spirit, returning to earth not from rancour but to celebrate the skill of the boy who killed him, figures directly in 'Three Cantos' II (27b), a key

passage in *Guide to Kulchur* (45b), and in the Pisan cantos LXXIV and LXXIX (56a and d). In the early years of the Second World War he suggested seriously on Radio Rome (76e) and in correspondence with Kitasono (see 82b14) that the United States should return Guam to Japan in exchange for film recordings of this play and KAGEKIYO (21a; see also 49). In addition to the reprint in 'Noh', the work appears also in *Certain Noble Plays* (21). See Tsukui (167) for notes about departures from the original in this version; Uno's 'Kumasaka and *The Cantos*' in *A Guide* (201); and see also 53, 76b, 89, 179, and D26b.

h. SHOJO [SHŌJŌ]. Pound's version of this short dance play is mainly accurate in detail, though the *shōjō* of the title is an imaginary creature and not, as Pound has it, a monkey; Taylor (132) complains that the translation 'lumbers along in heavy prose while the delicacy and spontaneity of the verse in Japanese provides much of the joyful and exquisite effect for which the play is famous'.

i. TAMURA. Again Pound's version is fragmentary, and again omissions are particularly related to Buddhism (see also 8 and 17d and g), in this case the warrior Tamura's faith in Kannon. Bush (145) finds the work the source of Pound's use of 'Kwannon' in 'Three Cantos' I (27a) and later cantos (see 31, 56a, 56c, 64, and 72), and Miyake's argument that Pound in *The Cantos* conflates Kannon with Isis (see 191) finds the source of his understanding of Kannon in this play, CHŌRYŌ (24b), AND GENJŌ (24c).

j. TSUNEMASA. The ghost of the Taira warrior Tsunemasa appears to a priest sometime after the fall of the Taira (see BK21a), speaks, largely via the chorus, of the beloved lute he played at court and of his love of life and grief at its loss—'I was happy here. All that is over soon'—but fades before the priest may offer a blessing. In a brief foreword Pound writes that the 'Noh of spirits' (*mugen nô*) 'abounds in dramatic situations, perhaps too subtle and fragile for our western stage, but none the less intensely dramatic'. In this play in particular he finds the 'psychological tension of the séance' and other 'parallels with western spiritist doctrine', a perception echoed frequently by Yeats (see especially BL11, BL13, and BL15a). Pound's version of the play, like others published here, is fragmentary and not altogether aware of religious overtones, but is nonetheless accurate in tone and imagery, and has been well received by commentators familiar with the original. Miyake (191) believes that Pound conflates Fenollosa's text with motifs from Dante's *Convivio* and that this work is 'the most moving' of his no renditions. See also 17c and 89.

18. 'Chronicles'. *Blast*, 2 July 1915, pp. 85-86.

In a discussion of Binyon's *Flight of the Dragon* (BC9) Pound criticises Binyon for

having 'not sufficiently rebelled', but praises his intellect and the book, primarily by quoting passages of which he approves, including lines about the vitality of a depiction of waves by Ogata Kôrin. Reprinted in *Pavannes and Divagations* (Norfolk, Conn.: New Directions, 1958; reprint, 1975). See Terrell (140) and Holaday (148) for notes about Pound's debt to Binyon, and see also *BC34a*, 43, *BK59*, 77b, 86, 90a, 105, 126, 168, 181, and 188.

19. 'Remy de Gourmont'. *Fortnightly Review* NS 98 (December 1915): 1159-66.

In discussing Gourmont's ability to write successful poetry 'of our own time', and the general failure of contemporary poets to do so, Pound draws an example from his friendship with Itô: 'I am, let us say, in an omnibus with Miscio Itow. He has just seen some Japanese armour and says it is like his grandfather's, and then simply running on in his own memory he says: "When I first put on my grandfather's helmet, my grandmother cried . . . because I was so like what my grandfather was at eighteen." You may say that Itow is himself an exotic, but still, there is material for an hokku, and poetry does touch modern life, or at least pass over it swiftly, though it does not much appear in modern verses'. Reprinted in 29, 62, and 73.

20. *Lustra*. London: Mathews, 1916. Enlarged ed., New York: Knopf, 1917.

Reprints IN A STATION OF THE METRO (3); APRIL *and* GENTILDONNA (5); LIU CH'E (7a); FAN-PIECE, FOR HER IMPERIAL LORD (7b); TS'AI CHIH (7c); and, as ALBA *and* THE BATHTUB, sections II and VII from ZENIA (6); in addition Miner (A25, pp. 112-23) mentions other work collected here in connection with Pound's use of the hokku-derived 'form of super-position' (see 3 and 12), including WOMEN BEFORE A SHOP; L'ART, 1910; A SONG OF THE DEGREES; COITUS; SHOP GIRL; FISH AND SHADOW; closing lines of NEAR PERIGORD; and THE ENCOUNTER, which closes with an image of a woman's fingers that are 'like the tissue / Of a Japanese paper napkin'; most of these works had appeared in periodical publication from 1913 to 1915 (see Gallup [107]). The American edition adds IMPRESSIONS OF FRANÇOIS-MARIE AROUET (DE VOLTAIRE) (25) and revised versions of 'Three Cantos' (27). All work from the first edition is reprinted in 37 and 39. See also *A40*, *BK77f*, 86.

21. *Certain Noble Plays of Japan: From the Manuscripts of Ernest Fenollosa, Chosen and Finished by Ezra Pound, With an Introduction by William Butler Yeats* (BL11) Churchtown, Dundrum: Cuala, 1916. Reprint, Shannon: Irish UP, 1971.

The first book publication of Pound's versions of the nô, published at Yeats's request at his sister's press, in an edition of 350. Yeats did extensive work on the manuscript (see 175), but Pound rejected most of his 'suggestions and corrections'

(see 183, p. 204). Reprints with slight emendations NISHIKIGI (8), HAGOROMO (13d), and KUMASAKA (17g). All the work except Yeats's introduction is reprinted in 'Noh' (24); Yeats's introduction is restored in the 1959 republication of 'Noh' as *The Classic Noh Theatre of Japan*. See also A64, BK28, 59d, 90a, 92, 154, 155, 161, and 201.

a. KAGEKIYO. The background of this work, as in so many others in Japanese tradition, is the series of historic battles between the Minamoto (Genji) and Taira (Heike) clans in the twelfth century, the so-called Gempei wars, which saw the Minamoto destroy the Taira and ascend to a hegemony that lasted in name if not always in fact through the Kamakura period (1186-1336), so-named after the city in which the first Minamoto shogun, Yoritomo (see BJ4i), established his capital. Pound's version of this work about the Taira warrior Kagekiyo's heroic acceptance of the tragedy that befell his family includes passages of striking beauty and captures the central images of the play, but is compromised by condensations and omissions. An earlier translation had appeared in Stopes's *Plays of Old Japan* (see D23), a work Pound knew (see 13a), and so the Fenollosa/Hirata draft now at Yale (see 90a) was not his only source. The work opens with Kagekiyo's daughter searching for her father, known for his courage during the wars but now a blind and grief-stricken beggar. She finds him, and her love moves him to relate tales of his days of honour. He asks her at the end to return to her home and she reluctantly obeys. The play stayed with Pound, in honorific references to its 'Homeric' nature even in 1917 and 1918 when he expressed dissatisfaction with the nô (see 59e-f and 83), in *Guide to Kulchur*, and in other works (see 28, 45b, 53, and 76e), including the first of *The Pisan Cantos*, LXXIV (56a), where like Kagekiyo himself Pound addresses his personal tragedy. Quoted there are the 'Homeric' lines to which Pound often referred: in battle at Yashima with the Minamoto warrior Mionoya, Kagekiyo had grasped the latter's *shikoro*, a set of protective straps hanging from a medieval Japanese helmet designed to protect the neck, and they had come off in his hands; fleeing in terror Mionoya turns and shouts, 'How terrible, how heavy your arm', and Kagekiyo calls back to him, 'How tough the shaft of your neck is', and in Pound's version 'they both laughed out over the battle, and went off each his own way'. See *A Guide* (201) for Yasukawa and Shioji's 'Notes for Readers' of the play, a glossary of Japanese names and terms, discussion of 'Kagekiyo and *The Cantos*', and a transcription of the Fenollosa/Hirata draft; see also 82b14, 179, and D26b.

22. AWOI NO UYE (AOI NO UE): A Play by Ujinobu. *Quarterly Notebook* 1 (June 1916): 9-16.

The grave illness of the title character, the wife of Prince Genji, according to the belief of eleventh-century Japan would have been caused by the jealousy of Aoi's rival and Genji's lover, the Princess Rokujô. On stage the spirit of Rokujô's jealousy becomes manifest as a *hannya*, a demonic spirit, and after a fearful struggle of wills is finally exorcised by an attending priest. Pound's version confuses the spirit of Rokujô for a psychological projection of Aoi's own jealousy, an error compounded by a detailed introductory explanation of the 'fact'. According to Yamaguchi (see *D10d*, *Fenollosa*, vol. 2, pp. 190-93) the mistake was Hirata's in the original translation, but more than any other lapse it has provoked reproaches about Pound's work with the nô, even by critics ordinarily willing to forgive his transgressions. Waley notes that 'there is nothing obscure or ambiguous in the situation' and suggests that Fenollosa 'misunderstood the play and read into it complications and confusions which do not exist' (*D26b*, p. 180); Miner (*A25*) writes that 'there is no excuse for [Pound's] introduction . . . which muddles a fine translation'; and Tsukui (*167*) suggests simply that Pound 'completely misunderstands the play'. In a sense, however, this AOI serves as a metaphor for much of Pound's work with the nô: it is erroneous as translation, but beautiful, psychologically complex, and recurs in unexpected ways in later work both by Pound himself and by Yeats. 'Awoi's *hennia* [*hannya*] plays hob in the tent flaps' at the Disciplinary Training Center at Pisa in canto LXXVII (*56c*), and Aoi herself returns conflated with Ono no Komachi (see *17c-d*) and the moon at the lyrical close of CX (*72a*); both Flory and Stoicheff find the exorcism of jealousy in *Drafts & Fragments* (*72*) traceable to the play (see *186* and *202*), and Miyake argues that the 'invention' of Rokujô as a manifestation of Aoi is consistent with themes traceable throughout the Pound canon, particularly 'the unity of Dantean mysteries of love and the Eleusinian Mysteries' in *The Cantos* (see *192*). Yeats's understanding of the work was shaped by this version. His first reference to the nô in the published record is to 'the exorcism of [the] ghost which is itself obsessed by an evil spirit' here (see *BL15a*). Several critics, most notably Taylor (*BL171*), Miyake (*187*, *191*, and *192*), and Sekine (*BL250*), find Rokujô transformed into the jealousy of the Bricriu in THE ONLY JEALOUSY OF EMER (*BL14b*), and both Miner (*BL129*) and Taylor (*BL176*) find the source of Yeats's use of a square of blue cloth to represent the well of AT THE HAWK'S WELL (*BL12*) inspired by the folded kimono that represents the stricken Aoi here. See *76b*, *76e*, and *82d* for later references to the work by Pound, *A Guide* (*201*) for Miyake's helpful 'Notes for Readers', comprehensive glossary of Japanese names and terms, and "'Awoi no Uye' and *The Cantos*", and see also *BK17g*, *49*, *51*, *72b-c*, *91*, *134*, *182*, *BL149*, and *D26b*.

Reprinted in 24 and 60.

23. KAKITSUHATA (KAKITSUBATA), 'by Motokiyo [Zeami], From the Notes of Ernest Fenollosa, Finished by Ezra Pound'. *Drama* 6 (August 1916): 428-35.

A work rightly associated by Pound with the beauty mixed with sadness in the memory of love lost. A travelling priest approaches a field of Irises, 'Kakitsubata' in Japanese, and meets a 'simple girl of the locality' who tells him of the poem Narihira had written in the ancient days equating these flowers with his love for the courtesan who would become the Empress 'Takamo' (Fujiwara Takako, 842-910). After an on-stage costume change the girl is revealed to be a spirit, at once of the Irises, Narihira himself, and his beloved, 'a light that does not lead on to darkness' who 'clad in a memory' dances and sings of the 'ancient splendours' of the love that had passed so long before. In an introductory note Pound writes that he is 'not greatly concerned with the accuracy' of his version, but offers it because he has 'either found or imagined a certain beauty in . . . Fenollosa's pencil script'. Both Teele (112) and Tsukui (167) question details of the translation, but Tsukui finds ultimately that it 'reproduces with masterly assurance the seriousness of the subject'. Critics have traced the spirit of Kakitsubata through *The Cantos* early and late: Longenbach (183) finds the 'method for [presenting] historical vision' in 'Three Cantos' (27) traceable to the *nô* in general, and cites in example this play and NISHIKIGI (8); Stoicheff (202, pp. 96ff.) traces lines from canto VII (see 34) to the work, and suggests that in Pound's use of the tale in CX (72a) he establishes a metaphor for his own understanding of *The Cantos* and their necessary irresolution; Flory (186) echoes this in finding Kakitsubata 'the presiding supernatural presence of *Drafts & Fragments* [72]'; and Miyake (201, xxxiv), in her equation of Pound's work with the *nô* and his understanding of Dante, finds that in this version of the play the 'mystical power of love is recalled most remarkably', and that this reverberates throughout the Pound canon. See *A Guide* (201) for 'Notes for Readers', a glossary of Japanese names and terms, and a transcription of Fenollosa's 'pencil script' from which Pound worked; see Taylor (BL180) for an argument that the work was 'a model' for Yeats's CALVARY (BL17a). Reprinted in 24 and 60. See also BK34, 72, 72d-e, and BL149.

24. Ed. 'Noh' or *Accomplishment: A Study of the Classical Stage of Japan*. From the manuscripts of Ernest Fenollosa. London: Macmillan, 1916 [i.e., 1917].

Reprinted, with Yeats's introduction to *Certain Noble Plays* (BL11), as *The Classic Noh Theatre of Japan*. New York: New Directions, 1959. Reprint, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1977.

Reprints, sometimes with emendations, all of Pound's earlier-published work with

the nô—NISHIKIGI (8), commentary and plays from ‘The Classical Drama of Japan’ (13) and ‘The Classical Stage of Japan’ (17), KAGEKIYO (21a), AWOI NO UYE (22), and KAKITSUHATA (23)—and includes material not previously published. Despite later and more accurate translations, Kodama (A59, xi) is no doubt correct in writing that those collected here have been ‘the most widely read and influential’ versions of the nô in a European language; Miner’s 1958 assessment (in A25) is perhaps still the best summary: the work is ‘a poet’s translation’; Pound is ‘scholarly where he can be, but unfamiliar with the historical, literary, and linguistic contexts’ of the nô; he succeeds ‘as often as not’, and when he does the translations ‘are not infrequently superior to Waley’s’ (see D26), but ‘often’ he ‘fails’. Compelling recent critical work traces the importance of the nô through the Pound canon, particularly in *The Cantos* (see especially 108, 145, 157, 161, 165, 183, 186, 187, 191, 192, 202, and 204), but among writers familiar with the Japanese originals only Miyake (187, 191, and 192) does not find fault with at least some of the translations, stressing instead of lapses in accuracy the consistency of Pound’s inventiveness. For Pound’s own assessment of the work and the form see 12, 28, 59b, 59f, 76b, 76e, 77e-f, 83, 87; see *A Guide* (201) for notes for readers, glossaries of Japanese names and terms, transcriptions of many of the Fenollosa manuscripts from which Pound worked, and other related material; and see also A18, 24, 27, 47, 48, 56, 61, BE8, BJ18, BK27, 31, 38, 45b, 50, 51, 56, 59g-h, 61, 70a, 70c, 71, 72, 75, 77h, 81, 82b4, 82b14, 82e2, 82f, 82g2, 86c, 88, 89a, 90a-b, 92b, 93-96, 98, 101, 104, 105, 109, 110, 112, 113, 115, 117, 119, 125, 128, 131-134, 137, 141, 143, 144, 147, 149, 152-56, 167, 169, 171, 172, 174, 176c, 177-79, 181, 188, 193, 203, 205, BL11, 13, 14a-b, 15a, 17a, 33, 44b, 60, 64b, 74, 80, 81, 86, 88, 89, 93-95, 97, 107, 109, 116, 124, 129, 130, 140, 143, 161, 175, 176, 180, 191, 192, 201, 202, 212, 214, 219, 221, 225, 236, 244, CA10, CB1b-c, D3, 8, 10, 14, 15a, 17, 21-23, and 26b. Reprinted in Pound’s *Translations* (60).

a. ‘Technical Terms in Noh’. A brief explanation of the categories of *dramatis personae* in the nô.

b. CHORIO [CHÔRYÔ]. Pound’s version of this play about the Han Dynasty warrior Chôryô (Ch., Chang Liang) is fragmentary and largely in prose, though adequately captures the outline of the tale. Later reference to the work does not occur in the Pound canon. See Tsukui (167) for notes about inaccuracies in the translation. Pound’s manuscript of this work, GENJÔ (c), and TAKASAGO (88d) were submitted to *Poetry* in July 1915, with the understanding that they would be forwarded to *Drama* (see 17 and 23) if *Poetry* did not use them, but Alice Corbin Henderson apparently mislaid the manuscripts (see 88b and 198, xxiii). See also

17i.

c. GENJO [GENJŌ]. An official of the Fujiwara family, the most skilful lute (*biwa*) player in Japan, wishes to travel to China to study further, but is persuaded by the ghost of the Emperor Murakami that he must not neglect his public duties to pursue private ambitions. The title refers to one of three *biwa* brought to Japan from T'ang China in the ninth century. Pound's version is fragmentary and reference to the play does not recur in his canon. See Tsukui (167) for notes about inaccuracies of the translation, and see also 17g and i and 88b.

d. Appendix I, 'Synopses of Plots'. Summaries of the plays SHUNKWAN [SHUNKAN], KOI NO OMONI, KANAWA, and MATSUKAZE, the last of which is particularly weak, omitting important elements of the play.

e. Appendix II. Pound writes in these notes on *nô* music that 'many facts' about the *nô* in general 'might be extremely interesting if one had enough knowledge . . . and could tell where to fit them in'.

f. Appendix III, 'Care and Selection of Costumes'. Based on notes Fenollosa recorded in conversation with Umewaka Minoru.

g. Appendix IV. These notes about the music in HAGOROMO are omitted in all reprints.

25. IMPRESSIONS OF FRANÇOIS-MARIE AROUET (DE VOLTAIRE). *Poetry* 8 (September 1916): 278-79.

The first stanza includes one of few examples of Pound resorting to *japonaiserie* for detail, in the form here of 'white vases from Japan' that along with other details signify the wealth and decadence of Madame Arouet. Reprinted in the 1917 edition of *Lustra* (see 20).

26. 'Sword-Dance and Spear-Dance: Texts of the Poems Used With Michio Itow's

Dances. By Ezra Pound from Notes of Masirni Utchiyama'. *Future* (London) 1/2 (December 1916): 54-55.

Pound's little-known versions of five Japanese poems, the Japanese texts of which had been sung by Uchiyama to accompany dances Itô presented before a small audience at 'a Kensington studio theatre'. Like many of the poems of *Cathay* (15), Pound resorts in four of these to short imagistic lines and a first-person voice. The result is as striking as any of his short verse of the period, but the poems were not reprinted until 1991, in Baechler, Litz, and Longenbach (see p. 272 note c above). Longenbach (183) suggests that by publishing them in an 'obscure journal' and not having them reprinted Pound intended to emphasise 'the necessary exclusiveness of Itow's dancing'. The earliest known version of canto IV is typed on verso of

announcements for a similar Itô program, of 28 October and 2 and 9 November 1915 (see 79).

a. SONG FOR A FOILED VENDETTA. Imagistic lines in the first person about the lost opportunity of a samurai who has waited ten years to exact revenge on a rival.

b. THE SOLE SURVIVOR. The 'I' character alone has survived an ambush on a mountain path, and in the closing line 'drags his corpse to his native mountains'. Pound's explanation notes that the reference is to the suicide that 'honour demands', since the speaker 'shall not survive his companions' longer than it takes him to return to his own country.

c. IN ENEMIES' COUNTRY JUST AFTER WAR. A work that could serve as a primer for Pound's principles of Imagism, particularly the reliance on the image itself instead of explanation of it: 'Beneath the pale crust of the moon / My sleeves are drenched with dew. / Wind rushes against my face. I am cold. / I start aside from the . . . snake on the pathway, / Startled I draw my sword, / And slash at the old-pine-tree's shadow'. Pound notes that the translation 'might be clearer if one supplied the words, unnecessary in Japanese, "start aside from what appears to be the snake, and slash at what is really the shadow," but the essence of the Japanese consists in leaving out just this sort of long explanation'.

d. HONOJI. The speaker, 'deep in the ditch of resentment', describes his setting forth to exact revenge on Oda Nobunaga. Internal evidence suggests that the speaker is Oda's vassal Akechi Mitsuhide, whose betrayal led to Oda's suicide at Honnôji, the temple in Kyoto where Akechi launched his attack.

e. YAMADERA. A comic song about a Buddhist priest who plays football with a cat tied inside a paper bag. The title means simply 'mountain temple'.

27. Three Cantos. *Poetry* 10 (June 1917): 113-21; (July 1917): 180-88; (August 1917): 248-54.

Pound was at work on *The Cantos* by 1915 at the latest (see 70a) and these 'Ur-Cantos' were submitted to *Poetry* together in January 1917, along with a letter to Harriet Monroe allying the 'theme' of the long poem-in-progress with the nô play TAKASAGO (see 70c and 88, especially b). In Pound's recently discovered introduction to that play (88c) he emphasises the 'sense of past time in the present', and describes the 'flawless' construction of the work, the 'speech telling the names, the speech saying: we have arrived, the . . . hero's voice raised for the first time . . . [and] the . . . "flow-along tune"', structural elements he finds in stark contrast to 'occidental "dramatic construction"'. An attempt to trace these structures through these and later cantos would require more space than these

notes allow, but would not go unrewarded. By 1917 Pound himself had thrice allied a ‘unity of image’ or ‘emotion’ in the *nô* with the possibility of a ‘long Imagist poem’ (see 12 and 17f and 87), and one may see throughout these works evidence of what one critic has called the ‘spark’ that ‘flew between’ Pound’s major projects of 1915 and 1916, his work with the *nô* and his beginning of *The Cantos* (see 81e and 161). The most compelling conflation of themes and devices from the *nô* with the ‘Three Cantos’ is Longenbach’s, in the ‘Ghosts Patched with Histories’ chapter of *Stone Cottage* (183). Each of these cantos, Longenbach finds, has its own ‘rhythm of metaphor’ (Yeats’s phrase about the *nô* that parallels Pound’s understanding of its ‘unity of image’ [see BL11]), and each, like the *mugen nô*, is ‘organized around a place made sacred by myth and history’, where a speaker—the *waki* in the *nô* (see BL207), a Poundian persona here—encounters spirits of the dead allied to the place, and as ‘Pass each in his appropriate robes’ (III) they speak and are spoken to, the past coming alive in the mind of the present consciousness. This technique is as much a ‘metaphor for historical reconstruction’, Longenbach argues, as Browning’s use of the showman’s booth in *Sordello*, the work Pound explicitly contrasts with his own ‘visions’ (I) here, and may be allied with Yeats’s ontology, also partially derived from the *nô*, in *Per Amica Silentia Lunae* (BL13). This ‘visionary’ Pound calling forth spirits and conversing with them is largely edited out of later versions of cantos I-III, and is not prominent in those written in the following quarter century, but returns, like the angel of HAGOROMO, at Pisa (see 56) and thereafter. The ‘Three Cantos’ appear significantly revised in the 1918 American edition of *Lustra* (see 20), and are only partially incorporated in Pound’s major rewrite of the opening of the poem published in 1925 (35), the basis for *The Cantos* now taken to be the final versions. See also 8, 23, and 145. Richard Taylor’s *Variorum Edition of Three Cantos, A Prototype* (Bayreuth: Boomerang, 1991) provides a full tracing of textual variations.

a. I. The work opens with an introductory address to Browning, about the historical methodology of *Sordello*, before Pound turns to the key lines of the poem and an indication of his own methods, which Longenbach and others have equated to his work with the *nô*: ‘Ghosts move about me / Patched with histories’, a line cut from later versions of the beginning of *The Cantos*, but recalled three decades later at Pisa (see 56a). The ‘sacred place’ here is Sirmio during the Italian Renaissance, though voices appear as well from classical Rome, Egypt, China, and Greece, twelfth century Provence, and twentieth century England. The speaker ‘walk[s] the airy street’ in ‘one glorious blaze of all its lanes’ and ‘the place is full of spirits’, not ‘dark and shadowy ghosts, / But the ancient living . . . / . . . firm of aspect’, and

‘Gods’ who ‘float in the azure air, / . . . back before dew was shed’. The colours and sounds of Sirmio bind the work together and remind of the ‘unity of image’ Pound discovered in the *nô*, and in deciding which past with which to infuse his own present, Pound explicitly equates his persona with the angel of HAGOROMO (13*d*): ‘What’s left for me to do? / Whom shall I conjure up; who’s my Sordello, / . . . / Whom shall I hang my shimmering garment on / Who wear my feathery mantle, *hagoromo* . . . ?’ The sources of the work are many, but the *nô* must be counted among them, both in this explicit imagery and more importantly in the method for incorporating history and myth into the ‘long Imagiste poem’. The work includes also an extended reference to ‘Kwannon’ that Bush (145) and others find traceable to Pound’s version of TAMURA (17*i*).

b. II. The methodology Pound established for incorporating history and myth into his long poem in ‘Three Cantos’ I derives in part from the infusion of past into present in the *mugen nô*, and is followed through in II and III. The ‘sacred place’ here is the Dordogne Valley, where the Poundian persona comes upon a road ‘full of peoples, / Ancient in various days, long years between them’. Voices rise from distant past to contemporary present, and as in I an image from the *nô* occurs at a key turn. Between episodes relating tales of deception and cruelty—the occupation of Valencia by El Cid and the murder of Ignes de Castro by the courtiers of Afonso IV—the speaker recalls an image from the heroic age of Japan, and sets it in superposition (see 3 and 12) to what precedes and follows: ‘And Kumasaka’s ghost come back to tell / The honor of the youth who’d slain him’ (Minamoto no Yoshitsune). The reference from KUMASAKA (17*g*) sets spiritual nobility in counterpoint to the corruption of the Cid, the Portuguese court of Afonso, and, ultimately, to Odysseus himself. The image is lost in revision of canto II, but returns thirty years later at Pisa, contrasted in canto LXXIX to the ‘vulgarity’ of Odysseus’s attack on Ismarus (56*d*). See also the discussion of the *nô* ‘technique’ of the canto in Bush (145).

c. III. The canto continues with the methodology of I and II, and establishes explicitly that the Poundian persona in these cantos will ‘take the old way’ in visualising spirits of the past, as ‘Pass each in his appropriate robes’, though the voice ultimately becomes that of Homer, in the *Nekuia*, Odysseus setting forth to meet the ghost of Tiresius to learn the secrets of the past and of the future, a long passage that in only slightly revised form becomes canto I in the standard text of the poem.

28. ‘List of Books: Comment by Ezra Pound’. Review of *Certain Noble Plays of Japan* (21) and *Noh, or Accomplishment* (24). *Little Review*, August 1917, pp. 6-11. By this date Pound in both public and private was expressing reservations about

his work with the *nô* (see also 59e-f and 83). Here he suggests that the work is of value, and singles out in particular the climax of KAGEKIYO (see 21a), finding in it ‘a truly Homeric laughter’ and remarking that if he ‘had found nothing else in Fenollosa’s notes’ he ‘should have been well paid for the three years’ he devoted to the plays; but of his work with Fenollosa’s manuscripts he now believes that ‘the Japanese stuff has not the solidity . . . of Rihaku’ and ‘is not so important as the Chinese’.

29. *Pavannes and Divisions*. New York: Knopf, 1918.

Collects several of Pound’s earlier critical ‘sketches’, including ‘A Few Don’ts’ (2) and ‘Remy de Gourmont’ (19).

30. ‘Chinese Poetry’. *To-day* 3/14 (April 1918): 54-57; 3/15 (May 1918): 93-95.

Pound’s assertion at the beginning of part II that ‘Chinese poetry is full of fairies and fairy lore’ suggests a confusion of Chinese and Japanese sources to which Puette in particular calls attention, in arguing that the poetry of Japan is more central than that of China in Pound’s early work (see 139). Pound notes as well that this Chinese ‘lore’ is ‘quite Celtic’, but instead of a Chinese work cites a ‘tale in [the] Japanese play’ NISHIKIGI (8) in example. The ‘tale’ was ‘new’ to Pound himself, he writes, but ‘Mr. Yeats had come upon a similar story among the people of Aran’ (see especially *BL15b*). See Longenbach (183) for the best description of how this and similar Japanese ‘stories’ from the *nô* provided not only Yeats but also Pound with ideas about the universality of the ‘dreaming back’ of the dead, and evaluation of how this informs their work.

31. *The Fourth Canto*. London: Ovid, 1919.

Pound’s suggestion to Harriet Monroe that he would incorporate TAKASAGO (88d) into *The Cantos* (see 70c) becomes a reality here. The canto relates tales of betrayal and murder—the destruction of Troy, the rape of Philomela, Guillem de Cabestan’s heart on a dish, Actaeon torn to pieces by his own hounds—and set in contrast, in two brief lines, ‘The pine at Takasago / grows with the pine of Ise’ (57, p. 15), allusion to the work from the *nô* most exemplary of the purity and longevity of love. The pines in the canto are at Takasago and Ise and not, as in the play, at Takasago and Sumiyoshi. This is perhaps a misremembering by Pound—evidence exists that he did not retain a copy of his version of the play after posting it to Henderson in 1915 (see 88b)—but Miyake (191) argues that it is related to an intentional conflation of Isis with Kannon, who appears at Ise in the *nô* play TAMURA (17i). Whether Sumiyoshi or Ise, however, the image of the pines must be seen in counterpoint to the violence of the Greek and Provençal tales that surround it, representing an ideal of love, family, and the state, as in the play itself. In

addition to this controlling image, other sources in Japanese materials have been noted. Fang (102) was the first to point out that the Sô-Gyoku episode (pp. 15-16) must have come from Japanese sources, since the name is a Japanese reading of characters for the Chinese poet Sung Yü, whose work is incorporated into the canto. Edwards and Vasse (101) suggest that Pound's source for the lines is Waley, but the Sung Yü poem is among the Fenollosa manuscripts Pound received from Mary Fenollosa, and so surely that would have been his primary source. In addition, Terrell (158) finds the 'Tree of Visages' (p. 15) derived from a mistranslation of lines in TAKASAGO, and Shioji (200) suggests an influence in the canto from Pound's understanding of haiku. See particularly Baumann (115) and Bush (145) for cogent analysis of the importance of the introduction of TAKASAGO into the poem, and see also 38, 79, 151, and 203. Reprinted, with slight revisions, as canto IV in 35, 41, and 57.

32. 'The Chinese Written Character as a Medium for Poetry, "by Ernest Fenollosa and Ezra Pound"'. *Little Review* 6/5 (September 1919): 62-64; 6/6 (October 1919): 57-64; 6/7 (November 1919): 55-60; 6/8 (December 1919): 68-72.

An essay central to Pound's poetics and criticism but related directly to Japanese materials only by way of its derivation from the Fenollosa manuscripts. Outlines the 'ideogramic method'. Pound had been trying to place the work since early 1914 (see 77f). Reprinted with slight emendations as 'An Essay on the Chinese Written Character, by Ernest Fenollosa', in *Instigations* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1920), and as *The Chinese Written Character as a Medium for Poetry, by Ernest Fenollosa: An Ars Poetica* 'With a Foreword and Notes by Ezra Pound' (London: Nott, 1936). See also A48, 54, BD152, BE5, 13, BH13, BI10, 16, BK40, 44, 45, 59e, 102, 117, CB1b, and D10.

33. MAUBERLEY. In *Hugh Selwyn Mauberley*. London: Ovid, 1920.

Miner (A25, pp. 112-23) finds Pound relying on his hokku-derived 'form of superposition' (see 3 and 12) in increasingly complex ways throughout his career, even in longer poems, such as at the end of the second section here, where a closing quatrain—'Mouths biting empty air, / The still stone dogs, / Caught in metamorphosis, were / Left him as epilogues'—is according to Miner 'set off from the rest of the poem to act as a coherent summary for Mauberley's fate'.

34. 'The Seventh Canto'. *Dial* 71 (August 1921): 205-08.

Stoicheff (202) traces the 'Thin husks I had known as men, / Dry casques of departed locusts' (57, p. 26) to lines from Pound's version of KAKITSUBATA (23), in which the title character refers to her own apparition as 'the cracked husk of the locust'. The understated allusion is in keeping with the elegiac tone and

memories of loss, both historical and personal, that make up much of the canto. Pound returns to understated references to KAKITSUBATA many years later at the end of *The Cantos* (see 72). Reprinted in subsequent collections, 35, 41, and 57, as canto VII.

35. *A Draft of XVI Cantos of Ezra Pound for the Beginning of a Poem of Some Length.*

Paris: Three Mountains, 1925.

The publication that with minor exceptions establishes the versions of the early *Cantos* in the form in which they are now known. Cantos I-III are almost wholly rewritten. Longenbach (183) suggests that the major difference between the 'Three Cantos' (27) and I-III here is that the 'visionary' Pound has been edited out, though canto I retains from 'Three Cantos' III Odysseus's journey to the ghost of Tiresius to learn the secrets of the past and the future. Reprints, with slight emendations, cantos IV and VII. Reprinted, with slight emendations, in 41 and 57.

a. II. Lines about 'So-shu' following the brief invocation to Browning have stirred a considerable controversy among Pound scholars, and may or may not be derived from Japanese sources. See 102, 150, 151, 159, and 173. Much of the canto as it appears here and in the standard text (57) appeared first as canto VIII in *Dial* 72 (1922): 505-09.

b. III and XI. See 36. Canto XI first appeared in slightly different form as canto XII in *Criterion* 1 (1923).

36. 'Canto XVII'. *This Quarter* (Paris) 1/2 (Autumn-Winter 1925-26): 5-7.

Miner's tracing of Pound's continued development of the hokku-derived 'form of super-position' (A25, pp. 112-23, see 12) extends even to 'many . . . instances' in *The Cantos*, where, 'generally speaking, he uses the technique . . . in two ways, either as a striking ending to a canto, or, more frequently, within a canto to express intensely in an image what has gone before or directly follows' (p. 120). The first example Miner cites is here, where super-position 'appears both within the Canto . . . and, more strikingly, at its end', in the closing image of 'Sunset like a grasshopper flying' (57, p. 79) super-posed against all that has come before. According to Miner, Pound uses the technique 'most freely' in the first thirty cantos and *The Pisan Cantos* (56), and in addition to XVII Miner mentions specifically cantos III and XXI, and offers other examples from XI, XXVI, XXIX, LXXVII, LXXX, and LXXXIII. Canto XVII first appears in book publication in 38, and is reprinted in 41 and 57.

37. *Personae: The Collected Poems of Ezra Pound*. New York: Boni and Liveright, 1926.

Enlarged as *Personae: Collected Shorter Poems of Ezra Pound*. London: Faber & Faber, 1952. Enlarged ed, 1968. Reprint, New York: New Directions, 1971.

These editions of the poems Pound wished to keep in print include reprints of work noted above from the first edition of *Lustra* (20) and *Cathay* (15), though nothing from *The Cantos*.

38. *A Draft of the Cantos 17-27*. London: Rodker, 1928.

Reprints with slight emendations canto XVII (36). Reprinted in 41 and 57.

a. XXI. In *The Cantos* Pound tends to turn to images from the *nô* in passages of intense lyricism. The poem ebbs and flows with the lyrical and the discursive, as in XVII-XXI, where celebrations of Dionysus and visions of earthly paradise (XVII and XX) are alternated with explorations of fraud and the issuance and control of money (XVIII and XIX). XXI is largely discursive, focusing on the rise of the Medici and Thomas Jefferson's patronage of the arts, but turns in fifty closing lines to a difficult and highly allusive lyricism that includes lines echoing the invocation of the pines of Takasago and of Ise in canto IV (31):

And the old man sweeping leaves:
 "Damned to you Midas, Midas lacking a Pan!"
 And now in the valley,
 Valley under the day's edge:
 "Grow with the Pines of Ise;
 "As the Nile swells with Inopos.
 "As the Nile falls with Inopos."

 In the crisp air,
 the discontinuous gods;
 Pallas, young owl in the cup of her hand,
 And, by night, the stag runs, and the leopard,
 Owl-eyed amid pine boughs (57, p. 99).

Full exegesis would require a lengthy essay, but brief notes may help. As in IV Pound either confuses or conflates the pines of Ise with those of Sumiyoshi; that he has in mind the connection between the twin pines of TAKASAGO (88d) is clear from the subject rhyme with the Inopos, a river believed in the classical world to be connected with the Nile, rising and swelling at the same time, though like the pines of the play separated by great distance. The old man is a triple subject rhyme, recalling the man/god Silenus from the Greek tale of Midas, the old man/god of Baucis and Philemon, and the old man/deity-of-the-pine-of-Sumiyoshi first met sweeping under the pines of TAKASAGO. The immediate contrast is to 'Midas lacking Pan', a stark image of the horror of a life devoted to seeking gold without intervention by spirit: it was Pan who freed Midas from the curse of the golden touch. Pallas Athena, goddess of wisdom, is associated here and in classical imagery with the owl, and the transformation to the 'Owl-eyed [leopard] amid pine boughs' returns the series of images to the pines of Ise and Takasago, as in canto IV

set in contrast with corruption of spirit, enhanced here by conflation with Greek and Roman gods incarnate and by association with Pallas Athena. See also 36.

b. XXVI. See 36.

39. *Selected Poems*. Edited and introduced by T. S. Eliot. London: Faber and Gwyer, 1928. Reprint, 1959.

Reprints all work pertinent here from *Cathay* (15) and the first edition of *Lustra* (20).

40. 'How to Read, or Why'. *New York Herald Tribune Books* 5/17 (13 January 1929): 1, 6; 5/18 (20 January 1929): 5-6; 5/19 (27 January 1929): 5-6.

By 1929 Pound's enthusiasm for 'things Japanese', including the *nô*, had faded (see also 59e-f and 83). In this work designed to provide a 'minimum basis for a sound and liberal education in letters', he lists Confucius first among major writers, finds that 'Fenollosa's essay on the Chinese written character [32] opens a door that . . . earlier students had . . . been unable to open', and hopes for 'a few of the best Chinese works [to be] printed bilingually, in the form that Mori [Kainan] and Ariga [Nagao] prepared certain texts for Fenollosa' (see 15), but does not mention a work of Japanese literature. By 1938 Pound's enthusiasm for the *nô* had returned (see 45b), and stayed with him. Reprinted as *How to Read* (London: Harmondsworth, 1931) and in *Polite Essays* (London: Faber & Faber, 1937).

41. *A Draft of XXX Cantos*. Paris: Hours, 1930. Reprint, New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1933.

Reprints, sometimes with slight emendations, cantos II (35a), III (35b), IV (31), VII (34), XI (35b), XVII (35b), XXI (36), and XXVI (see 36). Reprinted in 57.

a. XXIX. See 36.

42. *The ABC of Reading*. London: Routledge, 1934. Reprint, New York: New Directions, 1960.

In a section on the importance of condensation of traditions as well as of individual texts, Pound draws an example from Japan: 'a Japanese emperor whose name I have forgotten and whose name you needn't remember, found that there were TOO MANY NOH PLAYS, he picked out 450 and the stage LASTED from 1400 or whenever right down till the day the American navy intruded, and that didn't stop it. Umewaka Minoru started again as soon as the revolution wore off. . . ' (p. 92). Tsukui (167) notes that 'the first half of this passage is not based on any recorded history . . . although the last half is generally correct'.

43. 'Canto XLIX'. In *The Fifth Decad of Cantos*. London: Faber & Faber, 1937.

The so-called 'Seven Lakes Canto', the 'still centre of *The Cantos*', derives from three sources, all related to Japan. The opening 32 lines (57, pp. 244-45) are

drawn from a manuscript Pound received from his father, consisting of eight poems in Chinese and Japanese and corresponding sumie of eight famous scenes known in Japanese as *Shôshô hakkei*, eight scenes depicting the lakes and hills around the river Hsiao-hsiang (Jpn.: Shôshô) in Central China. The Japanese poems are written in the same hand, the Chinese in different calligraphies, though even these, according to Kodama (59), are in a 'pseudo-Chinese style' recognisably Japanese. Stylistic evidence suggests the manuscript to be of seventeenth-century origin, or a later copy of a manuscript from that period. On the cover of the manuscript is written in Pound's hand 'Source of 7 Lakes Canto'. Kodama was the first to show that the manuscript poems are identical to those published by Sasaki Genryû in Kyoto in 1683 (see 59, pp. 107, 227 n. 88), and Kodama's account of Pound's help with the material and his use of it remains the most exacting (see pp. 105-15). For facsimile reproduction of parts of the manuscript, Kodama's English translation of the poems, and collation of the canto with the manuscript, see Pearlman (121, Appendix B). Following a four-line interlude the canto incorporates two Chinese poems, both among the manuscripts Pound inherited from Fenollosa, which explains the Japanese transliteration of the first (KEI MEN RAN KEI [57, p. 245]), 'a hymn to the ideal polity under an ideal king' (59, p. 117). The final adaptation of Chinese verse from Japanese sources ('Sun up; work' [57, p. 245]) likewise depicts an ideal society, and bound together in the canto the lines represent a pastoral Confucian ideal set in contrast to the usuries and outrages of spirit depicted in cantos leading to this quiet break. See especially Kodama, Pearlman, Kenner (136), and Palandri (138) for further description and analysis of Pound's use of the sources, and see also 102 and 148.

44. 'D'Artagnan Twenty Years After'. *Criterion* 16 (1937): 606-17.

In his assessment of the 'intellectual world of our time', Pound asserts that 'the apt use of metaphor' is the true hall-mark of genius', and draws a perceptive example from the hokku, extending his understanding of the 'form of superposition' of nearly a quarter century earlier (see 12), and connecting the Japanese form finally with a movement toward ideogramic method (see 32): 'If *le style c'est l'homme*, the writer's blood test is his swift contraposition of objects. Most hokkus are bilateral. "The foot-steps of the cat upon / The snow: / Plum blossoms." May seem to the careless peruser to be only bilateral, two visual images; but they are so placed as to contain wide space and a stretch of colour between them. The third element is there, its dimension from the fruit to the shadow in the foot-prints. No moral but a mood caught in its pincers. "The waves rise / And the waves fall but you / (this is a hero's monument in Nippon) / are like the moonlight: always

there.” Another dimension. From dead thesis, metaphor is distinct. Any thesis is dead in itself. Life comes in metaphor and metaphor starts TOWARD ideogram.’

Reprinted in 73.

45. *Guide to Kulchur*. 1938. Reprint, New York: New Directions, 1970.

Pound’s application of the ideogramic method (see 32) to a definition of culture and civilisation turns often to his perception of a need in the West for an infusion of knowledge of East Asian tradition. Chinese tradition, especially as reprinted in Confucius (‘Kung’), is central, but Japanese subjects appear frequently as well.

Includes reference to Sadakichi Hartmann (pp. 309-10; see *D12*).

a. ‘Tradition, I’. Pound’s ‘ideogramic’ definition of ‘CIVILIZATION’ begins with reference to the “‘Listening to Incense’” of ‘the Imperial Court of Nippon’: the ‘companions . . . burnt now one perfume, and now another, or a mixture of perfumes, and the accomplishment was both to recognize what had gone materially into the perfume and to cite apposite poems’; the ‘interest’ in this activity, Pound writes, ‘is in the blend of perception and of association . . . a pastime neither for clods nor for illiterates’. Miner (*A25*) notes that Pound’s understanding derives from a confusion of homonymous Japanese verbs *kiku* (to listen, and, as of medicine, to work or to effect a remedy), and Meredith (*A26*) calls the misunderstanding ‘illiteracy of a very high order’, but the mistake is traceable to Brinkley (in *D14*), whom Pound cites in an earlier reference to the point (see *17b*). Davis (*119*) argues that Pound’s understanding of ‘listening to incense’ is a source of structure in *The Cantos*. See also *17b* and *77g*.

b. ‘Tradition, II’. Contrary to Pound’s assertion to Quinn twenty years earlier that the *nô* is ‘too damn soft’ (see *59f*), here he finds that ‘the whole civilization reflected in *Noh* is a high civilization’, not merely ‘painting on silk or nuances’, for in KUMASAKA (*17g*) ‘the ghost . . . returns not from a grudge and not to gain anything’, but ‘to state clearly that the . . . young man who had killed him had not done so by a fluke or a slip’, and in KAGEKIYO (*21a*), as well, one finds a ‘Homeric robustness’. This understanding of the dignity of Kumasaka and Kagekiyo returns to Pound at Pisa, in cantos LXXIV and LXXIX (*56a* and *d*), associated in the first instance with the nobility of understanding the strength of an adversary, contrasted in the second with European deceitfulness and ‘vulgarity’.

c. ‘March 12th’. ‘A civilized man is one who gives a serious answer to a serious question’, Pound begins, and ‘the VOU club [see 46] supplies . . . such an answer’ not only to Pound’s ‘particular question’ about the activities of ‘young Japan’ but also ‘to half dozen others whereon a deal of occidental ink has vainly flowed’. The chapter proceeds in large part with Pound’s quotation of

correspondence from Kitasono, about the ‘formation of poetry’ and ‘relation between imagery and ideoplasty’, which Pound equates with the poetics of William Carlos Williams and the ‘sculptural principles’ of Gaudier[-Brzeska]. See also p. 180 for further conflation of the ‘aesthetic’ of Williams with Kitasono’s poetics, and p. 242 for Pound’s note that while he spent eight years ‘demanding a proper English edtn. of Frobenius’, Kitasono ‘has an article on Paideuma in *VOU* within the minimum of time after receiving the volume’; see Sullivan (124) for an argument that Kitasono’s theories as outlined here are central to Pound’s poetics.

d. ‘Savoir Faire’. Includes a plea for bilingual editions of ‘the best hundred books in ideogram’, which Pound hopes ‘Tokio’ might provide us (in the West) before we ‘are many more decades dead, older, stupider and void of perception’. Specific works Pound mentions are mainly from the Chinese classics, but the editions would include as well ‘a few dozen Noh dramas’ (p. 147). See 48, 49, 51, and 76*d* for Pound’s continued insistence on the importance of the point.

e. ‘The Culture of an Age’. The point made is that ‘the foreign eye’ may see what the native eye misses, and a case in point is Itô, who ‘after he had seen Umewaka Minoru’s photo on [Pound’s] mantle shelf’, ‘opened up’, so that ‘there were no barriers of race or distance’. See also 82*c1*.

f. ‘Kung’. Pound’s discussion of ‘THE LESSON of Chinese history’ revolves around accusations that Europe has misunderstood and not properly tried to understand East Asia, and includes admission that ‘to separate what is Chinese and what Japanese needs more knowledge’ than Pound has or is ‘ever likely to come by’, for ‘we [in the West] are in a thick fog of ignorance’ about both civilisations. Examples of the point are drawn from a supposed ‘pre-Confucian’ practice of *seppuku*, the ritual suicide associated with the samurai, in China, and from ‘Japanese poets imitating Chinese as Europeans in the seicento wrote latin’. Pound repeats the latter point in correspondence with Kitasono and in the *Japan Times* two years later (see 53, 82*b6*, and also 76*b*).

46. ‘Vou Club’. *Townsman* 1 (1938): 4.

The Vou Club, apparently named after the English word ‘vow’, was organised in 1935 by the circle of poets associated with Kitasono and shortly thereafter his journal, *VOU* (see D29). Pound’s discussion of the club here includes the suggestion that ‘it may be from now on that any man who wants to write English poetry will have to start reading Japanese’, for ‘all the moss for twenty years we have been trying to scrape off our language—these young men start without it’; Pound ‘know[s] that nowhere in Europe is there any such vortex of poetic alertness’, for ‘Tokio takes over, where Paris stopped’. Precedes ‘Notes’ by

Kitasono and poems by Vou Club poets. Reprinted, along with Kitasono's 'Notes', in 82.

47. 'Orientamenti' (in Italian). *Broletto* 3 (1938): 20-21.

Pound is aware of Japanese militarism, but praises the country for being in an auspicious new cycle that he believes will result in coordination and cooperation between the Japanese and the Chinese.

48. 'Chinese Literature'. Letter to the editor. *New English Weekly* 14/10 (15 December 1938): 163.

From early in 1938 through the early years of the World War Pound was preoccupied with the idea that Europe and America to their own detriment had ignored East Asian civilisation, and might benefit immensely from bilingual editions of Chinese and Japanese classics (see 38d). Here he suggests that there are not ten men in the occident who know enough ideogram to choose the "Hundred best Chinese and Japanese works", but that this 'is no reason for not starting on 30 or 40 certainties'. He suggests that American and British universities, Oxford, Cambridge and the London School of Oriental Studies among them, 'will either oppose or do nothing whatever to further such editions', but 'the VOU club in Tokio is already alive to this prospect' (see 46 and D29), and 'all forms of printed encouragement' should be sent to Kat[s]ue Kitasono.

49. 'Trilingual System Proposed for World Communications: Noted Scholar of Noh Suggests Bilingual or Trilingual Edition of Hundred Best Books on Japanese Literature'. *Japan Times and Mail*, 15 May 1939, p. 4.

By this date Pound was cut off from most outlets for English publication (see 82b7 and 9) and had made arrangements with Kitasono to have his work appear in this English-language newspaper in Tokyo. Much of his writing for that publication does not directly concern Japan, though here he makes 'three proposals' to the *Kokusai bunka shinkôkai*, the 'Society for International Culture': first, he 'respectfully ask[s] for a bilingual or trilingual edition of the hundred best books of Japanese and ideogramic literature'; second, he calls for 'the whole of Noh' to be filmed or 'registered on sound-track', for the Japanese 'have there a treasure like nothing we have in the Occident'; third, he proposes 'a trilingual system for world communications', for 'none of the schemes for . . . universal languages is at all satisfactory', and the 'greatest practical . . . simplification would be a triple system: Ideogram, with the Japanese sound (syllabic) comment, Italian, and English'. Pound had first proposed a set of bilingual 'ideogram' and English editions of Chinese and Japanese classics in 1938, and he remained preoccupied with the idea through the early war years (see 45d), though even that

preoccupation became overshadowed by a second, the importance of a set of films of the nô canon. On his last pre-war trip to America, Pound visited the Japanese Section of Library of Congress to propose the edition of bilingual East Asian classics, and was shown there a film of AOI NO UE (see 51, 82b4, and 134). By late 1939 he was insisting the whole of the nô be filmed, and soliciting the aid of the film curator at the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art (see 82e2); and by 1941 he was proposing seriously on Radio Rome and in a letter to the Japanese Ambassador to Italy that the United States should, and might, trade Guam for the set of films (76e and 82d, and see also 82b14). *Ezra Pound and Japan* (82) reprints all of Pound's articles for the *Japan Times* organisation (see 50, 51 and 53-55 for others pertinent here), and includes details of his appointment as 'Italian Correspondent' to the paper.

50. 'Death of Yeats: End of Irish Literary Revival, Says Pound, Noh Enthusiast'. *Japan Times and Mail*, 5 June 1939, p. 3.

Includes comment about Yeats's 'Japanese interlude or flirtation': Japanese readers 'have a "link" with Dublin in those plays of Yeats which were directly stimulated by Fenollosa's reports and translations of Noh', Pound writes, remembering an occasion ^{on which} ~~that~~ Yeats called the nô 'the form I have been searching for all my life'. Pound notes as well that 'at one time [Yeats] thought he would be called to a Japanese professorship and did . . . receive some sort of invitation' (see BL48i). See also 49. Reprinted in 82.

51. 'Study of Noh Continues in West: Pound Outlines New Approach to Drama Using New Media'. *Japan Times and Mail*, 10 December 1939, p. 8.

Pound writes that the 'work initiated by . . . Fenollosa for better comprehension of East and West is by no means ended', and so 'we in the West want an adequate edition of the Noh in two or more languages . . . an edition with the ideogramic text on one page . . . to convey the calligraphic beauty and the essentially intranslatable values of ideograms themselves' (see 45d). He mentions further that Yeats 'was at once enkindled by the imperfect versions' of nô Pound had made from Fenollosa's notes, and that while he had recently been in America Pound had seen a film version of AOI NO UE (22) at the Library of Congress, for notes about which see 49. Reprinted in 82.

52. *Cantos LII-LXXI*. London: Faber & Faber, 1940.

Two of the most sustained honorific passages in *The Cantos* occur here, in the so-called 'Chinese History Cantos' (LIII-LXI) and the 'John Adams Cantos' (LXII-LXXI), the former of which relies extensively on de Mailla's eighteenth century *Histoire Générale de la Chine* (D1b), which includes long passages about Japan,

some of which Pound incorporates. Nolde's analysis (166) of Pound's use of this source is particularly thorough. Critics have demonstrated as well a source in a French translation of *Nippon odai ichiran* (Annals of the Emperors of Japan, *D1c*), though several who have called attention to this work have been mistaken, as was Pound himself (see 82b4), in assertions that the translator was Klaproth, who was editor of the translation by Isaak Titsingh. A third source for the Japanese history material would have been a French translation of J. G. Scheuchzer's English translation of Kaempfer (see *D1a*), though no critic has yet analysed the degree to which Pound relies on that work.

a. LVI. Kimpel and Eaves (162) demonstrate that the source of lines 65-73 (57, pp. 302-03) is the Klaproth edition of Titsingh's translation of *Nippon odai ichiran*; the canto also addresses Kublai Khan's failed attempts to subdue Japan in 1274 and 1281, Pound's knowledge of which would have come from de Mailla.

b. LVII. Closes with reference to the sixteenth-century Japanese pirate attacks against the Ming empire, lines derived from de Mailla. See Nolde, pp. 321-22, for details of Pound's adaptation of the source.

c. LVIII. In the service of his larger aim of relating the history of China, Pound begins here with a condensed history of Japan, from the legendary seventh-century B.C. reign of the first Emperor Jimmu to Toyotomi Hideyoshi's edicts against Christianity and late sixteenth-century raids on Korea, with attention focused particularly on belief in the divine origins of the Japanese throne. The passage includes an assertion not found in Pound's sources but in keeping with his enterprise in these middle cantos: that the court in Kyoto, upholder of the 'sciences, poetry, history [and] dancing', fell into decline because it 'ran into debt to keep up appearances' (p. 316). This Poundian commentary aside, the sources are Klaproth and de Mailla. Several commentators have provided notes about the non-standard nomenclature of the passage: 'Sinbu' is a reference to Jimmu, the first legendary Emperor of Japan; 'Sun land' is Japan, from the first kanji in 'Nippon'; 'DAI' is from Japanese pronunciation of the kanji meaning 'great'; Joritomo refers to Minamoto Yoritomo (see *BJ4i*); Miaco is present-day Kyoto, from Miako, 'capital'; Ten Seo DAISIN is a corruption of a Chinese reading for the kanji referring to Amaterasu ōmikami, the Japanese sun-goddess from whom the imperial family is said to descend; 'Messire Undertree' refers to Hideyoshi, from a loose English translation of the kanji for 'Toyotomi'; 'Sa Mo' is Satsuma, the region of Hideyoshi's birth, from a Chinese transliteration of the kanji.

53. 'Ezra Pound Asks Scholars Here to Solve Issues: Japanese Intellectuals Can

Discuss Them with Calm without Political Influence'. *Japan Times and Mail*, 4 March 1940, pp. 6-7.

In 1939 and 1940 Pound was intermittently preoccupied with establishing for himself and for his readers a clear distinction between the cultures of Japan and China, and with the idea that much of the best of China had been 'preserved' in Japan (see 45f, 76b, and 82b6). Here, following notes about Fenollosa's project of 'telling the Occident that Japan is not merely an inferior form of China', he contends that Japan has 'continued to preserve some of the best Chinese skills and customs when China has fallen into her decadence'. Regarding what is specifically Japanese, he turns to KUMASAKA (17g) and KAGEKIYO (21a). In the former, 'the ghost . . . carries admiration to every western romantic', for 'the gist of what three or more races have meant by chivalry, *Ritterschaft*, and *bushido* finds concentrated form in that Noh drama', and KAGEKIYO 'contains the one Homeric passage in such part of the Noh as remains in the Fenollosa manuscript'. In advising Japanese intellectuals how they might best communicate with 'Occidentals', Pound suggests that they may 'use Confucius and Mencius . . . to better advantage than . . . Buddhism', though he hastens to add that he does not mean to detract from 'the virtues of Zen', about which he knows 'very little'. Includes reference to Kume and Kitasono. See also 49. Reprinted as 'From Rapallo: An Ezra Pound Letter [5]' in 82.

54. 'From Rappallo [*sic*]: An Ezra Pound Letter'. *Japan Times Weekly* 5/16 (1940): 590-91.

Includes passing reference to Kitasono and to Fenollosa's understanding of Japanese poetry. See also 49. Reprinted as 'From Rapallo: An Ezra Pound Letter [6]' in 82.

55. 'From Rapallo: An Ezra Pound Letter'. *Japan Times and Mail*, 12 August 1940, p. 8. Pound discusses a possible fusion of 'Oriental and Occidental cultures', calls *VOU* (see 46) 'the liveliest magazine of young letters in the world', and notes the sources and limitations of his knowledge of Japan: 'What I really know of Japan I have got from Fenollosa's notes on the Noh and from a handful of "very much over-civilized" young men to whom the Noh was familiar. I cannot suppose this to be a "working knowledge" but I believe it to be a much more "real" knowledge than I should have got by starting at the "practical end" and omitting the fragments vouch-safed to me.' The 'civilized young men' to whom Pound refers would have included Kume and Itô. See also 49. Reprinted as 'From Rapallo: An Ezra Pound Letter [9]' in 82.

56. *The Pisan Cantos*. New York: Laughlin, 1948.

The Cantos change here, at the U. S. Army Disciplinary Training Center at Pisa

(DTC); Pound^{was} charged with treason, incarcerated by U. S. authorities, and under threat of execution. The methods return to the ‘old ways’ of ‘Three Cantos’ (see 27), and as the ghosts and other supernatural presences re-emerge and crowd around the ‘man on whom the sun has gone down’ (57, p. 450), those from Japan, recalled out of the air of Pisa after three decades, assume a new importance in the poem. See also 36, 72, 97, 140, 147, 171, 191, and 206. Reprinted in 57.

a. LXXIV. The first of *The Pisan Cantos* is lyrical and elegiac, intermingling history and myth with intensely personal recollection. For the first time since ‘Three Cantos’, and to an even greater extent than is true there, Pound himself is at the centre, encountering and calling forth in internal monologue presences from his own and our collective past. The methodological shift is underlined by reintroduction into the poem of lines from ‘Three Cantos’ I: ‘Ghosts move about me / Patched with histories’ (p. 466). These had provided a shorthand summary of the methods of the earliest cantos, the Poundian persona like the *waki* of the *mugen nô* venturing forth to the ‘sacred places’ to converse with the spirits of the dead (see, especially, 183), but in the 1925 rewrite (35) the ‘visionary’ Pound had been edited out, and with him the lines that had summarised the method. The ‘sacred place’ here is T’ai Shan, first among the holy peaks of China, considered the source of life and the place to which the souls of the dead return for judgement, called forth at Pisa from its double, a mountain visible on the horizon from the DTC—‘from the death cells in sight of Mt. Taishan @ Pisa’—as Pound had earlier seen ‘Fujiyama at Gardone’ (57, p. 447, and see *b*), the sacred mountain of Japan rising above the town on Lake Garda where Mussolini fled after the fall of Rome. Among the supernatural presences manifest is ‘Kuanon of all delights’ (p. 448), Buddhist goddess of mercy, Pound’s knowledge of whom Bush (145) and others trace to the *nô* TAMURA (17*i*), and who is conflated later in the canto with Venus-Aphrodite (p. 463). From the *nô* itself, the ‘nymph of the HAGOROMO [13*d*]’ appears ‘as a corona of angels / [as] one day . . . clouds banked on Taishan / . . . in glory of sunset / and tovarish blessed without aim / wept in the rainditch at evening’ (p. 450); Pound remembers from KAGEKIYO the words the old man recalls from his youth, “‘how stiff the shaft of your neck is’”, and that Kagekiyo and his Minamoto adversary ‘went off each his own way’ (p. 462; see 21*a*), lines elsewhere Pound associates with the ‘Homeric’ (see 28, 45*b*, 53, 59*e*, and 76*e*); he recalls from KUMASAKA the nobility of the ‘shade’ of Kumasaka, “‘a better fencer than I was’” (p. 462), a line not in Pound’s version of the play, but echoing the occasion for the work that Pound believed central (see 17*g*) and returned to in honorific terms again and again (see 27*b*, 45*b*, 76*e*, and 82*b*14); in a key passage appears SUMA GENJI (17*e*),

set alongside Kannon and Venus-Aphrodite, called forth ‘in the name of [the] god’ of the ‘wine of the Castelli’ to aid Odysseus/Pound on his journey to the underworld, the voices of the shades Tiro and Alcmene swirling in the sea breezes blowing across the DTC. The collective effect of these presences from the *nô* should not be overstated. None are determinative—that role would have to be reserved for Dionysus and the other gods of Eleusis—but rather each is a luminous thread in a web of association as rich as any in English—cultures, languages, and millennia transversed from one half-line to the next. The presences called forth here, Egyptian, Greek, Chinese, Japanese, Roman, and Italian, are visions from what Yeats had called the *Anima Mundi* in *Per Amica Silentia Lunae* (BL13), the ‘vast luminous sea’ of spirit, invoked to see both the speaker and the spoken through the collective tragedy. In addition to references to the *nô*, the canto includes as well allusion to a ‘tanka entitled the shadow’ (p. 459), which according to Terrell (158) refers to a work by Kitasono. For commentary on Japanese subjects in the canto see especially Baumann (115) and Miyake (187, 191, and 192), and see also 179.

b. LXXVI. Continues in like manner to LXXIV, as in opening lines Apollo, ‘hidden in cloud bank[,] / [lights] saffron the cloud ridge / dove sta memora’, ‘where memory lives’, and Alcmene, tree spirits, Dirce, and the mistresses of Sigismundo and Cavalcanti ‘in the timeless air / . . . suddenly stand’ in Pound’s room. The methodology may be traced in part to the *mugen nô*, but of supernatural presences manifest none are from Japanese tradition. ‘Sirmio / with Fujiyama above it’ (p. 478): see Kenner (128, p. 469) and *a* above (Sirmio, the modern Saló, is near Gardone on Lake Garda). ‘Tami’s dream’ (p. 482): reference to a lost painting by Kume that had hung in Olga Rudge’s Venice apartment before the war, described and placed in context by Mary de Rachewiltz in 129. See Kenner (97, 62-64) for perceptive notes about ‘hokku’ in this canto in particular and *The Pisan Cantos* in general.

c. LXXVII. Pound remains ‘under Taishan’ (p. 495; see *a* above), and images from the Disciplinary Training Center co-mingle with apparitions from the spirit world, including Kannon, made manifest to ‘we who have passed over Lethe’ (p. 492), and on a rainy night the *hannya* of Aoi, the demonic spirit of jealousy in AOI NO UE (22), who ‘plays hob in the tent flaps’ (p. 485) and is echoed later on the page by ‘Il Scirocco è geloso’, the jealousy of the South Wind. Images of ceremonial dancing recur here, and so recollection of Itô (p. 489) is not out of place. That he ‘lack[ed] the gasometer penny’ and said “‘Do you speak German?’” // to [Prime Minister] Asquith, in 1914’ is explained by Itô himself in his autobiography (see BL93, and BL178 for English translation of the pertinent passage), and this and

following lines about and spoken by Itô, including a cryptic reference to rehearsals for Yeats's AT THE HAWK'S WELL (*BL12*), are glossed by Terrell (158). The final quotation from Itô, 'Jap'nese dance all time overcoat', is recalled by Pound in a 1940 letter to Kitasono (see 59, p. 335 or 82, p. 84). 'Daimio's "tailor bill"' (p. 486): according to Terrell, citing Reno Odlin from an unnamed source, the 'daimio' is a reference to Kume.

d. LXXIX. The invocatory verse continues in an appeal to Iacchos (p. 510), the mystical name of Dionysus, via his sacred vehicle, the lynx (pp. 507-12), and again allusions to the nô establish important contrasts between divine grace and deceit, nobility and 'vulgarity': 'Greek rascality against Hagoromo [*13d*] / Kumasaka [*17g*] vs/ vulgarity / no sooner out of Troas / than the damn fools attacked Ismarus of the Cicones' (p. 505). The immediate reference is to the unprovoked Greek attack on the Ciconians soon after Odysseus left Troy, resulting in damnation by the gods and a ten-year delay in the journey, but a sub-theme echoing throughout the canto is the barbarity of the makers of the war recently ended, and so the contrast echoes forward through the centuries. For Pound, the angel of HAGOROMO represents a 'sacrament' (*82c2*) and a divine incarnation purely benevolent (see *27a*, *56a* and *e*, *66a*, and *85*), the title character of KUMASAKA nobility, honour, and 'the 'gist' of what is meant by 'chivalry' (see *27b*, *45b*, *53*, *56a*, and *73b*). Some critics have seen the 'AOI' following the invocation of Iacchos (p. 510) here and in LXXXI as a calling forth of the spirit of Aoi-no-Ue (see 22), but this is unlikely, for the title of Pound's version of the work in which Aoi appears employs a pre-Hepburn transcription of her name, Awoi, by which Pound refers to her in LXXVII. More likely, as several guides point out, this is the 'Aoi' of the *Chanson de Roland*, probably meaning 'Hail!', a reading consistent with the invocation of Iacchos. See especially Baumann (115) for commentary about implications of the allusions to the nô.

e. LXXX. In *The Pisan Cantos*, among the spirits of the nô the celestial dancer/moon spirit of HAGOROMO (*13d*) is central, appearing in LXXIV as a 'corona of angels' in the clouds above 'Taishan' to bless the inhabitants of the DTC, set in contrast in LXXIX with corruption and deceit, and invoked here in lines Pound recalls from the version of the play he had published thirty-four years earlier: "'With us there is no deceit" / said the moon nymph immacolata [immaculate] / Give back my cloak, *hagoromo*' (p. 520). The reference is quick but sure, an example of the associational sparks that propel and enrich *The Pisan Cantos*. The lines do not connect logically with what comes before or after, but a 'conceptual rhyme' reverberates through the work, an example of the 'unity of

emotion' a quarter of a century earlier Pound had found in the *nô* and believed would aid in the construction of a 'long Imagiste poem' (see 12 and 17f and 87). The 'moon-nymph's' words that in the play precede those remembered here echo in the canto as clearly as those that are quoted: 'Doubt is of mortals'. And in the play the consequence of the returning of the cloak is the divine gift of the 'moon nymph's' dance, an interpenetration of heaven and earth made manifest, and an initiation into the mysteries of the 'eternal renewing' of the gods. These associations and others echo in Pound's three lyrical lines. They provide counterpoint both to the deceits and the doubts he writes of in the canto, and help keep the 'rhythm of [the] metaphor' (see *BL11*) of divine incarnation alive. Among many comrades and correspondents Pound remembers here from his days in London is 'our friend / Mr Hartmann, / Sadakichi' (see *D12*). Pound laments that Sadakichi's early writing has probably been lost 'with the loss of fly-by-night periodicals', and notes that 'a few more' of Sadakichi, 'were that conceivable', would have 'enriched the life' of any city (p. 515). See also 85.

f. LXXXI. The most often quoted passage in *The Pisan Cantos* occurs here—'What thou lovest well remains' (pp. 540-42)—and is preceded by lines that as clearly as any establish that the method of these cantos is analogous to that of the 'Three Cantos' of 1917 (27), with its clear debts to the ontology and methodology of the *mugen nô*. In the first cantos the 'sacred places' were Sirmio and the Dordogne Valley; in these it has been 'Taishan @ Pisa' (see 56a). In 'Three Cantos' the spirits were largely historical; at Pisa they have been of the gods and of Pound's own memory, those that in the language of this canto have been 'lov'st well', are 'thy true heritage', and 'shall not be reft from thee'. Their partial incarnation takes place in Pound's tent:

Ed ascoltando al leggier mormorio [and listening to the gentle murmur]
 there came a new subtlety of eyes into my tent,
 whether of spirit or hypostasis,

 Saw but the eyes and stance between the eyes,
 colour, diastasis,
 . . . it had not the
 whole tent's room
 nor was place for the full [seeing]
 interpass, penetrate
 casting but shade beyond the other lights
 sky's clear
 night's sea
 green of the mountain pool
 shone from the unmasked eyes in half-mask's space.
 What thou lovest well remains (57, p. 540).

Among the spirits that preside over the canto is, again, Kannon (p. 539; see also *a* and *c* above); AOI (p. 539), contrary to the view of several critics, is probably not a reference to AOI NO UE (22; see *d* above).

g. LXXXIII. It is fitting that Pound's thoughts here turn to his winters with Yeats at Stone Cottage, where the *nô* translations began. 'Uncle William' is called to mind early on (p. 548), but 'those days . . . gone forever' at Stone Cottage are specifically invoked toward the end of the canto (pp. 553-54).

57. *The Cantos of Ezra Pound*. New York: New Directions, 1948. 3rd collected ed., 1970. Enlarged 13th printing, 1995.

The text of the poem most commonly taken to be standard; includes versions based on the printed texts of 1925 and later, notably in the context of this study not those of the 'Three Cantos' (27). Page references to *The Cantos* throughout this bibliography are to the enlarged 1995 edition.

58. *Selected Poems*. New York: New Directions, 1949. Rev. ed., 1957.

Both editions reprint IN A STATION OF THE METRO (3), selections from *Cathay* (15), ALBA, COITUS, THE ENCOUNTER, and NEAR PERIGORD (see 20), and selections from *The Cantos*; the 1957 edition adds passages from WOMEN OF TRACHIS (61).

59. *The Letters of Ezra Pound, 1907-1941*. Edited by D. D. Paige. 1950. Reprinted as *Selected Letters of Ezra Pound, 1907-1941*. New York: New Directions, 1971.

In addition to the letters noted includes others to Kitasono (all of which plus others appear in 82), one to Hartmann, numerous further references to Fenollosa, and comments about Pound's relationship with Aiken, Aldington, Binyon, Bynner, Dulac (see *BL12*), Eliot, Ficke, Fletcher, Flint, Lowell, and Yeats (see index).

a. To William Carlos Williams, 19 December 1913. Includes the earliest mention of the Fenollosa manuscripts in Pound's published writing: 'I am very placid and happy and busy. Dorothy is learning Chinese. I've all old Fenollosa's treasures in mss.'

b. To Harriet Monroe, 31 January 1914. The letter sent to the editor of *Poetry* along with the manuscript of NISHIKIGI (8), which Pound writes 'will give us some reason for existing'. He describes the mixture of verse and prose in the *nô* and explains that he has resorted to prose 'where the feet are rather uniform'. He believes that Monroe will agree with him 'that this Japanese find is about the best bit of luck we've had since the starting of the magazine', and describes his efforts and those that have come before: 'I don't put the work under the category of translation. . . . It could scarcely have come before now. . . . Earlier attempts to do Japanese in English are dull and ludicrous. That you needn't mention . . . [when the

play appears in *Poetry*], as the poor scholars have done their bungling best. One cannot commend the results. The best plan is to say nothing about it. This present stuff ranks as re-creation.' The letter concludes with Pound's remark that Yeats is 'also very keen on' the nô.

c. To Monroe, 28 March 1914. Monroe had apparently written to Pound asking if publication of NISHIKIGI might be postponed, but he writes to her here that 'the Fenollosa play can't wait' and should appear 'with the Yeats stuff in May', which it did (see 8).

d. To Kate Buss, 9 March 1916. Pound announces the publication of *Certain Noble Plays* (21) and notes that 'Yeats is making [a] new start on the foundation of these Noh dramas'; Pound himself is 'bother[ing] a good deal about the production of Yeats's new play'. AT THE HAWK'S WELL (*BL12*) was first performed twenty-four days later, on 2 April. For notes about Pound's 'bothering' see the letters to his parents in 81, and Yeats's to Lady Gregory in *BL20*.

e. To John Quinn, 10 January 1917. Pound has sent Fenollosa's 'Essay on the Chinese Written Character' (32), 'one of the most important essays of our time' and 'basic for all aesthetics', to *Seven Arts*, but doubts it will 'cut much ice' there. He closes the letter with lines about China and Japan: 'China is fundamental, Japan is not. Japan is a special interest, like Provence, or 12-13th 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 KAGEKIYO [21a], which is, I think, "Homeric"). But China is solid.' Regarding Pound's sense that KAGEKIYO is 'Homeric', see 28, 45b, 53, and 76e. The letter appears also in 86.

f. To John Quinn, 4 June 1918. Pound expresses doubts about his work with the nô: 'I find *Noh* [24] unsatisfactory. I daresay it's all that could be done with the material. I don't believe anyone else will come along to do a better book on Noh, save for encyclopaedizing the subject. And I admit there are beautiful bits in it. But it's all too damn soft. . . . I think I am justified in having spent the time I did on it, but not much more than that.' For evidence that Pound later changed his assessment of the 'softness' of the nô, see, for example, 49, 56, and 72. The passage quoted here appears also in 86, but in that volume is placed as part of the letter of 3 April 1918.

g. To Glenn Hughes, 9 November 1927. Pound thanks Hughes for a collection of Japanese poetry in translation, and inquires about whether a Mr. Iwasaki knows anything about the nô, since Pound wonders if his own work with the nô (24) might be revised by a Japanese who would know enough to make the work 'copper-bottomed and . . . correct in every way'. Pound believes that 'Fenollosa did a lot

that ought not to be lost', but Pound himself 'had not the philological competence necessary for an ultimate version'. As it was published his work with the *nô* was 'scattered fragments left by a dead man, edited by a man ignorant of Japanese', so that 'any sonvbitch who knows a little Nipponese can jump on it and say his flatfooted renderings are a safer guide to the style of that country'. Waley's *Nô Plays of Japan*, it might be noted, had appeared in 1921, and included comment not altogether favourable about Pound's versions (see *D26b*). The book Hughes had sent to Pound eliciting these comments would have been *Three Women Poets of Modern Japan*, translated by Hughes and Iwasaki Yôzan (Seattle: University of Washington Book Store, 1927), which included work by Yosano Akiko, Yanagiwara Akiko, and Kujo Takeko.

h. To Kitasono, 24 May 1936. Pound notes that Kume had helped him with 'obscure passages' during his work with Fenollosa's *nô* manuscripts, and that he 'might have come to Tokio' had Kume lived. One of Pound's present goals, he writes, is to 'contrive a better understanding between the U.S.A. and Japan', but he advises Kitasono 'not [to] run away with the idea' that he knows enough to read Japanese, for he 'can do more than spell out ideograms very slowly with a dictionary'; his work with the *nô* had been possible only because he had Fenollosa's notes 'and the results of what [Fenollosa] had learned from Umewaka Minoru, Dr. Mori [Kainan], [and] Dr. Ariga [Nagao]' (see *15*), but since Kume died in the Tokyo earthquake of 1923, Pound has 'had no one to . . . fill up the enormous gaps' of his 'ignorance'.

i. To W. H. D. Rouse, 30 October 1937. Pound writes that he will 'have to go [to the] East some time' (see also *82b2*, *82e1*, *84*, and *176f*), and mentions that he has received a copy of the Confucian *Odes* from 'a very bright lad' in Tokyo who 'runs a better literary magazine than the Occident is now providing or at least wider awake'. The 'bright lad' would be Kitasono, the literary magazine, *VOU* (see *46*). Reprinted in *82*.

60. *The Translations of Ezra Pound*. Edited by Hugh Kenner. London: Faber & Faber, 1953. Enlarged ed., 1970. Reprint, 1984.

Reprints *Cathay* (*15*) and, under the title "'Noh" Plays', *'Noh' or Accomplishment* (*24*). American editions appear under the title *Ezra Pound: Translations*. See also *98*.

61. Trans., WOMEN OF TRACHIS, by Sophocles. *Hudson Review* 6 (1954): 487-523.

Reprint, London: Faber & Faber, 1969.

Pound was declared unfit to stand trial and admitted to St. Elizabeth's Hospital for the Insane in December 1945. By 1946 he was writing again, though ^{he} devoted his energies to translation—producing *The Confucian Analects* (1949), this work, and

The Classic Anthology Defined by Confucius (1954) before turning attention again to *The Cantos* in 1953 (see 63-65). Pound writes in a dedication that the work is a 'version for Kitasono Katue, hoping he will use it on my dear old friend Miscio Ito, or take it to the Minoru [see 82c1] if they can be persuaded to add to their repertoire'. Pound indicates later in an interview and in correspondence that he based the translation in part on *nô* principles (see 68, 78a, and 82c1). Following Fenollosa, he had equated the *nô* with the classical drama of Greece from as early as 1914 (see 13b), but particular similarities to *nô* structure are not readily apparent here. Passages are reprinted in the 1957 edition of 58. See also 156, 185, and 191.

62. *Literary Essays of Ezra Pound*. Edited by T. S. Eliot. London: Faber & Faber, 1954. Reprint, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1979.

Reprints 'Remy de Gourmont' (19) and 'How to Read' (40).

63. 'Cantos 86-89'. *Hudson Review* 8 (1955): 13-27; 183-204.

See also 65, where the noted cantos are reprinted as LXXXVI-LXXXIX.

a. 87. A summary of Pound's understanding of the Confucian values that guarantee good government, which includes reference to Nakae Tôju (1608-48, 57, p. 590), the Japanese philosopher most responsible for bringing the neo-Confucian teachings of Wang Yang-ming (1472-1528, Jpn.: Ôyômei) to Japan. According to Terrell (158), citing Achilles Fang, Pound's knowledge of Nakae came from Carson Chang, who visited Pound at St. Elizabeth's.

b. 88. 'Dai Gaku' (p. 601): Japanese transliteration of the title of the Confucian text *Ta hsio*.

c. 89. 'Reck, at Lake Biwa' (p. 624): see 116.

64. 'Canto 90'. *Meanjin* 14 (1955): 488-91.

Among goddesses invoked who 'm'elevasti', lifted Pound/Odysseus up 'out of Erebus', is the compound 'Isis Kuanon'; for analysis of Pound's conflation of Kannon with Isis see 191, and see also 17i, 31, 56a, 56c, and 72.

65. *Section: Rock Drill de los Cantares* (Cantos LXXXV-XCV). Milan: All'Insegna del Pesce d'Oro, 1955. Reprint, New York: New Directions, 1956.

Neither this work nor *Thrones* (66) continues in significant ways the *nô*-related methods of *The Pisan Cantos* (56). LXXXV-LXXXIX offer a condensed restatement of the historical and economic themes of the poem, and XC-XCV, like the cantos of *Thrones*, return to the world of the spirits, but rely less on the method of divine manifestation at a sacred place than was the case at 'Taishan @ Pisa' (see 56a). Beyond allusion to the Kannon in the reprint of canto XC (see 64), critics wishing to trace reverberations from the form here would have to focus on the 'unified

images' Pound identified with the nô (see 12 and 17f and 87), and though that is a subject that has not been fully explored, these are no more in evidence here than in any other section of the poem. Reprinted in later editions of 57.

66. *Thrones de los Cantares* (Cantos XCVI-CIX). Milan: All'Insegna del Pesce d'Oro, 1959. Reprint, New York: New Directions, 1959.

In addition to notes below, see 65. Reprinted in later editions of 57.

a. CVI. 'At Miwo the moon's axe is renewed' (57, p. 775): Allusion to words spoken at the beginning of the *tennin's* climactic dance at Miwo in Pound's version of HAGOROMO (13d): 'The jewelled axe takes up the eternal renewing, the palace of the moon-god is being renewed with the jewelled axe, and this is always recurring', lines that in a note in the play Pound equates with Dante's 'Quale nei plenilunii sereni / Trivia ride tra le ninfe eterne', As in the clear skies at the full moon / Trivia (the goddess of the 'three ways'—Diana) smiles among the eternal nymphs (the stars). Miyake (191) points out that the lines in the play and thus the image in the canto as well are based on 'a curious mistake' in the Fenollosa/Hirata draft of HAGOROMO, since the intent of the original Japanese is that 'the palace of the moon-god is so well made that it does not need [a] jewelled axe'.

67. 'An Interview with Ezra Pound'. By D. G. Bridson. *New Directions* 17 (1961): 159-84.

Pound recalls circumstances surrounding his acquisition of the Fenollosa manuscripts, and Mary Fenollosa's words to him about them: 'You're the only person who can finish this stuff the way Ernest wanted it done', almost exactly the words Pound had recalled to John Quinn forty-four years earlier (see 86d). See also 68.

68. 'Ezra Pound: An Interview'. By Donald Hall. In *Writers at Work: The Paris Review Interviews*, edited by George Plimpton. 2nd ser. New York: Viking, 1963.

At two points Pound touches on material related to this study. First he notes that his version of the *Trachiniae* (61) 'came from reading the Fenollosa Noh plays for the new edition [*Translations*, 60], and from wanting to see what would happen to a Greek play, given that same medium and the hope of its being performed by the Minoru company' (see 82c1); second, he discusses his acquisition of the Fenollosa manuscripts, which were 'a windfall', but he had to 'struggle against . . . ignorance': 'One had the inside knowledge of Fenollosa's notes and the ignorance of a five-year-old child'. His account of meeting Mary Fenollosa at Sarojini Naidu's home in London and how he came to acquire the manuscripts varies from Mary Fenollosa's own account as reported by Chisolm (see *D10d*, p. 222, n. 3): 'she said that Fenollosa had been in opposition to all the profs and academes, and she had

seen some of my stuff and said I was the only person who could finish up these notes the way Ernest would have wanted them done’.

69. To Louis Untermeyer, 8 January 1914. In *EP to LU: Nine Letters Written to Louis Untermeyer by Ezra Pound*, edited by J. A. Robbins. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1963.

Includes Pound’s second reference in the published record to the Fenollosa manuscripts (see 59a for the first, of twenty days earlier): ‘I’ve come in for Fenollosa’s very valuable *mss.* on the Japanese “Noh” plays & the Chinese Lyric. I suppose I’ll have the first paper on same in the “Quarterly Review” for about May’. In fact, Pound’s first publication of material from the manuscripts was in *Poetry* in May (see 8); a larger selection appeared in the *Quarterly Review* the following October (see 13).

70. Letters. Quoted in Slatin (108), 1963.

A and b are in the Yale archive (90a), nos. 406 and 416; c is in the Harriet Monroe Collection, University of Chicago Library, microfilm copy at Yale.

a. To Homer Pound, 18 December 1915. Includes the second-earliest unmistakable reference to *The Cantos* in the published record. Pound does not equate his ‘big long endless poem’ with the nô, but had earlier found in the nô evidence for the possibility of a ‘long vorticist poem’ (see 12 and 17f and 87), and Slatin and others point out that the nô provided Pound ‘a model’. By the date of this letter Pound’s version of NISHIKIGI had appeared in *Poetry* (8), his versions of HAGOROMO and KINUTA in *Quarterly Review* (13), and SOTOBA KOMACHI, KAYOI KOMACHI, SUMA GENJI, KUMASAKA, SHÔJÔ, TAMURA, and TSUNEMASA in *Drama* (17); the first published draft of canto I (27a) appeared in *Poetry* eighteen months later. Pound’s earliest unmistakable reference to *The Cantos* is from three months earlier, in a 21 September letter to Milton Bronner: ‘I am also at work on a cryselephantine poem of unmeasurable length which will occupy me for the next four decades unless it becomes a bore’ (quoted by Stock [126, p. 184]).

b. To Isabel Pound, April 1916. Pound writes to his mother that he is ‘doing some “Noh” of his own but doesn’t know if he will be able to finish; he did finish, more or less, but the works did not see publication until Gallup brought them to light in 1987 (81). Niikura (147), writing in 1976 and quoting this letter, suggests that the “Noh” to which Pound refers are the early *Cantos*, but the plays in Gallup’s edition make this seem unlikely.

c. To Harriet Monroe, undated [1917]. A letter of central importance to this study, the full text of which remains unpublished. Pound writes in the letter accompanying his first submission of cantos for publication, the ‘Three Cantos’

that appeared in *Poetry* in 1917 (27), that his long poem in progress has ‘roughly the theme of “TAKASAGO,” which story I hope to incorporate more explicitly in a later part of the poem’. Pound’s version of TAKASAGO had been submitted to *Poetry* in 1915, but did not see print until 1993 with publication of his letters to Henderson (88). See, especially, Slatin, Bush (145 and 161), Longenbach (183), and Nicholls (204) for description of the relationship between Pound’s work with the *nô* and his conception of the early cantos.

71. To James Joyce, 23 October 1915. In *Pound/Joyce: The Letters of Ezra Pound to James Joyce*, edited by Forrest Read. New York: New Directions, 1967.

Pound mentions an upcoming performance by Itô, who is ‘one of the few interesting japs’ Pound has met, for ‘they usually seem lacking in intensity’. Other letters collected in the edition mention in passing Itô, Fenollosa, and the *nô* (see index).

72. *Drafts & Fragments of Cantos CX-CXVII*. New York: New Directions, 1968.

If *The Cantos* has a *Paradiso* it is here, at the end, constituted of forgiveness, the redemptive power of love, and awareness of the numinous in the natural world, but also shaded by sorrow. Commentators have noted allusions to the *nô*, and Flory (186) argues that the spirit of Kakitsubata (see 23) is the ‘presiding supernatural presence’ of the sequence, but little has been written about the relationship between Pound’s understanding of the *nô* and his tone and stance here. Much of the sequence reminds of the lyrical intermingling of beauty and sorrow that is called *sabi* in Japanese, and the related ‘dark beauty’ of *yûgen* (see also BJ22). To say that Pound held these principles consciously in mind, or that they determine the outcome of *The Cantos*, would be to claim too much, but the ‘unity of emotion’ (see 17f) in the lines combines loss with paradisaical beauty, and one may point cautiously to the lyrical Japanese drama Pound had held in mind for half a century as an antecedent. As in *The Pisan Cantos* (56) allusions to the *nô* are understated but resonant, allied in a web of association with central themes and meanings. Here more even than Egyptian, Greek, and Dantean references they characterise the tone, Kakitsubata, who came ‘clad in memory’ to tell her tale of loss and redemption, Aoi, haunted by a spirit of rancour so strong it was manifest as a demon, (see 22), Ono no Komachi, symbol of the ephemerality of earthly beauty and the ravages of pride (see 17c-d), and Kannon, Buddhist goddess of the spirit of compassion (see 17i). In addition to Flory, see Stoicheff (202) for evaluation of Pound’s use of the *nô* in the sequence.

a. CX. The spirit of KAKITSUBATA is manifest in the opening canto in a simple reference to ‘Yellow iris in [a] riverbed’ (57, p. 798; see 23), followed by romanisation of five kanji. Commentators have noted that in the absence of the

kanji themselves several meanings are possible, but Flory argues that they may be read as Pound's 'acrostic' lament for the diminution of his powers: 'No moon . . . No luxuriant growth [spring] as in the past. No longer, as in the past, strong and handsome. No brightness [glory] as in former times' (brackets Flory's). If this reading is correct it allies the canto, as Flory notes, with the lament for lost love and lost youth of the compound spirit of iris/Narihira/Narihira's beloved in KAKITSUBATA, as she dances the climax of the play and the chorus chants (in Pound's version of half a century earlier) 'No moon! / The spring / Is not the spring of the old days, / My body / Is not my body, / But only a body grown old. / *Narihira, Narihira, / My glory comes not again*'. This reading might seem fanciful were it not for unannounced and understated references to the spirit of Kakitsubata and her elegiac lines elsewhere in the sequence (see *d* and *e*), and that Pound chose not to include the kanji themselves—*Drafts & Fragments* like many of the later cantos makes frequent use of them—suggests strongly the intention of multiple meanings. Other presences from the *nô* inhabit the canto as well, and like the hint of the spirit of Kakitsubata call to mind strong associations that Pound condenses into a single image: 'That love be the cause of hate, / something is twisted, // Awoi' (p. 800). In three lines and one name the universe of AOI NO UE (22) is introduced into the sequence, and the expiation of jealousy and rancour in that work resonates and conceptually rhymes with images, half lines, and understated meanings, drawn from disparate traditions and times, throughout the close of the poem. Likewise the closing lines of the canto, as Aoi returns, with Komachi (see *17c-d*), conflated with the moon: 'Lux enim [^{indeed}Light ~~itself~~— / versus the tempest. / . . . / pray [kanji = 'reverence'] pray / There is power / Awoi or Komachi, / the oval moon' (p. 801). These might be said to be set in super-position with all that has come before (see *12*), and to evoke the associations of loss, light, and salvation of AOI NO UE, the Komachi plays, and indeed the earlier and following cantos. Toba Sôjô (Kakûyu, 1052-1140, p. 797) was a Buddhist priest and painter famous for exultant drawings of animals that resulted in a genre of caricature known as Toba-e. Pound's reference to him is derived from Fenollosa's *Epochs* (*D10c*, pp. 174-75). Stoicheff (202, p. 79) argues that he is invoked here because his 'drawings, in their simplicity, are a transparent sign that Pound had always hoped his *Cantos* would achieve . . . escaping what he saw as . . . confusion for accurate and direct portrayal'. Kuanon (Kannon, p. 798): see *171*.

b. CXIII. Relies in part on troubling images of turning and recurrence—'The hells move in cycles, / No man can see his own end' (p. 807), 'Out of dark, thou, Father Helios, leadest, / but the mind as Ixion, unstill, ever turning' (p. 810)—that

Flory believes are related to lines spoken by the apparition of jealousy and hatred on her first appearance in Pound's version of AOI NO UE: 'Man's life is a wheel on the axle, there is no turn whereby to escape'.

c. CXIV. The theme of hatred that must be expiated, introduced in one word, 'Awoi', in CX, continues, and again Flory traces lines to Pound's version of AOI NO UE, finding the central question of the canto, 'Fear, father of cruelty, / are we to write a genealogy of the demons?' (p. 813), traceable to the play's climactic 'battle of invocation' between the *hannya* and the priest who exorcises her spirit.

d. From CXV. The fragment calls to mind failure both personal and collective, but maintains a paradisaical vision, and central lines may be traced to KAKITSUBATA: The Poundian persona is 'A blown husk that is finished / but the light sings eternal / a pale flare over marshes' (p. 814). Compare to the spirit of Kakitsubata, 'the cracked husk of a locust, / The withering husk of the iris', but 'the flowers Kakitsuhata / . . . flare and flaunt in their marsh', and though she is ' . . . an unsteady wraith, / A form impermanent', she has 'come to enlighten' and represents 'a light that does not lead on to darkness' (60, p. 338). See Flory for further analysis of the echo.

e. CXVI. Flory calls attention to understated allusions to the spirit of KAKITSUBATA, the 'light that does not lead on to darkness', that continue in the last complete canto and represent the paradisaical vision, the possibilities of the human mind, and *The Cantos* themselves, both in the 'little light / in great darkness' of the opening sequence (p. 815) and in closure: 'And as to who will copy this palimpsest? / al poco giorno / ed al gran cerchio d'ombra [in the small hours, with the darkness describing a huge circle] / But to affirm the gold thread in the pattern / . . . / To confess wrong without losing rightness: / Charity I have had sometimes, / I cannot make it flow thru. / A little light, like a rushlight / to lead back to splendour' (p. 817). Flory believes as well that the 'nice quiet paradise / over the shambles' (p. 816) echoes lines from Pound's version of KAYOI KOMACHI (17d), as the ghost of Shôshô speaks to the ghost of Komachi as she is about to ascend to 'heaven': 'I've a sad heart to see you looking up to Buddha, you who left me alone, diving in the black rivers of hell. Will soft prayers be a comfort to you in your quiet heaven, you who know that I'm alone in that wild, desolate place?' (60, p. 227).

73. *Selected Prose, 1909-1965*. Edited by William Cookson. London: Faber & Faber, 1973. Reprint, 1978.

Reprints 'Affirmations [IV]: As for Imagisme' (16), 'Remy de Gourmont' (19), and 'D'Artagnan Twenty Years After' (44).

74. *Selected Poems, 1908-1959*. London: Faber & Faber, 1975. Reprint, 1977.

Reprints selections from *Cathay* (15) and, from *Lustra* (20), ALBA, APRIL, THE BATH TUB, COITUS, THE ENCOUNTER, GENTILDONNA, IN A STATION OF THE METRO, LIU CH'E, and NEAR PERIGORD.

75. YORO (YŌRŌ), 'by Motokiyō [Zeami]'. *Paideuma* 4 (1975): 349-53.

Pound's version of the nō play from the draft translation in Fenollosa's notebooks remained unpublished for sixty years. The work does not distinguish between the prose and verse of the original and contains several inaccuracies (see Tsukui [167] for a list). Taylor (*BL176* and *BL180*) and Sekine (*BL250*) find the work a source for Yeats's AT THE HAWK'S WELL (*BL12*). See also 144, 163, *BL217*, and *CB1c*. Reprinted in 167.

76. "Ezra Pound Speaking": *Radio Speeches of World War II*. Edited by Leonard W.

Doob. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1978.

Texts Pound prepared to be read on Rome Radio, and which according to Doob's introduction Pound himself at the time of composition intended for collection and publication. The work is not fully indexed, though an appendix notes thirty references to Japan. Most of these are passing remarks about contemporary political issues.

a. #2 (26 October 1941): 'Books and Music'. By late 1941 Pound was cut off from most sources of English-language writing, including most of his European and American correspondents, and even mail from Japan was slow to reach him in Rapallo. Here he announces that he is not 'goin' into a pronounced . . . melancholy fer the extinction of all human intercourse', but mentions several sources of information he misses, including 'Kitasono's Japanese magazine', a reference to *VOU* (see 46 and *D29*).

b. #6 (29 January 1942): 'On Resuming'. Pound rails against the 'fetid ignorance' of a BBC commentator who had suggested (according to Pound) that the Japanese before the war had only recently 'emerged from barbarism', and offers his own view of the traditions of Japan, urging 'a glance at Japanese sword guards, a glance at Jimmy Whistler's remarks about Hokusai, or . . . a familiarity with AWOI NO UE [22], KUMASAKA [17g], NISHIKIGI [8], or [another nō play] FUNA-BENKEI. These are Japanese classical plays, and would convince any man with more sense than a pea hen, of the degree of Japanese civilization; let alone what they conserved when China was, as Fenollosa tells us, incapable of preserving her own cultural heritage'. Pound elsewhere allies his interest in Japan with her preservation of the arts of China, in 45f, 53, and 82b6.

c. #44 (4 June 1942): 'As to Pathology and Psychoses'. Pound addresses the United States about her 'ignorance' of, among other subjects, the traditions of Japan: 'If you had read as much of the Fenollosa papers as I got into print about 1917, you would not have underestimated Japan. You would not have let the grossest and most blatant asses in the United States tell you such imbecilities. And you would not have swallowed the insulting lies of the British papers on the subject. Some of the lowest London dirt, splashing military titles, was concerned with feeding you guff on the subject of Nippon, and the utter squalor of the public mind . . . of Washington was a close second or first'.

d. #100 (20 June 1943): 'On Brains or Medulla'. Pound refers to his *Japan Times* article proposing a 'tri-lingual' system for world communication utilising English, Italian, and 'ideogram' with Japanese pronunciation (see 49), and makes the same proposal here, in a broadcast specifically intended for the United Kingdom. The text is based on that recorded by the U. S. Federal Communications Commission, since no manuscript has been found.

e. #112 (1941): 'March Arrivals'. Pound tries seriously to persuade the American public that 'peace in the Pacific' may be gained—and the peoples of both Japan and the United States immeasurably benefited—if the U. S. will 'give Guam to the Japanese in return for one set of color and sound films of the 300 best Noh dramas' (see also 49). He is aware that some of his listeners will 'think [he is] joking about this Guam proposition', but twice he assures in simple declarative terms that he is not, and proceeds to a description of the nô among his most honorific: 'half a century ago an American professor with a Spanish name [Fenollosa] went over to Japan and brought back the news and some notes on a number of remarkable plays, said to have been kept unchanged in their stage tradition for 4 or 5 centuries. Centuries. And after a lapse of years W. B. Yeats said it was the form he had been seeking all his life in an attempt to write drama that should be also high poetry. . . . In the play KAGEKIYO [21a] we have, I think, the soul of Japan. As its delicacy in NISHIKIGI [8], and its epos in KAGEKIYO, which contains as far as my very imperfect knowledge extends, the one truly Homeric passage in such of their literature as Fenollosa brought back to us. . . . That is the JAPAN we WANT [upper case Pound's]. That is the Japan that could mean something to us, and be in the high sense of some use to us'. He continues with reference to the music and dance of the nô, and recalls in this context an evening of a quarter of a century earlier: 'I have never seen anything that could touch the movement of the tennin in the Hagoromo dance that Tami Koumé [Kume] did for me in his London studio 25 years ago. And as to music, a couple of bars of

modern Japanese film play, after 25 years, hit me straight in the midriff. You couldn't mistake it for any one music in the wide and blinkin' world'. Includes in addition to these comments reference to KUMASAKA (17g), Umewaka Minoru, the film of AOI NO UE (22) Pound saw in Washington in 1939 (see 49), and a further reference to Yeats and the nô: the Americans have land and wealth, Pound writes in closing, but nothing like these classical plays, for the plays of Yeats are not the nô, but only 'more or less in the form of the Japanese non-libretti'. The occasion of Pound's remarks is the arrival in Rome of the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, Matsuoka Yôsuke (1880-1946; see 82d).

77. *Ezra Pound and Dorothy Shakespear: Their Letters, 1909-1914*. Edited by Omar Pound and A. Walton Litz. New York: New Directions, 1984.

Letters e -h were written from Stone Cottage.

a. 24 or 31 August 1911. Pound discusses a letter and two volumes of poetry he has received from Noguchi (see especially *D15a*), notes that 'his poems seem rather beautiful', and quotes at length from two. One of the books in question is *The Pilgrimage* (*D15e4*). For Pound's response to the Noguchi's letter see *82a1*.

b. 4 January 1913. Pound writes that he has recently 'contemplated' the medieval Japanese prints at the British Museum and as a result feels 'ages older & wiser'. While in the Print Room he spoke with 'Bin-Bin' (Binyon), who lamented that the British Museum 'will never have a collection comparable to the "Fuller" lot [i.e., the Freer collection] in the U.S.' See also *d* below and *BC34a*.

c. 2 October 1913. Includes mention of what was probably Pound's first meeting with Mary Fenollosa: 'Dined on Monday [29 September] with Sarojini Naidu and Mrs. Fenollosa, relict of the writer on chinese art, selector of a lot of Freer's stuff, etc. I seem to be getting the orient from all quarters. Also I got real japanese prints—I don't mean on paper—at Cedar Lawn.'

d. 11 October 1913. Includes reference to Aston's *History of Japanese Literature* (see *D13*) and to several further meetings with Mary Fenollosa.

e. 16 December 1913. Includes Pound's earliest mention in the published record of his work with the nô: 'I have cribbed part of a Noh (dramatic eclogue) out of Fenollosa's notes. The Eagle [Yeats] calls it charming.' An editorial note suggests that the play to which Pound refers is KINUTA (*13c*).

f. 6 January 1914. Pound refers again to his work with the nô: 'I have done the 1st part & a bit more, of a longer Japanese play [NISHIKIGI (8)]. Prothero [editor of *Quarterly Review*] has accepted "Kinuta" [*13c*] & Fenollosa's essay [*32*] for the *Quarterly*—I hope to get The Feather-Mantle [HAGOROMO (*13d*)] in, also'; though he

has recently been at work on revisions of *Lustra* (see 20), Pound believes that he 'would be better employed doing Nishiki-gi'.

g. 12 January 1914. Pound writes that he has 'found some consolation in Brinkley's book [D14] about listening to incense, vol. III, oriental series, re/Noh & japanese diversions' (see also 17b and 45a), and that he finds the 'oriental room' of the British Museum 'a much pleasanter place to work than the "reading room"' (see also b above and BC34a).

h. 14 January 1914. Pound's nô work for *Quarterly Review* (13) is 'about finished . . . except for a few corrections in 'HAGOROMO'.

78. *Ezra Pound John Theobald Letters*. Edited by Donald Pearce and Herbert Schneidau. Redding Ridge, Conn.: Black Swan, 1984.

In April 1957, while working on a poetry textbook for children, Theobald wrote to Pound at St. Elizabeth's, beginning the eleven-month correspondence printed here. In an introduction to this volume Theobald suggests that Pound was interested in maintaining the correspondence because he 'was a lonely man . . . who needed somebody to talk to who wasn't a fellow inmate', but surely Theobald's acquaintance with modern Japanese poetry had something to do with Pound's interest as well. Theobald is acknowledged in Ichirô Kôno and Rikutarô Fukuda's *Anthology of Modern Japanese Poetry* (Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1957), but according to Theobald's letter to Pound of 15 September and Pearce and Schneidau's editorial notes Theobald along with Kôno was in fact responsible for the translations, and Pound in the correspondence turns frequently to questions and comments about Japan and Japanese poetry.

a. 3 August 1957. Apparently Theobald had been in contact with Kôno about arranging translations of Pound's work into Japanese, for Pound asks Theobald here to 'tell Ichiro the one thing I most want to go INTO jap[anese] is *Trax* [WOMEN OF TRACHIS (61)]', because 'only Minoru [see 82c1] or the other Noh co/ are fit to do it'.

b. 13 August 1957. Pound notes that a poem by Nishiwaki Junzaburô (see also BD7, BF26c, and d below) has appeared in the journal *Edge*, advises Theobald about a journal to which he should send translations of 'vivid japs', and inquires in passing about Earl Miner's work (see especially A25).

c. 17 September 1957. Theobald has expressed disappointment in a previous letter that Kôno and Fukuda's translation has come out and given him only brief acknowledgement, even though he was responsible for much of the translation, for 'they do things strangely over there'. Pound responds here in cryptic shorthand: 'That is why the Nips were less esteemed in *tripartito*. Or as Ito sd/ to Yamanaka

[presumably of Yamanaka and Company]: “I nebr hear we hab any jews in J’pan. I think yu jap’nese jew.” *Non son tutti usignoli* [they are not all nightingales], they are NOT alluvum samurai.’

d. 17 October 1957. Pound writes that Iwasaki Ryôzô (see 82c) has sent him ‘the Japthology’, presumably a reference to Kôno and Fukuda’s anthology, and though he is pleased that Nishiwaki Junzaburô is represented, he wonders if the reason Iwasaki is not is that ‘a cleaner gang is in opposition’. The letter ends with an inquiry about whether Theobald ‘know[s] anything re Kenkyusha Pub. Co.’

79. Draft of Canto IV. In *To Write Paradise: Style and Error in Pound’s Cantos*, by Christine Froula. New Haven: Yale UP, 1984.

Froula’s work includes a reproduction not of the earliest manuscript version of a fourth canto, but of a second text based on it. She notes that the earliest draft of the text reproduced here was typed on the versos of announcements of Itô’s program of dancing of 28 October and 2 and 9 December 1915 (see 26). This version of the canto includes a section titled ‘The Modern World’ (pp. 73ff.) that in its opening lines includes numerous references to Japanese subjects, some of them too obscure to trace. Pound contrasts the stateliness and ‘deliberate ceremony’ of classical Japan (ll. 90-93) with modern European ‘sacrilege’, and laments that these ‘long courtesies’ are ‘Going at last, [as] Japan turns european’ (l. 94). He refers (ll. 76-83) to ‘Pere Henri Jacques’, a French Jesuit (see 59, p. 180) who according to internal evidence in the lines lived for a time at a hermitage in East Asia, and to a man Pound knows who had visited the place. Froula’s note suggests plausibly that this man would have been Kume or Itô, both of whom in any case Pound would have had in mind in reference to the ‘Plain, manufactured, “well taught” orientals, / talking of Emerson and Hoffmansthal / Cezanne and Nietzsche / And women’s quarters, with ancient ceremonies’ in lines 86-89. Sen-sei (l. 76): Japanese for ‘teacher’; Sennin (l. 77): Japanese transliteration of the Chinese *hsin-jen*, ‘hermit’ or ‘philosopher’; summit of Rok-ko (l. 77): not a reference to Mt. Rokko near Kobe but instead a Japanese transliteration of the Chinese ‘Taihoku’, the name of a sacred mountain in Kankyo Province, Korea; Banker of Japan (l. 82): obscure. References to Pere Henri Jacques, ‘Rokku’, and the sennin remain in later versions of canto IV, but in passing and without reference to the contextual material included here.

80. *The Letters of Ezra Pound and Wyndham Lewis*. Edited by Timothy Materer. New York: New Directions, 1985.

Pound’s letters to Lewis of 23 October 1937 from Rapallo and 23 October 1953 from St. Elizabeth’s mention Kitasono and *VOU* (see 46 and D29); the former refers

to the journal as ‘a vurry lively and simpatique rev / in the sun rise’; in the latter Pound doesn’t know ‘what partic / USE this jap stuff is’, but at least ‘Kit Kat . . . [is] not owned by Bloomsbury’.

81. *Plays Modelled on the Noh* (1916). Edited by Donald Gallup. Toledo: Friends of the University of Toledo Libraries, 1987.

Versions of draft plays from the Pound Archive at Yale (90a) and related material. Gallup notes in his introduction that ‘none of [these plays] ever seem to have been performed’. The introduction includes quotation from two previously unpublished letters from Pound to his father, and his letter to his mother about ‘doing some “Noh” of [his] own’ previously noted in Slatin and Niikura (108 and 147). See Nicholls (204) for argumentation that Pound’s use of time in these plays and in the nô itself affected the methodology of *The Cantos*.

a. To Homer Pound, February 1916. Pound mentions that both he and Yeats are writing plays based on the nô, and—in words remarkably like those Yeats himself was to use about his experiments with the form (see especially *BL11*)—that these will be part of a ‘new dramatic movement, plays which wont need a stage, and which wont need a thousand people for 150 nights to pay the expenses of production’. He adds that one of his plays will be performed along with one of Yeats’s in ‘Lady Cunard’s big room’, but this was not to come to pass. Pound was in attendance for rehearsals of *AT THE HAWK’S WELL* (*BL12*) and in the audience at the first performance in Lady Cunard’s drawing room on 2 April, but the program did not include his work.

b. To Homer Pound, 7 April 1916. Pound refers again to his own ‘dialogue play’ (see a) and notes that while it was not performed along with Yeats’s play at the Lady Cunard’s drawing room, it is ‘supposedly to be done next month at Claridges’. Yeats’s play was ‘a success . . . [but] not yet quite in order’, for the ‘whole scheme of things [is] too new’.

c. *THE PROTAGONIST*. A farce that Gallup’s introduction suggests is ‘modelled specifically on the Japanese kyôgen’, though similarities to kyôgen are superficial, amounting mainly to comic devices derived from the foolishness of two unsophisticated policemen. Gallup notes also that the typescript at Yale has many corrections and alterations that ‘indicate that Pound had not finally decided on the exact phrasing of the closing speeches’. Laughlin reports that when he once asked Pound if he had written fiction Pound responded that he ‘had done a “Kyogen” about two policemen—but he hoped it was lost’ (179, p. 148).

d. *THE CONSOLATIONS OF MATRIMONY*. Another farce, which Gallup rightly notes is the ‘least finished’ of the works collected here, so much so that it is

‘difficult to decipher Pound’s intentions’. The manuscript version, according to Longenbach (183), ‘contains a list of the Noh plays Pound was translating’, and the play itself ‘extends the experiments with Irish speech that Pound began in his translations’ of the nô, but similarities to the nô are not readily apparent. Longenbach believes nonetheless that this is the work Pound had in mind when he wrote to his father that one of his own works would be performed along with one of Yeats’s in ‘Lady Cunard’s big room’ (see a).

e. ‘De Musset’s “A Supper at the House of Mademoiselle Rachel”’. Pound apparently intended this work to precede a reading in English translation of de Musset’s play. Explicit references to the nô in general and to NISHIKIGI (8) in particular indicate that Pound believes his ‘Japanese things’ are not well understood, and his description of how ‘Japanese emotion’ allows for a ‘reconstructing of the past’ reads like a blueprint for the methodology of *The Cantos*: ‘You tell me you do not want Japanese things, that these new plays must be European. Still it is a Japanese play [NISHIKIGI] that gives me the closest parallel to my thought. . . . I think you all have your heroes and heroines. . . . [And] if you went to Tuileries and really saw Marie Antoinette? If suddenly by the Tiber you saw re-acted, re-arranged, re-presented the events and heard the exact speeches on the morning after the Duke of Gandia was murdered? Ah no, you would not [then] complain about my giving you Japanese emotion’. See especially Longenbach (183, pp. 226ff.) for description of how this passage allies Pound’s understanding of the nô to the ‘ghosts patched with histories’ (see 27a and 56a) that appear in the early *Cantos* (27) and reverberate throughout the mature writing both of Pound and of Yeats.

f. TRISTAN. Pound’s version of the story of Tristan and Yseult, the most finished of the works presented here, is based closely on the structure of the mugen nô: as in most mugen nô the work includes an opening verse invocation of scene, a traveller who has come from afar to a mysterious place, a local inhabitant who understands more than she allows of the story associated with the place, and finally the apparition of the ghosts bound to it, in this case Tristan and Yseult, who meet, perform a dance, and fade away as the traveller looks on. See Longenbach for analysis of how the work ‘marries’ NISHIKIGI with Tristan and Yseult, mirrors Yeats’s ‘crossing’ of NISHIKIGI with the story of Diarmuid and Dervorgilla in *THE DREAMING OF THE BONES* (BL14a), and informs Pound’s understanding of how the nô might provide a means of proceeding with his ‘long vorticist poem’ in progress, *The Cantos*.

Ridge, Conn.: Black Swan, 1987. Reprint, 1996.

Collects Pound's extant letters to and from Japanese correspondents from 1911 to 1968, his contributions to Japanese periodicals, and related supplementary materials. Reprints 'Vou Club' (46), all of Pound's contributions to the *Japan Times and Mail* and *Japan Times Weekly*, including 49-51 and 53-55, and two letters previously excerpted by Paige (59*h-i*). Noted below are only those materials published here for the first time that are directly related to Pound's understanding of Japanese subjects or use of Japanese materials. See also 176 for notes about secondary material included in the work, including letters to Pound from Japanese correspondents.

a. 'Pound's Early Contacts with Japan: 1911-1923'. Collects three letters of Noguchi to Pound (1911, 1917, see also *D15a*), the noted letter from Pound to Noguchi, four letters from Mary Fenollosa to Pound (1913, 1916), one from Mary Fenollosa to Dorothy Pound (1916), three from Itô to Pound (1915, 1916, 1920), and seventeen from Kume to Pound (1916-23). Kodama suggests that many of Pound's responses to letters printed here must have been lost in the 1923 Kanto earthquake and the bombing of Tokyo during the Second World War. The letters to and from Kume, especially, reveal a warm friendship.

1. To Noguchi, 2 September 1911. Pound thanks Noguchi for the gift of his book *The Pilgrimage* (*D15e4*) and comments about his own lack of knowledge of Japan: 'Of your country I know almost nothing', but 'surely if the east & the west are ever to understand each other that understanding must come slowly & come first through the arts'. The letter appears as well in Atsumi, who mentions but does not print other letters from Pound to Noguchi, including one in which IN A STATION OF THE METRO (3) appears under the title 'To Yone Noguchi' (see *D15e9*, p. 15).

b. 'Pound/Kitasono Correspondence: 1936-1966'. Collects fifty letters from Pound to Kitasono, thirty-four from Kitasono to Pound, and several others related to their friendship, including Pound's correspondence with Môri Yasotarô, editor of the *Japan Times*, and a letter from Oshima Shôtarô (see *BL124*) to Pound. Unless otherwise noted the letters cited here are from Pound to Kitasono.

1. 12 August 1936. Pound recalls that Yeats 'was invited to Tokyo university some years ago, but [Pound thinks] . . . declined the invitation'. In fact, Yeats was invited to Japan twice, and seriously considered accepting the offer both times. See *BL48i-j*, 48*s*, 52*e-f*, 63, and 124*a1-2*.

2. 23 October 1937. Pound continues to think of travelling to Japan (see also 59*i*, 82*e1*, 84, and 176*f-g*), and inquires about the possibility of publishing

his 'news or interpretations of Europe' in a Japanese English-language paper, noting that this 'might be a first step toward getting to Tokyo'. See section IV here, 'Pound's Contributions to Japanese Periodicals', for reprints of the articles he contributed in 1939 and 1940 to the *Japan Times and Mail* as a special correspondent to the paper, a position arranged by Kitasono.

3. 14 May 1938. A letter that demonstrates that Pound is working seriously to learn to read both Japanese and Chinese, though he fears that he '[forgets] the ideograms too fast'.

4. 3 March 1939. Pound writes of his 'nostalgia for Japan' as a result of seeing a 'fragment' of a film that included a segment from a nô play, and mentions for the first time an often-stated wish in his correspondence, that 'all the Noh plays ought to be filmed/ or at any rate all the music shd/ be recorded on the sound track' (see also 49). He mentions that 'it must be 16 years since I heard a note of Noh (Kume and his friend sang to me in Paris) but the instant the Noh . . . sounded I knew it. / It is like no other music'. Includes also a mention that Pound is looking through the 'Klaproth translation' of '*Nippon O Dai itsi ran*' (see *D1c*).

5. 28 October 1939. Pound notes that he has met with Dr. Sakanishi Shio, curator of the Japanese section of the Library of Congress, to discuss 'bilingual editions of Noh plays'. This meeting is mentioned in several of the letters collected here, and recalled by Sakanishi in *134*. See also 49.

6. 14 January 1940. Pound repeats a point he made first in *A Guide to Kulchur* (45f), that early Japanese 'imitations' of Chinese poetry are comparable to the 'latin influence in europe . . . down even to 1800'.

7. 10 July 1940. Pound writes that the *Japan Times* 'is all the printed matter in English that now arrives' for him in Rapallo. See also 9 below.

8. 25 August 1940. Pound did not understand the gap between traditional Japanese aesthetics and the sensibilities of 'modern' Japanese. He writes here that he has visited the Japanese Cultural Relations Bureau in Rome, where he had hoped he might find useful information about the country, but was advised there 'to get wise to MODERN Japan and not bother with (or stick to) Noh'; the officials he spoke with 'finally thought that maybe they had heard of Kitasono, but 'couldn't understand one single word', and 'Fenollosa meant nothing to 'em'.

9. 20 October 1940. Pound notes that the *Japan Times* is his 'last remaining source of information' about the United States, and that he has not even been able to learn if James Laughlin has brought out the American edition of *Cantos LII-LXXI* (see 52), which in fact had appeared on 17 September.

10. To Fosco Maraini, 11 November 1940. Pound urges Maraini, an Italian art historian living in Japan, to meet Kitasono, contending that *VOU* is ‘the liveliest magazine in the world’.

11. 15 November 1940. Pound responds to a 17 October *Japan Times Weekly* article by Uenoda Setsuo and Tsukui Tatsuo about the written Japanese language, and argues that while the ideogram is ‘essential to the exposition of certain kinds of thought’, ‘the national defence of Basho and Chikamatsu can [best] be maintained by use of the latin alphabet’; he refers as well to his own study of Japanese: ‘One wd/ learn Japanese more quickly if with each chunk of conversation dictionary offered by the *J[apan] T[imes]* we could have something worth reading printed bilingually’ (see also 49).

12. 30 December 1940. Pound thanks Kitasono for the gift of Amar Lahiri’s *Japan Talks* (Tokyo: Hokuseido, 1940) and offers passing remarks about Itô and Kume.

13. 31 December 1940. Pound has been reading ‘Lahiri’s book’ (see above) and questions the ‘impression’ it gives that Noguchi and the novelist and painter Mushakoji Saneatsu (1885-1976) were living in Britain or America in 1888 or 1890; he inquires also about G. B. Shaw’s knowledge of the nô: ‘by the way/ WHEN did Bernie Pshaw ever see a Noh play and why did he think he knew what it was driving at?’ Kodama’s note that Shaw ‘saw Itô dance at a London gathering at Lady Ottoline Morrell’s home in 1918’ is off by three years. Itô was in New York by 1918. According to his own recollection the gathering took place in 1915 (see *BL94*, p. 68), before the advent of his interest in the nô. Shaw was taken to a specially-prepared nô sequence during a brief visit to Japan in 1933, but famously slept through the performance.

14. 25 March 1941. Again Pound insists on the importance of the nô, and of having films of the major plays: ‘We shd/ give you Guam but INSIST on getting KUMASAKA and KAGEKIYO in return. i.e. INSIST on having 300 Noh plays done properly AND recorded on sound film so as to be available to EDUCATE such amerikn stewdents as are capable of being cultur’d’. Includes an original ‘hokku’: ‘Mediterranean March / Black cat on the quince branch / mousing blossoms’. See 49.

c. ‘Pound’s Post-World War II Contacts With Japan: 1956-1968’. Includes five letters to Pound from his Japanese translator, Iwasaki Ryôzô (1908-76), seven from Pound to Iwasaki, and four related excerpts.

1. To Iwasaki, 26 December 1956. Pound acknowledges that his version of *WOMEN OF TRACHIS* (61) ‘was due to rereading the Noh translations [24] for

collected translations [60]', and asks Iwasaki to give his regards to 'the Minoru', i.e., Umewaka Mansaburô, the grandson and namesake of Umewaka Minoru, whose photograph on his mantelpiece forty years earlier, Pound writes, 'lowered the bamboo curtain with Ito and Kume' (see also 45e).

2. To Iwasaki, 6 September 1957. Pound recalls his love of the nô and friendship with Kume: 'HAGOROMO [13d] is a sacrament. And a glory. Tami Kume danced the tennin part before the Emperor at the age of six. And remembered it in London, where he showed us the movements in 1917 or about then. Later a Tokugawa and some daimyo gave bits of *Noh* and *Kiogen* [kyôgen] privately in his studio in Paris. These are things to remember.' Included in the 'us' to whom Kume 'showed . . . the [nô] movements' would have been Yeats (see BL94), though Pound probably misremembers the date: it is likely that Pound's meeting with Kume, and the nô dance, took place in Yeats's rooms in 1915.

3. To Okada Tomoji, 22 [January or August] 1959. Okada had written to Pound that he was wrong in his assertion (first made in 'The Classical Stage of Japan' [17b]) that after Fenollosa's death in London the Japanese government had 'sent a warship for his body'. Pound responds that 'to the best of [his] memory, Mrs. Fenollosa was under the impression that the Government wished to honour E. F. in manner stated', and even though 'after nearly half a century' he 'can't be sure Mary Fenollosa made the statement', Pound knows that he 'certainly did not invent it'. See Shigehisa (103) for the most thorough account of the subject.

d. Addendum. Pound to Matsuoka Yôsuke, Japanese Ambassador to Rome, 29 March 1941. Pound, identifying himself as 'Ernest Fenollosa's literary executor', suggests that 'no occidental decently aware of the qualities of your Noh drama can be infected with anti-japanese propaganda', for men such as Pound 'would cheerfully give you Guam' for sound films of the nô, such as the film version of AOI NO UE [22] that Pound had seen in Washington (see 49). Pound 'deeply regret[s] that there are not more of us' who feel this way. See also 76e.

e. Other letters quoted in 'Notes to Letters'.

1. To Isabel Pound, 1914 (p. 216). Pound writes to his mother of a meeting with Noguchi and suggests an interest in Japan: 'Yone Noguchi dined with me on Tuesday; interesting *littérateur* of the second order. Don't like him so well as Sung, or Coomaraswamy. Still you neednt repeat this, as the acquaintance may grow and there's no telling when one will want to go to Japan.' See also D15a.

2. To Iris Barry, 31 October 1939 (p. 225). By this date Pound's friend Barry was curator of the film archive at the Museum of Modern Art in New York City. He inquires here if the version of AOI NO UYE (22) he had seen at the

Library of Congress is from the MOMA archive, and solicits Barry's help in his efforts to arrange for the filming of the entire *nô* canon. See also 49.

83. To Iris Barry, n.d. Quoted in Tytell (178), 1987, p. 136.

According to Tytell Pound wrote to Barry that he '[doesn't] really believe in *Noh*' because 'it is too fuzzy and celtic, even too "90s."' No date is provided for the letter, but such sentiment is in accordance with that of a letter Pound wrote to Quinn in June 1918 (59f). That his feeling that the *nô* is 'fuzzy' changed over time is clear from much of Pound's later writing, including a later letter to Barry herself (see 82e2).

84. To Homer Pound, January 1914. Quoted in Carpenter (181), 1988, p. 224.

Apparently Pound was enthralled enough by his work with Chinese and Japanese materials that he considered emigrating with his parents either to China or Japan (see also 59i, 82b2, 82e1, 176f). Carpenter suggests that Pound had met an official of the Chinese Mint in London 'who seemed confident that he could provide a job for Homer Pound in Peking, and was confident of finding something for Ezra himself', and then quotes from this letter: 'We may yet be a united family [in China]', Pound tells his father, adding, not quite correctly, as he no doubt knew, that if they moved to Japan the people would have difficulty knowing what to call him, for 'the phonetic translation of my name into the Japanese tongue [means] "This picture of a phallus costs ten yen"'.

85. Excerpt, draft of canto XXVI. In Miyake (191), 1990.

Includes lines about Pound's first meeting with Kume, Kume's dancing of the *tennin* in HAGOROMO (see 76e), and quotation of and comment about a key line from Pound's version of the play, which eventually found its way into canto LXXX (56e): "'Doubt is of mortals, with us there is no deceit" / . . . / . . . [this] is the line that is beautiful'. Reprinted in *A Guide* (201, xlvii).

86. *The Selected Letters of Ezra Pound to John Quinn, 1915-1924*. Edited by Timothy Materer. Durham: Duke UP, 1991.

Among many instances of the support the lawyer and patron of the arts Quinn provided for Pound and other writers, most notably Yeats (see BL48e and g-i), may be cited his subsidies for the publication of '*Noh*' (24) and the American edition of *Lustra* (see 20), along with several periodicals with which Pound was associated, including the *Egoist* and *Little Review*. In addition to letters noted others printed here refer to '*Noh*', *Cathay* (15), Fenollosa, and Pound's relationship with Aldington, Binyon, Bynner, Eliot, Fletcher, Flint, Lowell, and Waley (see index). Reprints Pound's letter to Quinn of 10 January 1917 (59e), and see also e below.

a. 8-9 September 1916 [1915]. By late in 1915 Pound and Quinn were corresponding about the possibility of founding a journal that would represent the best of international literary and artistic standards. In this letter Pound suggests editors for monthly sections devoted to work from France, Britain, Germany, and Russia, and recommends bi-monthly or annual reports on works from other countries, including Japan, though he has some question about this: 're/ Japan. Itow [Itô] brought in what he swears to be the best modern Japanese dramatist (I should think he was their precious Granville Barker, Takahama Kori [i.e. Kayano, also known as Kôri Torahiko], and he swore by the gods that there was NOTHING doing in Tokyo, said the theatres were full of translations of Strindberg, Maeterlinck, Hauptmann etc. etc. all done with the last degree of rottenness' (bracketed material added, spelling and punctuation as printed).

b. 19 August 1916. Pound has given Itô a letter of introduction to Quinn and explains his own friendship with Itô and what Quinn might expect, 'if [he] can understand [Itô's] english': 'I like him better than Coomaraswamy. In fact I like him a good deal, though I don't know that he has much conversation unless one can start him on Japanese plays etc'.

c. 19 April 1917. In describing his bank account to Quinn Pound notes that it contains '£6 belonging to the committee on the production of Japani-Celtic-mask-dancing-Ainley-Itow [Itô]-Hawkswel [AT THE HAWK'S WELL (BL12)] drama'; he notes also that Yale University Press has written to him asking to see a full manuscript of his 'NOH' (see 24).

d. 17 May 1917. Toward the end of this long letter Pound describes the circumstances of his acquisition of the Fenollosa manuscripts from Mary Fenollosa: 'She has given me absolutely free hand with old Fen's stuff. Which I think rather remarkable as she writes herself (successful novels . . . and verses also . . .). All she said was, after she had known me about three weeks, "You are the only person who can finish this stuff and [as] Ernest would have wanted it done. He cared about the poetry not about the philology"'. Pound recalled Mary Fenollosa's words in nearly identical terms forty-four years later in conversation with Bridson (see 67).

e. 3 April 1918. Pound wrote to Quinn on 3 April and 4 June 1918. Both letters appear both in this work and in the earlier edition of Pound's *Letters* (59), but a passage about the 'softness' of the nô printed in the earlier work as part of the letter of 4 June (see 59f) appears here as part of the letter of 3 April.

87. 'Affirmations VI: The "Image" and the Japanese Classical Stage (1915)'. *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 53/1 (1991): 17-22.

In 1915 Pound published a series of essays entitled 'Affirmations' in *New Age* (see 14 and 16). This work was apparently intended as part of the series, but instead a different essay, 'Affirmations VI: Analysis of This Decade' appeared (February 1915), and this work did not see print until it was discovered among the Fenollosa/Pound *nô* papers donated to Princeton University in 1991 (see 193a-b). Pound explores here more fully than elsewhere an idea he turned to at other key junctures in the early years of the century (see 12, 17f, 112, 161, and 165), that the *nô* is 'in many cases . . . built "out of the image"', and thus provides guidance for a way to approach a 'long imagiste poem': 'Working from day to day upon professor Fenollosa's manuscripts', he writes, 'I am more and more led to believe that the difference between East and West is largely a difference in the nature of their "categories"', for while the European 'thinks by "ideas"', the Japanese artists think by 'images'; he cites NISHIKIGI (8) and HAJITOMI [HASHITOMI] (see 90b) in example of plays organised around a 'succession of images', and insists that Europeans are 'still so bound by Aristotle and Aquinas that we cannot accept other sorts of categories', yet the kind of 'thought' (or 'colour sensitiveness' or 'accurate sense of "pitch"') to be found in the *nô* is a 'form of perception . . . just as precise, for those who possess it, as . . . the scientist's statement that twelve inches make one third of a yard'. Includes passing comment that Yeats ('who is [the] English synonym for all sorts of vagueness') has found some of the *nô* material 'not clear and definite'. The essay is followed here by a facsimile reproduction of the typescript with Pound's corrections.

88. *The Letters of Ezra Pound to Alice Corbin Henderson*. Edited by Ira B. Nadel.

Austin: U of Texas P, 1993.

In a letter to Harriet Monroe accompanying the earliest submission of *Cantos* for publication, the 'Three Cantos' that appeared in *Poetry* in 1917 (27), Pound wrote that the 'theme' of his long poem-in-progress would be 'roughly the theme of [the *nô* play] "TAKASAGO," which story [he hoped] to incorporate more explicitly in a later part of the poem' (70c). Strangely, however, TAKASAGO did not appear among the plays from the *nô* that Pound published from 1914 to 1917. Among the Pound-Fenollosa papers anonymously donated to Princeton University in 1991 (90b) was a seven-page typescript of TAKASAGO corrected by Pound, but it was not until publication of this correspondence between Pound and Henderson, Associate Editor of *Poetry*, that the story of his version of the play came to light (see b-d). The originals of most of these letters and many others from the Pound-Henderson correspondence are in the Henry Ransom Humanities Research Center at the University of Texas at Austin. In addition to material noted, other letters refer to

the publication history of particular nô plays and other materials from the Fenollosa manuscripts, and to Pound's relationship with Aiken, Aldington, Bynner, Craig, Eliot, Ficke, Fletcher, Flint, Lowell, and Yeats (see index).

a. To Henderson, 27 January 1914. Pound writes that he 'shall send one of old Fenollosa's Japanese plays' instead of 'anything of [his] own' for the March or April *Poetry*, and notes that Yeats, whose work was scheduled to appear in April, would 'like it for company' because he is 'very keen on the stuff'. The 'Nôh plays of Fenollosa's' are 'a definite find', Pound adds, for though 'the books and translations hitherto printed give nothing, or next to nothing of a notion' of the form, it represents 'a new beauty as worth discovering as was Chinese art a few decades ago'. Pound's version of NISHIKIGI (8) appeared in *Poetry* in May. The letter also refers to Noguchi, who has 'sent [Pound] one or two bad jobs' that he will return. 'If he has anything worse', Pound adds, 'it may as well come here for rejection'.

b. To Henderson, 7 July 1915. A letter accompanying Pound's submission of TAKASAGO (88d), CHŌRYŌ (24b) and GENJŌ (24c) to *Poetry*. TAKASAGO 'is so full of poetry that Harriet [Monroe] might like it', Pound writes, though he doesn't want to 'hog all the space in the magazine', and so if Monroe does not want to print the work he hopes that Henderson might forward it to *Drama*. This she apparently did not do, and Pound's versions of CHŌRYŌ and GENJŌ did not see print until publication of 'Noh' in 1916 (24), TAKASAGO until this volume in 1993. Nadel speculates plausibly that the former plays appeared in 'Noh' while TAKASAGO did not because Pound had maintained copies of the former manuscripts but not the latter (see 198).

c. Introduction to TAKASAGO. This brief introduction, along with the play itself part of an enclosure accompanying the letter of 7 July 1915, demonstrates that Pound's failure to publish TAKASAGO was almost certainly an oversight, resulting, as Nadel suggests (see 198), from Harriet Monroe's failure to accept the work for *Poetry*, Henderson's failure to forward the manuscript to *Drama*, and Pound's failure to have retained a copy for himself (see b). Pound sees the play as 'the very core of the "Noh"' and its 'structure' as so 'flawless' that 'other Noh plays are held to vary from it as from a norm'. A more important point, however, is that Pound's description of the structure of the work lends support to critical writing by Slatin (108), Bush (145 and 161), Longenbach (183), Miyake (187, 191, and 192), Nicholls (204), and others who find in *The Cantos* strong reverberations from Pound's work with the nô. No doubt because these comments have only recently been published, no critic has yet turned to them in close analysis of their

relationship to the methodology of *The Cantos*, but such an examination would be fruitful, for one may read the introduction as a tacit working through of the idea Pound had earlier intuited that in the *nô* one could find a way to proceed with a 'long Imagiste poem' (see 12 and 17f and 87). He notes that plays such as TAKASAGO occur at the beginning and end of a full *nô* programme, and that 'this very ending on the opening note is a sort of symbol of perpetuity'. The work is 'not a dogmatic statement', but rather 'is, or "expresses," a sense of past time in the present'. In words taken from Fenollosa's notes, which Pound believes to originate with Umewaka Minoru, he summarises the point: 'The old man and woman [in the play] say: we are symbol. In heart of young men is many dusts, old men must help allay them. When one does not sweep his dirt heaps away, he will be buried in the dust'. Pound finds the play 'nearly intranslatable and . . . fairly incomprehensible' until one has the 'clue, first to the "sense of past time in the present", second, to the symbolism of Takasago (the past age) and Sumiyoshi (the present)', and he notes that when he speaks of the play's 'perfect . . . construction' he does 'not refer to anything like occidental "dramatic construction"', for in TAKASAGO 'the various parts' of the *nô*, 'the speech telling the names, the speech saying: we have arrived, the . . . hero's voice raised for the first time . . . the . . . "flow-along tune" and the various other divisions of Noh, are by authorities held to be each in its proper position'. This would be the article about the 'very severe construction' of the *nô* that Pound promised in his commentary to 'The Classical Stage of Japan' in 1915 (see 17f).

d. TAKASAGO. An ancient pine at Takasago and another at Sumiyoshi are according to legend twin pines, though separated by the sea. The play relates the story of the devotion to each other of an old man and old woman, who are found in the end to be deities associated with the pines and the places. The work closes with the revelation of their divinity and an auspicious dance in celebration of the longevity of love and of the state. Pound's version captures much of this, and his introduction demonstrates that he understood central themes and structures, but like much of his work with the *nô* his presentation is fragmentary and occasionally confused, omitting, for example, the whole of the climactic ending. Miyake (191) suggests that TAKASAGO was for Pound a central 'vortex' in *The Cantos*, and traces his conflation of the Takasago myth with the Eleusinian Mysteries, the Egyptian 'sun boat', and the voyage of Odysseus. See also 17f, 24b, 27, 31, 38a, 70c, 90b, 101, 115, 151, 198, 203, BL11, 36c, D3, 11, and 13.

89. Miscellaneous. In *A Guide to Ezra Pound and Ernest Fenollosa's Classic Noh Theatre of Japan* (201), 1994.

Includes transcription of Pound's typescripts of NISHIKIGI (8), SOTOBA KOMACHI (17c), KAYOI KOMACHI (17d), and TSUNEMASA (17f), his rough outline of KUMASAKA (17g), and his edited versions of other Fenollosa manuscripts at Yale (see 90a).

a. To Homer Pound, 7 April 1916 (p. 305). In Miyake's notes to Yeats's introduction to *Certain Noble Plays* (BL11) she quotes this letter in reference to Yeats's comment that he has 'studied certain [nô] dances, with Japanese players', suggesting that they would be those Pound mentions here, 'Koumé [Kume] and Fujita, 'two very charming and high-up Japs' who 'contribute to one's enjoyment of life': 'Koumé [is] of Daimio family. His father has two Noh stages in the back yard, etc. He is a fine chap. . . . Fujita, evidently son of a much used general, judging from family photos. He is a satirist with no end of humour and great talent. Koumé did the HAGOROMO [see 13d], the tennin part, before the Mikado at the age of seven. Vide my translation Quarterly Review [13]. The flying movements are most exquisite'. Miyake believes that Fujita must be Tsuguji Fujita (1886-1968), a painter later associated with the School of Paris, who after the Second World War took French nationality as Léonard Fujita. The letter quoted is no. 415 at the Yale archive (90a).

90. Unpublished materials.

a. †Ezra Pound Archive. American Literature Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. By far the largest Pound archive. Includes six series, General Correspondence, Family Correspondence, Family Correspondence with Others, Special Correspondence, Manuscripts, and Personal and Financial Documents. The voluminous correspondence includes letters to and from Aldington, Binyon, Bynner, Eliot, Flint, and Yeats; manuscripts include those of many of Pound's works, including his edited typescripts of *The Cantos* and Fenollosa's material on the nô (see also *b* and *CB1b*), along with Yeats's unpublished 'Suggestions & Corrections' for the Cuala Press edition of *Certain Noble Plays of Japan* (21; see 175).

b. †Ezra Pound Collection on Japanese Drama. Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library. Papers donated anonymously to Princeton in 1991. Includes typescripts corrected by Pound of nô material that did not appear in '*Noh*' or *Accomplishment* (24), including 'Luya' [YUYA], TAKASAGO (see 88b-d), Yeboshi Ori [EBOSHIORI], Hajitomi [HASHITOMI], and a synopsis of ATAKA, along with the 'Mori-hisa' section of the *Heike monogatari*, a seminal work of Japanese literature about a seminal period in Japanese history, the fall of the Taira at the hands of the Minamoto in the Gempei wars (see 21a), compiled in

various versions in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; also included are notes by Pound on 'Japanese stagecraft', related notebooks in the hand of both Pound and Fenollosa, a letter from Pound to Kume, the "Image" and the Japanese Classical Stage' typescript (see 87), notes by Fenollosa, including a section of NISHIKIGI (8), and other related material. See 193 for further notes about the collection.

c. Ezra Pound Papers. Lilly Library, Indiana University. Includes the galley proof of *Noh . . . A Study of the Classical Stage of Japan* (see 24), corrected by Pound, dated 18 September 1916, along with numerous other manuscripts and letters.

d. †Ezra Pound Collection. Rivera Library. University of California at Riverside. Contains eight letters from Pound to Hartmann.

e. Other materials. Some Pound materials, including correspondence with Aiken, are held at the Henry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin. Pound's letters to other poets under study here may be found in the Bynner and Lowell Papers at Harvard (*BE22a* and *BI22a*) and the Fletcher Papers at Arkansas and Texas (*BH23a-b*).

Secondary Materials

91. Noguchi, Yonejirô, trans. (?). 'AOI NO UE o hyôsu—Ezra Pound' (A comment on AOI NO UE by Ezra Pound). *Yôkyokukai*, October 1916, pp. 85-90.

An odd work that does not make altogether clear what it is or who wrote or translated it. A brief preceding note identifies Pound as an American-born poet living in England, and notes that he is a friend of Noguchi Yonejirô. What follows is a Japanese-language essay on Aoi no Ue, written in the first person, with the 'I' (*watakushi*) clearly intended to be Pound, but the work does not follow particularly closely the introductory comments on AOI NO UE Pound had published in *Quarterly Notebook* the preceding June (see 22).

92. Reviews of *Certain Noble Plays of Japan* (21), 1916.

a. 'The Japanese Masque'. *Nation* (London) 20 (1916): 87. The reviewer writes that he 'may be talking like the most outlandish Philistines . . . the most insusceptible to forms of beauty which happen to be remote from and alien to our habitual atmosphere of art, the most egregiously European', but he 'confesses' to preferring Yeats's 'highly trained and eloquent introduction [see *BL11*] to all the material which has provoked it'. Finds in Yeats's introductory remarks 'the seed of . . . austere and penetrating truth' about 'democratic and realistic art, unsanctified by tradition', but wonders if 'our own past [is] so empty a granary, that we must

transplant an exclusive, hieratic, allegorical, and chaste Oriental drama of the fourteenth century to generate a new literature'; about Pound's hand in the 'finishing' of the plays, suggests that his 'literary past is hardly of the kind to dispose us to unquestioning acceptance of his taste, judgment, and success as an interpreter'.

b. E[liot], T. S. 'The Noh and the Image'. *Egoist* 4 (1917): 102-03. Eliot hopes that a new edition of the plays might be published separately from Fenollosa's notes, for then their 'importance . . . as literature . . . will be more evident'. The present edition is more of 'a textbook', and so readers have dwelt on its 'informative character, rather than on its intrinsic value', and treated it more as a 'service to literature' than 'literature itself'. Eliot believes that the 'European stage does not stimulate the imagination' as does the Japanese, and like Pound finds a 'unity of image' in the *nô* (see 12, 17f, and 87), which he equates with 'the unity of certain Cantos of Dante' but notes is unlike in both degree and kind the presentation of image on the Western stage. See Bush (161) for description and evaluation of how this 'unity of image' perceived by Pound, Eliot, and Yeats aided in the birth and development of Anglo-American modernism, and see also 112.

9.3. Reviews of 'Noh' or *Accomplishment* (24), 1917-18.

In addition to works noted, reviews that summarise the contents of the book or simply note its publication appeared in *Athenaeum*, February 1917, p. 100; *New York Branch Library News* 4 (1917): 135; and *Monthly Bulletin of the Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh* 22 (1917): 747.

a. *Asiatic Review* 12, ser. 4 (1917): 71-80. Laments Pound's editing of the manuscripts, for the material which is 'unmistakably Fenollosa's' is clear, but Pound's 'interpolations and queries' are just as clearly those of 'one unacquainted with Japanese affairs'. This is first of several works concerned with enumeration of Pound's 'errors', and is itself knowledgeable of the *nô* and of 'Japanese affairs'. In general takes a dim view of Pound's 'poetical licenses' and wishes that the work had been 'all Fenollosa, however fragmentary'.

b. Fuller, Henry B. *Dial* 63 (1917): 209. Suggests a 'complete negation of all literalism' in the *nô*, and that Pound, though he may be 'rugged, blunt, and downright', provides at least 'a strong sense of primary impact from a man who is duly, even vastly, concerned'.

c. 'Japanese Mysteries'. *TLS*, 25 January 1917, p. 41. Finds that the 'uninitiated foreigner is enabled by Mr Pound's mastery of beautiful diction to appreciate the alternately wistful and proud appeal of these ghostly masterpieces', and that 'two points of cardinal interest are emphasized and driven home by this

vivacious rendering of archaic compositions—their intense humanity and their indifference to realism’.

d. *New York Times*, 23 December 1917, p. 576. The ‘first feeling’ of the reviewer on reading the work ‘is that of gratitude to Ernest Fenollosa and Ezra Pound for bringing this remote but serious and beautiful art so close to us’.

e. *Saturday Review* (London) 123 (1917): 527. Suggests that ‘we in the West are not in a position . . . to arrive at a full appreciation of “No”’, but with the help of this work ‘we may gain some perception at least of the delicacy, the lofty idealism, and the noble hopefulness which are among [its] essential qualities’.

f. *Spectator* 118 (1917): 543-44. Finds that ‘Mr Pound’s translation is admirable in most respects’, but wishes that Pound ‘did not show a tendency to be influenced by the vocabulary of the Celtic drama’. For notes about Yeats’s role in this ‘vocabulary of the Celtic drama’, see especially 154 and 175.

g. Firkins, O. W. ‘Traditions and Modernites’. *Nation* (New York) 106 (1918): 506-7. Praise for the Fenollosa’s ‘patient scholarship’ and Pound’s ‘plaintive rendering’. For Firkins, ‘the spell of these . . . dialogues subsists in the lyric modulations of their English’, for the plays are ‘like the rosy wreath which Celia returned to Ben Johnson. Who knows how much of its fragrance is assignable to the rose, and how much to the lips that have breathed upon it in its passage?’ Describes the plays in general terms, and finds NISHIKIGI (8) of particular interest for its ‘lyric and romantic ardor’.

94. Eliot, T. S. *Ezra Pound: His Metric and Poetry*. New York: Knopf, 1918.

Eliot admires Pound’s work with the *nô*, but it is ‘not so important’ as his work with Chinese poetry: ‘the attitude is less usual to us; the work is not so solid, [or] so firm’; *Cathay* (15), Eliot believes will ‘rank with the “Sea-Farer” in the future among Mr. Pound’s original work’, but the *nô* ‘will rank among his translations’, for ‘it is rather a dessert’ after the Chinese poems. Reprinted in Eliot’s *To Criticize the Critic and Other Writings* (London: Faber & Faber, 1965).

95. Orage, A. R. ‘The No-Drama’. In *The Art of Reading*. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1930.

Orage, Pound’s friend and editor of *New Age*, took a dim view of the versions of the *nô*: ‘Mr. Pound does his best to make [the plays] intelligible, and even to link them with his own little cult of imagism; but I understand them quite as little as their modern twig. The plays have atmosphere, and many of the speeches are charming, but head or tail of the whole I cannot make. Mix Maeterlinck with Mr. Pound under the influence of Mr. Yeats, and stir with modern spiritualism, and the result . . . is

that of the No-dramas' (p. 147). Includes passing reference to Stopes's collection on the nô (see D23).

96. Coffman, Stanley K., Jr. 'Ezra Pound and Imagist Theory'. In *Imagism: A Chapter for the History of Modern Poetry*. 1951. Reprint, New York: Octagon, 1972. Chapter 6 of Coffman's seminal work on Imagism notes Imagist principles Pound derived from the 'hokku' and from Fenollosa's nô manuscripts (pp. 156ff.).
97. Kenner, Hugh. 'The Moving Image'. In *The Poetry of Ezra Pound*. Norfolk, Conn.: New Directions, 1951. Reprint, Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1985. The chapter opens with an astute observation that leads to an unexpected conclusion related to this study: 'The action of the simplest category of lyric, the two-line Japanese hokku with which Pound experimented extensively, depends on Aristotle's central plot-device, *peripeteia*, or "reversal of the situation", a '*peripeteia* that juxtaposes two worlds of perception to strike light from their interaction'. With this in mind Kenner observes that *The Pisan Cantos* (56) 'are full of hokku', and offers well chosen examples from canto LXXVI (56c). See also 171.
98. Kenner, Hugh. Introduction to *The Translations of Ezra Pound* (60), 1953. Kenner writes that if Pound's work with the nô 'is somehow less successful' than the poems of *Cathay* (15), it is because 'there is less of Pound in them'. We may be 'teased from time to time by traces of Yeats' in the nô translations, but 'we have only to put [a passage from them] beside something from *Cathay* . . . to sense a remoteness, a sense on Pound's part that he is doing something exotic, thin, appreciated rather than lived, that just prevents the *Noh* sequence from standing, as *Cathay* does, with his finest original work'. Regarding the 'traces of Yeats', see especially 154 and 175.
99. Miner, Earl. 'Pound's Debt to Japan: A Dissertation Abstract'. *Pound Newsletter* 6 (1955): 13-15. A 'summary of [Miner's] treatment of the influence of Japanese writing on the poetics of Ezra Pound' in his PhD thesis (see A25). Notes that 'a more complete statement will appear shortly in the *Hudson Review*' (see 100).
100. Miner, Earl. 'Pound, Haiku, and the Image'. *Hudson Review* 9 (1956-57): 570-84. In part incorporated into *The Japanese Tradition* (A25), but sufficiently independent to justify separate study. An important and carefully argued study of Pound's introduction to and understanding of haiku and of its effects on his poetry and poetics. Haiku 'made an important contribution to [Pound's] theory and practice. It gave him material and examples for much of his theory concerning imagery, a programme or manifesto for poetry and art . . . and . . . a flexible

technique which he called “the form of super-position” (see 12). Miner notes that Pound ‘was attracted by the suggestive, allusive, condensed, and concrete qualities of Japanese poetry’, and that these ‘confirmed what he was already thinking and advocating’. A number of studies about the relationship between Pound’s poetics and haiku have followed this work and Miner’s treatment in *Japanese Tradition*, but none supersede either definition of the subject.

101. Edwards, John Hamilton, and William W. Vasse. *Annotated Index to The Cantos of Ezra Pound: Cantos I-LXXXIV*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1957. Reprint, 1974.

A reliable subject guide to *The Cantos*, including subjects related to Japan, though the entry for Takasago cites only the place name, while Pound surely had the nô play in mind (see 88c-d) in his reference in canto IV (see 31) and elsewhere.

102. Fang, Achilles. ‘Fenollosa and Pound’. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 20 (1957): 213-38.

Fang’s meticulous study of sources for the three books Fenollosa and Pound ‘jointly produced’, *Cathay* (15), ‘*Noh*’ (24), and *The Chinese Written Character as a Medium for Poetry* (32), includes discussion of material in cantos II, IV, XLIX, and LVI that ‘can only have been derived from the Fenollosa notes’, but focuses much more on Chinese than Japanese influences, interests, and sources. Fang’s suggestion that in references to ‘So-shu’ in canto II Pound confuses Li Po with Chuang Chou (c. B.C. 369-286, Jpn.: So-shu) inadvertently leads to a fray in the pages of *Paideuma* two decades later, which ultimately leads to claims that the name comes from Japanese sources (see 150, 151, 159, and 173).

103. Shigehisa, Tokutarô. ‘Fenollosa no ihai to Nippon’ (Fenollosa’s ashes and Japan). *Hikaku bunka* 2 (1959): 79-86.

Carefully demonstrates from Japanese sources that Pound’s contention (in 17b) that the Japanese government had sent a warship to England to collect Fenollosa’s ashes is not correct, and outlines the probable circumstances leading to Katô Yasotarô carrying the ashes from London to Japan via the Trans Siberian railroad. See also Kodama (176, p. 130), and Pound’s 1959 letter to Okada Tomoji (82e3).

104. †Yano, Hôjin. ‘A Note on the Fenollosa-Pound Translation of Japanese *Noh*’ (in Japanese). *Japan Science Review: Humanistic Studies* 10 (1959): 47-50.

A work cited in Yoshio Yoshizaki’s *Studies in Japanese Literature and Language* (Tokyo: Nichigai, 1979), and mentioned as well by Fukuda (BK130), who writes that Yano’s study demonstrates that the ‘real work’ of translation in Fenollosa’s versions of the nô was done by Hirata and not by Fenollosa himself. Yoshizaki and Fukuda’s unfortunate practice of citing Japanese-language works only by titles translated into English, however, makes the citation impossible to trace. The

various field-specific publications of the *Nippon gakujutsu shinkôkai* (Japanese academy for the advancement of science) may be translated 'Japan Science Review', but none available at the National Diet Library of Japan includes this work. Other Japanese scholarship, however, particularly in the work of Furukawa and Yamaguchi (see *BL109* and *D10d*), demonstrate Hirata's seminal role in the translations that found their way to Pound (and see also *153* and *177a*).

105. Norman, Charles. *Ezra Pound*. New York: Macmillan, 1960. Rev. ed., New York: Minerva, 1969.

Norman's chapter on 'Pound and Yeats' includes notes about the effects of the *nô* on both—the preparation of Pound's versions 'challenged [his] powers both as poet and synthesist', and Yeats was led to 'write in an entirely new manner' and 'an entirely new form'; the work contains references throughout to Pound's relationship with other writers under study here, including Aldington, Binyon, Fenollosa, Ficke, Fletcher, Flint, Hulme (see *A3*), and Lowell (see index).

106. Huff, Clarence. Review of *The Classic Noh Theatre of Japan* (see *24*). *New Mexico Quarterly* 30 (1960): 96-97.

Huff is apparently unaware of both Waley (*D26b*) and the work of the *Nippon gakujutsu shinkôkai* (*Japanese Noh Drama*, 3 vols. [Tokyo: Nippon gakujutsu shinkôkai, 1955-60]) in calling the Pound/Fenollosa work 'by far the best contemporary book on the subject'.

107. Gallup, Donald. *A Bibliography of Ezra Pound*. 1963. Revised and enlarged as *Ezra Pound: A Bibliography*. Charlottesville, Va.: UP of Virginia, 1983.

The standard Pound bibliography provides further publication history and bibliographic detail for many works noted in this study. Updated in Gallup and Archie Henderson, 'Additions and Corrections to the Revised Edition of the Pound Bibliography', *Paideuma* 12 (1983): 119-25.

108. Slatin, Miles. 'A History of Pound's *Cantos* I-XVI, 1915-1925'. *American Literature* 35 (1963): 183-95.

Carefully traces the process of composition and emerging design of the early *Cantos*, relying on references Pound made to the poem between 1915 and 1925. Slatin notes that in his search through Pound's published work and the vast archive at Yale (*90a*) he found 'no significant reference to the actual task of writing a long poem until after Pound had received . . . Ernest Fenollosa's notes for the translations of the Japanese Noh plays', and that these 'first suggested to Pound a possible solution to the problem of constructing a long non-narrative, imagist poem'. Following this observation, Slatin summarises Pound's own statements about the 'unity of image' he had found in the *nô*, and how the form had

shown him that 'a long vorticist poem is possible' (see 12, 17f and 87), but Slatin's work does not further describe or evaluate the effects of the *nô* on the structure and design of Pound's work. See also 70.

109. Davie, Donald. 'Cathay, Arnaut Daniel, The Noh'. In *Ezra Pound: Poet as Sculptor*. New York: Oxford UP, 1964.

Davie's treatment of Pound's work with the *nô* (pp. 47ff.) is dated by more recent scholarship. He finds Pound's versions interesting for their demonstration that Pound was 'capable . . . of responding to ways and structures of feeling . . . remote from his own', but argues that Pound's attempt to connect the *nô* with 'the poetic program of "imagisme"' (see especially 12 and 17f and 87) was 'strained', and that in the end his work with the plays was a 'blind alley'. Slatin's suggestion (in 108) that this 'alley' had ^{been} an opening into *The Cantos* had appeared a year earlier, and has been followed upon by, especially, Bush (145 and 161), Niikura (147), Flory (186), Longenbach (183), Miyake (187, 191, and 192), Stoicheff (202), and Nicholls (204). Davie's work includes comments about Yeats and the *nô*, and Yeats's hand in Pound's versions of the *nô*, and is the first critical commentary to suggest that 'doubtless the two poets must be thought of as working . . . together' in their preparation. Katô (154) and Chiba (175), particularly, substantiate the point. Reprinted in Davie's *Studies in Ezra Pound* (Manchester: Carcanet, 1991).

110. Schneidau, Herbert. 'Pound and Yeats: The Question of Symbolism'. *Journal of English Literary History* 32 (1965): 220-37.

Includes in a larger discussion of Yeats's influence on Pound an argument (pp. 231-32) that while 'the great mass of half-translated materials left by Fenollosa gave to both Pound and Yeats their opportunities to create the new modes of artistic expression . . . they were seeking', their interests in the material differed profoundly, for 'whereas the Noh drama, with its heavy suggestiveness and supernatural machinery, was all that Yeats could desire', the 'spiritualism and suggestiveness' of the form 'went together, in Pound's eyes, to produce a vapidty', and after completing 'a few translations' from the *nô*, Schneidau contends, Pound 'turned over these manuscripts to Yeats'. Pound's own incorporation of the 'suggestiveness and supernatural machinery' of the *nô* aside, in cantos both early and late (see particularly 27, 56, and 72), work by Slatin (108), Bush (145 and 161), Longenbach (183), Miyake (187, 191, and 192), and others renders these assertions questionable.

111. Smith, Richard Eugene. 'Ezra Pound and the Haiku'. *College English* 26 (1965): 522-27.

Compares IN A STATION OF THE METRO (3) and FAN PIECE, FOR HER IMPERIAL LORD (7b) with definitions of 'haiku' from several English-language sources and finds that the latter poem is closer to 'the essence of haiku'.

- 1 1 2. Teele, Roy E. 'A Balance Sheet on Pound's Translations of Noh Plays'. *Books Abroad* 39 (1965): 168-70.

Points out that 'as poetic plays', Pound's versions of the nô 'are beautiful and moving, regardless of their accuracy in representing the original form', and that 'certainly they have reached a wider and different audience than more academic translations'; further, 'Pound's grasp of the "unity of imagery" in noh plays [see, especially, 12, 17f, and 87] . . . is of considerable importance', for 'no western or Japanese critic had pointed this out before Pound'. Teele identifies weaknesses in the work, particularly the 'fragmentary nature' of many of the plays, and Pound's failure to distinguish properly between prose and verse sections, but adds that though 'a list of "errors" would be relatively easy' to produce, a 'note of caution' must be appended, for 'without being certain what Japanese text Fenollosa used, detailed criticism is difficult'. More recent scholarship has identified the texts upon which Fenollosa relied (see *D8*), with more help from Hirata than anyone understood in 1965 (see especially Furukawa and Yamaguchi, *BL109* and *D10d*), but still one cannot deny Teele's conclusion that Pound's work is of 'historical and literary value', even if 'for a sound and wide knowledge of noh plays, readers should now turn elsewhere'.

- 1 1 3. Goodwin, K. L. *The Influence of Ezra Pound*. London: Oxford UP, 1966.

Chapter 5 of this careful study examines Pound's influence on Yeats, and focuses particularly on the effects of his interest in the nô on Yeatsian drama, though Goodwin is careful to point out that many principles Yeats 'derived' from the nô were discussed in his work and put into practice in his drama years before Pound introduced him to the form (see especially *BL2-9*). Includes mention of discussions of the nô that took place at Pound's London lodgings in 1915, with Waley (see *D26*), Dulac (see *BL12*), and probably Yeats in attendance, and notes also effects of Pound's versions of the nô on Noguchi and Waley, and in general his profound influence on post-war poetry in the United States.

- 1 1 4. †Saitô, Kuniharu. 'Some Critical Comments on 'Fenollosa-Pound' Translations of Noh Plays'. *Meiji Gakuen Review* (1966): n.p.

Noted in *Sixteen Modern American Authors* (1979, p. 459), but the citation is untraceable: no article about the subject appears in the *Meiji gakuen rongyô*, the only journal to which the title *Meiji Gakuen Review* might logically refer.

- 1 1 5. Baumann, Walter. *The Rose in the Steel Dust: An Examination of The Cantos of*

Ezra Pound. Bern: Franke, 1967. Reprint, Coral Gables, Fla.: U of Miami P, 1970.

A close reading of especially cantos IV (31) and LXXXII (56g). Contains cogent analysis of Pound's use of legends associated with the pines of Takasago and Ise (p. 39-41; see especially 31, 70c, and 88d), his incorporation of nô materials (pp. 74-78), and in both cases how he used these Japanese subjects to establish a counterpoint to European values derived from classical Greece.

116. Reck, Michael. *Ezra Pound: A Close-Up*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967.

For several years before serving with the Occupation army in Japan, Reck visited Pound at St. Elizabeth's, and before departure Pound gave him a 'little mission', to visit and give greetings to Kitasono, Itô, and the poet and publisher Fujitomi Yasuo. Pages 96-101 here recount the visits, and include an essay about the history of the Vou club (see 46), given to Reck by Kitasono. Reck's visit to Fenollosa's grave at Miidera during the sojourn is mentioned in canto LXXXIX (63c).

117. Teele, Roy E. 'The Japanese Translations'. *Texas Quarterly* 10/4 (1967): 61-66.

Rather oddly divides Pound's 'Japanese translations' into two categories, 'the haiku' and work with the nô. Leaving aside that Pound's work with 'hokku-like' verse was not by any standard definition 'translation', the discussion of it here is uninspired, but Teele is on surer ground with the nô, and suggests that in spite of errors in 'literal translation' the versions in 'Noh' (24) achieve at their best 'something of the effect of the original'.

118. Tsunoda, Shirô. 'Pound no shi ni taisuru haiku no eikyô' (The influence of haiku on Pound's poems). *Ôbirin daigaku tanki daigaku kiyô* 7 (1967): 111-21.

Argues that Pound's earliest interest in Japanese subjects came through the visual arts and Whistler, and that from this followed his interest in haiku and its well-known effects on the theory and practice of Imagism.

119. Davis, Earle. *Vision Fugitive: Ezra Pound and Economics*. Lawrence: UP of Kansas, 1968.

As is clear from the title, Davis's central aim is not to examine the structure of *The Cantos*, yet he offers in passing (pp. 39-40) an interesting variation on the thesis first set forth by Slatin (108) that Pound derived structure in the poem from his work with the nô. Davis quotes the 'listening to incense' passage from Pound's work with the nô materials (see 17b), and suggests that as (according to Pound) the medieval Japanese made an allusive 'game' of guessing which 'perfumes' were being burnt, and which 'strange event of history or . . . passage of romance or legend'—the words are Pound's—the scent was to call to mind, and as each nô play 'works on an intensification of a single image or emotion', so Pound 'must have

envisaged a poem in which single themes (emotions or perfumes?) were intensified by a number of illustrations or passages from romantic history and legend, examples which connected or illuminated the central image, emotion, or idea'. 'Part of the fun', Davis suggests, 'is that it was a guessing game'.

- 1 2 0. Shoemaker, Jack. 'A Love Song for Basho and Pound'. In *Santamaya*, by Shoemaker and David Meltzer. [San Francisco]: Maya, 1968.

In spite of the title, beyond a reference to writing 'cantos' this poem included in a Christmas card from 'Maya Publishers and Prophets' has no apparent connection either to Bashô or to Pound.

- 1 2 1. Pearlman, Daniel D. *The Barb of Time: On the Unity of Ezra Pound's Cantos*. New York: Oxford UP, 1969.

Pearlman's attempt to demonstrate unity in *The Cantos* includes analysis of Pound's use of the Japanese and Chinese manuscript for canto XLIX (pp. 194-201; see 43), and an Appendix that includes English translation by Kodama of the booklet, facsimile reproduction of representative portions of the Japanese and Chinese poems and the illustrations, and a postscript collating lines 1-32 of the canto with the manuscript materials.

- 1 2 2. Schneidau, Herbert N. *Ezra Pound: The Image and the Real*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1969.

Argues in a chapter titled 'Hulme Vs. Fenollosa' that Fenollosa was a greater influence on Pound's Imagism than T. E. Hulme (see A 3), and elsewhere that 'the epigram is more important in the ancestry of Imagism than the oft-noted *haiku*' (p. 188).

- 1 2 3. Yip, Wai-lim. *Ezra Pound's Cathay*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1969.

Primarily a comparison of the poems of *Cathay* (15) with their Chinese originals, but includes notes as well about Pound's hokku-derived technique of superposition (see index).

- 1 2 4. Sullivan, J. P. 'Ezra Pound and the Classics'. In *New Approaches to Ezra Pound*, edited by Eva Hesse. London: Faber & Faber, 1969.

Argues that Kitasono's theory outlined in 45c is 'in fact, one of the best formulations of Pound's poetic'.

- 1 2 5. French, Calvin. Introduction to *The Brocade Cloth* (NISHIKIGI). In *Twenty Plays of the Nô Theatre*, edited by Donald Keene. New York: Columbia UP, 1970.

French in introduction to his own translation of NISHIKIGI finds Pound's version (8) 'too far from the original to qualify as translation'.

- 1 2 6. Stock, Noel. *The Life of Ezra Pound*. London: Routledge and Paul, 1970.

A chapter titled 'Ernest Fenollosa 1913/1915' focuses on Pound's activities during the years noted, but outlines his work with Fenollosa's manuscripts only in general terms; other chapters include notes about Pound's relationship with Itô and Kume (pp. 184-86)—and Stock contends without providing a source that 'at one stage Pound had in mind to visit Koume [Kume] in Tokio—and with Kitasono and the Vou club poets (pp. 344-45, see 46), along with other writers pertinent here, including Aiken, Aldington, Binyon, Fletcher, Flint, T. E. Hulme (see A3), and Lowell (see index). See also 133.

127. Kagitani, Yukinobu. 'Haiku to gendai America shi: Pound, Williams no baai' (Haiku and modern American poetry: Pound and Williams). *Haiku* 19/3 (1970): 50-57.

Finds that while Pound and William Carlos Williams understood something of the 'essence' of haiku none of their poems completely capture it.

128. Kenner, Hugh. *The Pound Era*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1971. Reprint, 1974. Includes a brief discussion of Pound's reworking of Fenollosa's notes on the nô (pp. 282-84), a lively account of Lowell's uninformed reactions to Pound's Japanese and Chinese interests (pp. 291-98), and passing reference to other Japanese subjects (see index).

129. Rachewiltz, Mary de. *Discretions*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1971.

Pound's daughter's recollections of her youth and her 'Tattile' are punctuated throughout by passages from *The Cantos*, and shed light on several, including lines pertinent here in canto LXXVI (56b). Remembering her mother's house in Venice in the years before the war, de Rachewiltz recalls the kimono and pairs of 'Japanese shoes', one of straw and one of 'black wood', that decorated Olga Rudge's room and seemed to the child 'objects of great veneration', then recalls the passage to Pound's study on the third floor, and provides the only description available—no photographs are known to exist—of 'Tami's dream', the painting Kume had given to Pound, probably in Paris in 1922, and other details of the house that returned to Pound at the Disciplinary Training Center at Pisa:

The wall along the stairs leading to the top room was taken up completely by a gray opaque canvas into which I read nothingness; chaos, the universe or the torso of a giant, crucified. Tami Koume's Super-artificial-growing-creation, whispering: "We are now standing at the critical moment of humanity. We must be saved by something." And he was killed in the Tokyo earthquake and his big canvas in Venice torn to pieces during the war. And on the studio bookcase the great Ovid bound in wooden boards and the marble bas-relief of Isotta da Rimini set in the wall by the desk "and the gilded casoni neither then nor up the present / the hidden nest, Tami's dream, the great Ovid / bound in thick boards, the bas relief of Ixotta / and the care in contriving" (see 57, p. 482).

130. Fukuda, Rikutarô. 'Ezra Pound and the Orient: Some Oriental Figures behind E. Pound'. *Tamkang Review* 2/2-3/1 (1971): 61-69.
Fukuda's discussion of Pound's relationship with Itô, Kume (here called Koume), and Kitasono, among others, is lively but does not attempt to offer new insight into the subject. Reprinted in *Eigo seinen*, 1 April 1973.
131. Hori, Masato. 'Ezra Pound to nôgaku' (Ezra Pound and the nô). *Kansai daigaku tôzai gakujutsu kenkyûjo kiyô* 4 (1971): 1-12.
Traces details of Pound's reworking of the Fenollosa manuscripts for 'Noh' or *Accomplishment* (24) and outlines ideas about the 'one image poem' Pound 'discovered' in haiku and the nô (see especially 12, 17f, and 87). Includes a photograph of Pound at the Teatro Eliseo in Rome, 10 June 1970, taken prior to a performance of the nô performed by Umewaka Mansaburô, grandson of Umewaka Minoru.
132. Taylor, Richard. 'The Notebooks of Ernest Fenollosa: Translations from the Japanese Nô'. *Literature East and West* 15/4-16/1-2 (1971-72): 533-76.
Includes versions of four nô plays from Fenollosa's manuscripts, ADACHIGAHARA, KANEHIRA, SEMIMARU, and YÔCHISOGA, that Pound did not include in 'Noh' (24), for the purpose of analysing Pound's treatment of the plays he did include. Finds that the 'textual errors' of Pound's nô versions 'are both obvious and unimportant', though 'his misapprehension of classical [nô] literary form and structure . . . constitutes a far more serious flaw'. Taylor's transcriptions of Fenollosa's manuscripts were completed before the manuscripts themselves were available for consultation, and are based on transcriptions made by Dorothy Pound in 1960, which are now at the Library at the University of Virginia. Transcriptions made from Fenollosa's manuscripts themselves appear in 201. See also 75, 144, and BL180, pp. 46-52.
133. Enright, D. J. 'Dialect and Analect'. Review of *Life of Ezra Pound* (126), by Noel Stock. In *Man is an Onion: Reviews and Essays*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1972.
Includes Enright's provocative analysis of Pound's acquisition and use of Fenollosa's manuscripts:
- Given a tendency toward dialect, imitated or concocted, and a taste for the archaic, Pound was an easy prey for the exotic, remote in space as well as in time. Despite Eliot's claim that Pound was the inventor of Chinese poetry for our time [in 39; see 15], I think it was a disaster when in 1913 Pound acquired the literary remains of Ernest Fenollosa, one of that still extant class of talented amateurs devoted to the ancient and suspicious of the modern of whom Lafcadio Hearn is probably the best known. Pound found so many new toys to play with, free from competition or restraint; and his tendency to believe that a thing really was what Ezra said it was found a large new territory in which to expand. I don't suppose it matters much, in

itself, that Li Po has been perpetuated as Rihaku (though the Chinese might wonder why Pound handed over one of their very greatest poets to the Japanese), or that in his version of the Nô play, SUMA GENJI (17e), titles of the books of *The Tale of Genji* have been read as place names, or that there are at least two references in *Cathay* (15) to “the River Kiang”, although “Kiang” means “River”. . . . But more harmful was the ethico-political mythology he erected out of Fenollosa’s notebooks.

Enright praises Pound for his ‘fragments of fine poetry’ and ‘grandiosity’, but blames Fenollosa’s notebooks for his tendency to ‘thrust the present into the straight-jacket of a largely imaginary past’. Dated 1970.

134. Sakanishi, Shio. ‘Manekarezaru kyaku: Ezra Pound’ (An unexpected guest: Ezra Pound). *Eigo bungaku sekai*, November 1972, pp. 2-4; December 1972, pp. 10-12.

Sakanishi’s remembrance of the ‘unexpected guest’, who in 1939 on his last trip to the United States before the war visited the Japanese Section of the Library of Congress, where Sakanishi was curator, to propose that the library arrange funding for a set of bilingual editions of the nô. Sakanishi was bemused, but receptive to Pound’s enthusiasm, and arranged for his viewing of a filmed performance of AOI NO UE (22). He was so impressed by what he saw that for years he lobbied for the filming of the entire nô canon (see 49).

135. Sato, Toshihiko. ‘A Study of Noh, *The Robe of Feathers*’. *College Language Association Journal* 16 (1972): 72-80.

Quibbles both with Pound’s and Waley’s version of HAGOROMO (see 13d and D26b), but ultimately finds Waley more accurate when compared with the original text.

136. Kenner, Hugh. ‘More on the Seven Lakes Canto’ (43). *Paideuma* 2 (1973): 43-46.

Suggests that the source of lines 3-32 of canto XLIX is a series of English paraphrases of the Chinese poems of the manuscript book mentioned by Pearlman (121) and not the manuscript book itself. The paraphrases are in an unsent letter Pound wrote to his father in the late twenties. Kenner finds it ‘highly improbable’ that Pound could have read the Chinese and Japanese in the manuscript, and asserts that he must have had ‘a visitor’s help’ with the translation. See 138 for information about the ‘visitor’.

137. Miller, Felicia. ‘Pound, Fenollosa, and the Noh’. *Occident* (Berkeley) 7/1 (1973): 63-65.

Argues in brief that the ‘unity of image’ Pound discovered in the nô (see especially 12, 17f, and 87) ‘afforded him a means of extending [the] aesthetic’ of Imagism. Includes discussion of the ‘unity of image’ in Pound’s version of HAGOROMO (13d) and passing reference to Yeats’s interest in the nô.

138. Palandri, Angela Jung. 'The Seven Lakes Canto [43] Revisited'. *Paideuma* 3 (1974): 51-54.

Based on interviews with Pound in 1952 and unpublished letters in the Pound archive at Yale (90a). Identifies Kenner's 'visitor' (see 136) who helped Pound with the poems in the Chinese and Japanese manuscript from which he derived lines 3-32 of canto XLIX, a Miss Tseng, who had visited Pound in Rapallo and 'helped . . . with the translation'.

139. Puette, William J. 'Ezra Pound: The Meaning of Oriental Literatures to His Poetics'. *Insight* 6 (1974): 12-23.

Puette's attempt to aid the non-specialist in making sense of Pound's use of Chinese and Japanese materials posits the primacy of Japanese poetry over Chinese, for Pound's early knowledge of Chinese was 'an indirect learning from the vantage of Japanese scholarship' via Fenollosa. Cites 'Chinese Poetry' (30) as an example of Pound's own 'unintentional mixup of Chinese with Japanese', and suggests that critics of Pound have perpetuated the error.

140. Terrell, Carroll F. 'The Na-Khi Documents I'. *Paideuma* 3 (1974): 91-122.

An untitled section II (pp. 94-100) argues that Pound's interest in East Asian art began with his introduction to Binyon, and that the concepts of 'Rhythmic Vitality or Spiritual Rhythm' that Binyon describes in *Flight of the Dragon* (BC9) 'apply in great degree to Pound's practice in *The Cantos*', particularly *The Pisan Cantos* (56) and those that follow. See also 148 and BC34a.

141. Nassar, Eugene Paul. *The Cantos of Ezra Pound: The Lyric Mode*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1975.

Nassar's overview and analysis of 'lyrical passages' in *The Cantos* includes passing notes about Pound's use of material from the *nô*, particularly HAGOROMO (13d; see index).

142. Oikawa Shigeru. 'Sannin no Komachi' (Three Komachis). *Hikaku bungaku kenkyû* 27 (1975): 73-88.

Outlines the differences in versions of SOTOBA KOMACHI by Pound (17c), Waley (see D26b), and Péri, and compares each with a standard Japanese text.

143. Tanaka, Hisako. 'Pound to *nô*' (Pound and the *nô*). *Kôbe yamate joshitankidaigaku kiyô* 18 (1975): 11-24.

Traces the basic details of Pound's acquisition and publication of Fenollosa's *nô* manuscripts.

144. Taylor, Richard. 'Ezra Pound: Editor of *Nô*'. *Paideuma* 4 (1975): 345-47, 353.

Precedes and follows Taylor's transcription of Dorothy Pound's transcription of the unpublished Fenollosa's manuscript of YÔRÔ (see 75), but is more directly

about Pound's work on the plays that appeared in *'Noh or Accomplishment (24)*. Finds that Pound's work on the nô is often 'highly questionable', but notes that he had 'an intuitive grasp of several important aspects . . . even though there is no explicit understanding of detail'. Among these are an understanding of the importance of 'spiritism' and of the 'larger encyclopedic intention of the conventional cycle of five plays', an acceptance of the 'anti-realistic method' of the nô, and the fusion of the text with music and dancing. Includes discussion of Yeats's AT THE HAWK'S WELL (*BL12*). Incorporated in *BL180*.

145. Bush, Ronald. *The Genesis of Ezra Pound's Cantos*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1976.

Bush's work remains the definitive treatment of the development of the early *Cantos*, particularly the transformation of 'Three Cantos' (27, 1917) into *A Draft of XVI Cantos* (35, 1925), and finds Pound's work with the nô central. In beginning *The Cantos* Pound planned a poem of 'ritual awakening to ancient truths', and employed 'repetitive strategies of . . . ritual drama' for which he had found antecedent in Fenollosa's remarks about the cycles of the nô (recorded in 17*f*). His 'fusion' of Dante with the nô cycle 'was connected in his mind with the early comparisons between the *Commedia* and European mystery cycles, and remained constant throughout the *Cantos*' (p. 19). Particularly in a section entitled 'Yeats and the Noh' (pp. 102-111), but elsewhere throughout the text (see index), Bush argues forcefully for the thesis that in the nô cycle Pound found a 'medium for incorporating diverse secular and spiritual material', and an 'example of how values could organize an extended but loosely structured literary work' in a 'sequence . . . not locked into a Dantesque linear progression', but based rather on 'the ebb and flow of perception of spiritual reality' (p. 110). Careful and persuasive as Bush is, one bibliographic confusion deserves correction: his assertion (p. 104) that between September 1914 and April 1916 Pound 'five times suggested a connection between the Noh plays and his projected long poem' has been repeated by several critics, but is based on a misreading of Slatin (108), whom Bush cites in a note to the comment. Pound's only published references to this 'connection' during these years did not link the nô directly to his *own* long poem, but to the possibility of a long vorticist poem in general, and unless one takes into account reprinted material he discusses the connection in print only in footnotes to 'Vorticism' (12) and 'The Classical Stage of Japan' (17*f*), and in the recently-discovered 1915 essay "'Image'" and the Japanese Classical Stage (87). Pound's only direct link in the published record between the nô and *The Cantos* is in a 1917 letter to Harriet Monroe (70*c*) accompanying the submission of 'Three Cantos' to *Poetry*.

146. Niikura, Toshikazu. 'Modernism to haiku—Pound to Bly' (Modernism and haiku: Pound and Bly). *Haiku* 25/1 (1976): 176-82.
Briefly traces the influence of haiku on Imagism, Pound's interest in the form, and its lasting effects in American poetry, particularly in work by Robert Bly (see also CA14). Includes passing reference to Chamberlain (see D5), Flint (see especially A2 and A3), and Hearn (D9), and to the work of Rexroth (see CA13 and 14d), Snyder (see CA14e), Stevens (see CA7), Lucien Stryk (see CA14), and William Carlos Williams.
147. Niikura, Toshikazu. 'The Pisan Cantos [56] and Noh Drama'. *American Literature in the 1940's* 1 (1976): 132-40.
Valuable as the first work to note that the structure of *The Pisan Cantos* 'resembles' the structure of mugen nô, a point anticipated by Bush (in 145) and carried further by Longenbach (183) and, especially, Miyake (187, 191, and 192). Niikura is cautious in his observations that both Pound's work and the nô rely on 'a pastiche of classical quotations and allusions', and an 'invocation of the dead' that 'leads to the liberation of the spell of doom and anxiety'. See also 70b.
148. Holaday, Woon-Ping Chin. 'Pound and Binyon: China via the British Museum'. *Paideuma* 6 (1977): 27-36.
Argues that Binyon's work, especially *Painting in the Far East* (BC2), *Guide to . . . Chinese and Japanese Paintings* (BC7), and *Flight of the Dragon* (BC9), had greater influence on Pound's use of Chinese and Japanese materials than has been previously noted. Particular reference is made to Pound's possible reliance on *Flight* and *Painting* in the composition of canto XLIX (43). See also 140 and BC34a.
149. Kobayashi, Manji. 'Marie Stopes to Ezra Pound' (Stopes and Pound). *Eigo seinen* 123 (1977): 397-99.
In spite of the title, the work is mainly a biographical introduction to Stopes (see D23), with special reference to her relationship with Japan. Includes passing comment about Pound's interest in Stopes's work, along with a brief summary of early translations of the nô into English.
150. Miyake, Akiko. 'A Note on So-shu'. *Paideuma* 6 (1977): 325-28.
Miyake's article itself does not concern Japanese materials, but it sets off a fray in the pages of *Paideuma* that does. By comparing Giles's *History of Chinese Literature*, which Fang (102) demonstrated was a source for Pound, with Fenollosa's manuscripts, which had not been available when Fang published his study, Miyake corrects Fang's assertion that Pound was confusing Li Po with Chuang Chou in his references to 'So-shu' in canto II (35a), and contends that 'whatever the reason Pound evoked So-shu . . . we have to seek it in some

interpretation other than [his] sources'. Hesse (151) disagrees, Read (159) takes Hesse to task, and Cooper (173) tries to solve the problem with help from a Japanese creation myth.

151. Hesse, Eva. 'New Light on Old Problems'. *Paideuma* 7 (1978): 179-83.

Miyake (150) separated an interpretation of the 'So-shu' lines of canto II (35a) from Pound's sources, but Hesse reconnects the two by tracing a possible link between the lines and Fenollosa's notes about the Chinese poet Ssu-ma Hsiang (Jpn.: Shiba Shôjo), whom Hesse contends Pound confused with 'So-shu'. She also offers an explanation of the 'Tree of Visages' in canto IV (31) that depends on a misreading by Fenollosa of a phrase from TAKASAGO (see 88d). See also 159 and 173.

152. Ishibashi, Hiro. 'Marie C. Stopes to nô' (Stopes and nô). *Eigo seinen* 124 (1978): 180-81, 214-16.

Primarily of importance to this study for Ishibashi's quotation from a letter Stopes wrote to her on 14 March 1956: At about the time of publication of Stopes's *Plays of Old Japan* (see D23, 1913), Stopes writes, 'Ezra Pound invited himself to see me, asking me to collaborate with him in doing some Nô plays. I talked with him and found he knew nothing whatever about the subject or the language, or the really fundamental ideas in the plays, and I refused as he was merely trying to sponge on me in my opinion. Yeats, of course, was quite a different matter. He was a real poet, but I feel that his attempts at English Nô Plays are very artificial.'

153. Johnson, Scott. 'The Fenollosa-Hirata Manuscripts on Noh and How Ezra Pound Edited Them'. *Transactions of the International Conference of Orientalists in Japan* 23 (1978): 49-59.

Useful for presenting argumentation and information that had appeared earlier only in Japanese. Following Furukawa (see BL109 and D10d), Johnson argues that the draft translations of the Noh plays that 'fired the enthusiasm' of Pound and led to the writing of Yeats's *Four Plays for Dancers* (BL17) were 'fundamentally the work of Hirata Kiichi and not Ernest Fenollosa'; the work goes on to suggest that Pound's 'finished' versions of the plays 'suffer' from an 'unresolved conflict' between 'his desire to be faithful to the manuscripts before him and his urge to shape them into moving, durable poetry'. Reproduces portions of Yano Hôjin's translation of a 1938 essay by Hirata about Fenollosa and his study of the nô, and, from Furukawa, one of Fenollosa's letters to Hirata.

154. Katô, Eileen. 'On the Pound-Fenollosa Versions of the Noh and Possible Traces of Yeats'. *Hikakubungaku kenkyû* 33 (1978): 1-19.

Katô traces 'hints' of Yeats in the dialect of Pound's versions of the nô, particularly those that appeared in *Certain Noble Plays* (21), though is careful not to claim too much. Chiba's later work with Yeats's unpublished 'suggestions and corrections', however (175), demonstrates that Katô's intuition is correct. Regarding the 'Pound-Fenollosa' versions themselves, Katô notes that 'the stickler for accuracy must throw up his hands in horror several times a page', but 'in places they are very good', and they 'have fired the imagination of countless Western readers and some of the greatest poets of our century'.

155. Alexander, Michael. *The Poetic Achievement of Ezra Pound*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1979.

Alexander's study does not concern itself with Pound's incorporation of Japanese materials beyond passing treatment (p. 108) of *Certain Noble Plays* (21), which echoes Davie (109) in suggesting that the versions of the nô 'belong as much to Yeats's career as to Pound's' and 'are very much a work of collaboration' (see also 154 and 175). Alexander finds in addition that the nô 'took Pound further away from declamation and rhetoric into economy and an intensified allusiveness'.

156. Bacigalupo, Massimo. 'Sophocles and the Tragic Dance'. In *The Formed Trace: The Later Poetry of Ezra Pound*. New York: Columbia UP, 1980.

Examines the motivations and to a lesser degree the effects of Pound's conflation of Sophocles and the nô in his translation of the *Trachiniae* (61): Pound approaches the text 'as if it were a Nô, or rather as if the unity of image and of emotion which he detects in the tragedy had the same sources that were to produce the noble art of Japan. . . . The unconventional methodology which prompts Pound to approach the Greek text by way of a code borrowed in part from a wholly diverse cultural ambience anticipates investigations undertaken by present advanced critics. Yet he defines his method as he immediately confronts the text, and so avoids the sterility which at times attends critical practices of this kind. He is, rather than a critic, a *dancer*; the text—and the critical vortex of which it is the center—is his partner in the celebration'.

157. Flory, Wendy Stallard. *Ezra Pound and The Cantos: A Record of A Struggle*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1980.

Flory's central thesis that the personal struggle Pound underwent at Pisa ultimately brings unity to *The Cantos* relies in part on a brief argument (pp. 182ff., especially 188-89) that in his 'movement toward self-confrontation' at Pisa Pound 'reestablish[ed] contact' with the 'world of spirits and essences, of ceremonial dignity and the contemplation of beauty' of the nô, and wrote from a 'state of consciousness very similar to the spirit' of the form. Includes reference

throughout to allusions in *The Cantos* to particular works of the *nô* (see index). See also 186.

158. Terrell, Carroll F. *A Companion to The Cantos of Ezra Pound*. 2 vols. Berkeley: U of California P, 1980, 1984.

Terrell's guide for students of *The Cantos* includes notes about most of their Japanese allusions.

159. Read, Forrest. "When will they ever learn . . .": So-Shu Again'. *Paideuma* 9 (1980): 327-28.

An irritable response to Hesse's contention (in 151) that the 'So-shu' lines of canto II (35a) are to be understood in terms of Pound's sources: 'The hodge-podge of oriental names swept away by Akiko Miyake [150] but belabored back by Eva Hesse is a red herring'. Five years later, Cooper (173) traces the 'hodge-podge' to Japan.

160. Bell, Ian F. 'Correspondences'. In *Critic as Scientist: The Modernist Poetics of Ezra Pound*. London: Methuen, 1981.

A section titled 'Intelligent seeing' (pp. 103-13) explores the elements of Fenollosa's 'transcendentalist temperament' that appealed to Pound, and includes well-understood notes about what Pound in 1915 would have found both interesting and 'irritat[ing]' in Noguchi's *Spirit of Japanese Poetry* (D15e6), and in general how contemporary interest in the art and poetry of Japan 'reflected Pound's own concern with practical poetics, at a time when he was responding to a new dynamics for writing in the energies of vorticism'. In addition to discussion of Fenollosa and Noguchi, Bell places in this context the Japanese work of Hearn (see D9), John La Farge, and Edward Morse.

161. Bush, Ronald. "The "Rhythm of Metaphor": Yeats, Pound, Eliot, and the Unity of Image in Postsymbolist Poetry'. In *Allegory, Myth, and Symbol*, edited by Morton W. Bloomfield. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1981.

Bush's insight here is central to further understanding of the role of Japanese subjects, in particular the *nô*, in the birth and development of Anglo-American modernism. The essay demonstrates that 'a series of irrecoverable conversations . . . centered around the Noh' took place among Pound, Yeats, and Eliot sometime in 1916, and that these 'provided all three poets occasion to ponder the value of controlling images in the poetry they were preparing to write'. Bush traces the original insight involved to Pound, who in preparing the famous Vorticist manifesto that appeared in *Fortnightly Review* in September 1914 (12) had set aside his work with the *nô*, but returned to it as he was completing the Vorticism piece, and 'a spark flew between the two projects', leading to the last-

minute addition of the footnote raising the question of whether ‘a long imagiste or vorticist poem’ is possible, and answering it affirmatively by pointing to the unity of image ‘enforced by movement and music’ in the nô. ‘We may regard Pound’s Cantos’, Bush contends, ‘as a long commentary on the excited question and feverish reply in that footnote’. From this, Bush continues in discussion of Pound’s second connection of ‘Unity of Image’ in the nô with the long imagiste poem, in ‘The Classical Stage of Japan’ (17f), Yeats’s discussion of the ‘playing upon a single metaphor’ in the nô in introduction to *Certain Noble Plays* (BL11), and Eliot’s cogent elaboration of the point in the nearly-forgotten ‘The Noh and the Image’ (92b), which appeared in the *Egoist* in August 1917. Bush notes that ‘the effect of the Noh plays’ was not as ‘sharp’ in Yeats and Eliot’s poetry as in Pound’s, but the closing analysis of ‘the shaping power of the controlling image’ in THE WASTELAND raises compelling issues related to this study that have yet to be explored. See also 87, 112, and 165.

162. Kimpel, Ben D., and T. C. Duncan Eaves. “‘Tremaine at 2 in the Morning’ and Other Little Mysteries’. *Paideuma* 10 (1981): 307-10.

Demonstrates that a series of names appearing in canto LVI (52a, see 57, pp. 302-03, ‘Against Ogotai’s . . . -in Ten Bou’s time . . .’) are a Dutch-French romanisation of the names of Japanese emperors taken from the Klaproth edition of *Nippon odai ichiran* (D1c).

163. Miyake, Akiko. ‘Commentary on Professor Tsukui’s Translation of YORO’. *Paideuma* 10 (1981): 397-402.

Compares translations of YŌRŌ by Tsukui (in this issue of *Paideuma*) and Pound/Fenollosa (75) with the Japanese text, and finds the Pound/Fenollosa work questionable in parts but ultimately preferable to Tsukui.

164. Iwahara, Yasuo. ‘Pound no haiku hakken’ (Pound’s discovery of haiku). *Haiku* 39/9 (1982): 70-79.

Traces Pound’s interest in haiku and argues that his understanding of the form contributed significantly to his development of Imagist principles.

165. Tsunoda, Shirô. *Ezra Pound to tōyō no bunka* (Pound and Eastern culture). Tokyo: Seijisha, 1982.

Tsunoda’s overview of Pound’s East Asian interests is among the most complete available. The work emphasises Pound’s interest in Chinese rather than Japanese materials, but two chapters concerned with the latter provide a useful summary of their importance in the development of Pound’s work. ‘Haiku kara eta shuhô’ (Technique acquired through haiku) traces the relationship between haiku and the development of Imagist poetics, and finds manifestations of the hokku-derived

form of super-position (see 12) not only in the early poems but also in *The Cantos*; and ‘Nô—yôkyoku kara dônyûsareta shihô’ (Principles of poetry derived from the nô) traces Pound’s work with Fenollosa’s nô manuscripts, suggests that the ‘unity of image’ Pound discovered in the nô (see 12, 17f, and 87) informs the structure of *The Cantos*, and calls attention to particular manifestations of images from the nô in that work. See also 112 and 161.

166. Nolde, John J. *Blossoms from the East: The Chinese Cantos of Ezra Pound*. Orono, Maine: National Poetry Foundation, 1983.

Nolde’s careful study of Pound’s ‘China Cantos’ (see 52) contains frequent reference as well to sources related to Japan (see index).

167. Tsukui, Nobuko. *Ezra Pound and Japanese Noh Plays*. Washington, D.C.: UP of America, 1983.

A detailed comparative analysis of the Pound/Fenollosa nô versions with original nô texts from the Kanze school. Includes careful tracing of nô allusions in *The Cantos*. Based on ‘Ezra Pound and the Japanese Noh Plays’, PhD thesis, University of Nebraska, 1967 (abstract in *DAI* 28/6: 2267A-68A). Reprints YÔRÔ (75), and incorporates ‘Ezra Pound and Japanese Noh Plays: An Examination of SOTOBA KOMACHI and NISHIKIGI’ (*Literature East and West* 15/4-16/1-2 [1971-72]: 662-79), ‘Ezra Pound’s Relationship with Fenollosa and the Japanese Noh Plays’ (*Markham Review* 3 [1972]: 21-27), and ‘AOI NO UE and KINUTA: An Examination of Ezra Pound’s Translations’ (*Paideuma* 8 [1979]: 199-214).

168. Iwahara, Yasuo. ‘Ezra Pound no haiku ninshiki: shinshiryô ni yoru Pound no jûchikeishiki no saikô’ (Pound’s understanding of haiku: A study of the form of super-position [see 12]). *Musashino joshidaigaku kiyô* 18 (1983): 5-17.

Seeks to discover the source of Pound’s knowledge of the haiku, and suggests among other possibilities Binyon, Hulme (see A3), and Flint; following Miner (see especially A25 and BK100), traces as well the relationship between haiku and the ‘form of super-position’.

169. Iwahara, Yasuo. ‘Ezra Pound no nô honyaku ni kansuru ichikôsatsu’ (A study of Pound’s nô translations). *Kôgakuin daigaku kenkyû ronsô* 20 (1983): 33-68.

Focuses on the degree to which Pound is responsible for the literary excellence of the best of the nô recreations from Fenollosa’s manuscripts (see especially 24), and concludes that Pound rather than Fenollosa may be credited with their value.

170. Tsunoda, Shirô. ‘The Japan Times and Mail ni yoseta Pound no ronbun’ (A study of Pound’s articles in *The Japan Times and Mail*). *Ôbirin daigaku/Ôbirin tankidaigaku kiyô* 23 (1983): 69-77; 24 (1984): 35-42; 25 (1985): 45-60.

Description of articles Pound submitted to the *Japan Times and Mail* in 1939 and 1940 (see 49-51, 53-55, and 82).

171. Dasenbrock, Reed Way. *The Literary Vorticism of Ezra Pound & Wyndham Lewis: Towards the Condition of Painting*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1985.

A chapter on 'Vortex and Ideogram' includes as part of a larger discussion of the effects of Fenollosa's orientalism on Pound's vorticism an argument that haiku provided for Pound 'support for his view that essence [is] relational' (see especially 108-13); a chapter on 'The Cantos in the Context of Vorticism' suggests that Pound worked in the early cantos from a principle he took over from haiku, that 'juxtapositions themselves hold [a] poem together', but that the method fails in *The Cantos* because that poem's materials are 'far more conceptual' than the images juxtaposed in Pound's earlier poetry (see pp. 200-04); later in the same chapter (pp. 224-26) Dasenbrock finds a relationship between Pound's 'best imagist poems', which 'express an intense moment of perception similar to those expressed in haiku', and *The Pisan Cantos* (56), which 'contain one . . . haiku-like moment after another' (see also 97); but regarding Pound's equation of literary vorticism with the *nô* (see 12, 17f, and 87), Dasenbrock finds that *The Cantos* preceding those written at Pisa owe 'little of their formal organization to anything found in the *Nô*', and that even in the frequent references to the *nô* that appear in *The Pisan Cantos* one finds 'no particular pattern to Pound's use of . . . details from the *Nô* plays' except that they represent the 'pattern . . . of reminiscence of the period of approximately 1912-1917'. For lucid counter-argument about the effects of the *nô* in *The Cantos* see 108, 145, 147, 161, 183, 186, 187, 191, 192, 202, and 204.

172. Albright, Daniel. 'Pound, Yeats, and the Noh Theatre'. *Iowa Review* 15 (1985): 34-50.

A general treatment of the general details of the subject. The contention that virtually the only information about the *nô* available to Pound and Yeats came from Fenollosa and Itô disregards Dickins (D3, see BK13a), Aston (D13, see BK77d), Brinkley (D14, see especially BK77g), Stopes (D23, see especially BK152), Kume (see especially 59h, 82b4, 82c2, 85, 89a, 174a), Noguchi (see D15a-b), Craig and the *Mask* (see D17), and numerous other sources (see for example BL257).

173. Cooper, Michelle F. 'Ezra Pound and the Japanese Cosmogony'. *Paideuma* 14 (1985): 259-72.

Joins the fray about the 'So-shu' lines in canto II (see 102, 150, 151, and 159) by suggesting that Pound was referring to the Japanese creation myth of Izanagi and Izanami. The argument is inconclusive, but Cooper shows that Pound would have

known something of the myth from Fenollosa's manuscript versions of HAGOROMO (see 13d).

174. Fukuda, Rikutarô, and Akira Yasukawa, eds. *Ezra Pound kenkyû* (Pound studies). Kyoto: Yamaguchi, 1986.

a. Tsunoda, Shirô. 'Pound to Kume Tamijûrô no koyû' [The friendship of Pound and Kume]. The fullest account of Pound's relationship with Kume. According to Tsunoda, Itô was a classmate of Kume at the St. John's Wood Art School in London in 1914, and introduced Kume to Pound when the latter was looking for someone to explain obscure passages in the Fenollosa manuscripts. Includes notes about Kume's meeting with Yeats at the Cafe Royal. Reports that Kume gave Pound 'several' nô textbooks in Japanese while he was at work on Fenollosa's manuscripts.

b. Yoshida, Sachiko. 'HAGOROMO [13d] to *The Cantos*: Pound no paradise no dampen' [HAGOROMO as a part of paradise in *The Cantos*]. Notes that Pound included 'pagan and oriental elements' in his vision of paradise in *The Cantos*, and examines particularly the role of the *tennin* in HAGOROMO, whom Yoshida believes represents Pound's hope for a harmony between heaven and hell.

175. Chiba, Yoko. 'Ezra Pound's Versions of Fenollosa's Noh Manuscripts and Yeats's Unpublished "Suggestions & Corrections"'. *Yeats Annual* 4 (1986): 121-144.

Shows that Pound's work with Fenollosa's manuscripts was 'for the most part . . . a total reconstruction of Fenollosa's draft', and argues on the basis of Yeats's unpublished 'Suggestions and Corrections' about the plays (in the Pound Archive at Yale [90a]) that the editing that went into the Cuala Press edition (21) was a 'collaboration' between Yeats and Pound. Virtually all of Yeats's 'suggestions and corrections' are reprinted here. Chiba argues as well that Mary Fenollosa entrusted Pound with her husband's manuscripts not only because she had seen his work in *Poetry* and liked it, but also because both were acquainted with Noguchi. Includes reference to Pound's relationship with Itô.

176. Miscellaneous. In Kodama (82), 1987.

Noted here are only those materials directly related to Pound's interests in Japanese subjects or use of Japanese materials. See 82a-c for notes about other letters included in the volume.

a. John Walsh. Preface. A brief overview of twentieth-century Japonisme and Pound's place in it. Includes reference to Fenollosa, Edward Morse, and Okakura (see D16), and to Pound's relationship with Itô, Kume, and Kitasono.

b. Kodama, Sanehide. Introduction. Traces and draws knowledgeable conclusions from Pound's Japanese interests: 'When we trace Pound's view of

Japan, we come to realize that even though he continued to further his knowledge of Japan throughout his life, his earlier image of Japan as a far-off, dreamlike country persisted; a treasure land for the aesthete, a country entangled with pleasant memories of youth. We cannot neglect the basic fact that Pound grew up in the era of Japonisme, and the image of Japan registered in his mind in his early youth as a land of lotus and butterfly was not to be erased . . . throughout his life.'

c. Mary Fenollosa to Pound, 25 November [1913]. A letter accompanying sections of Fenollosa's notebooks, which describes Fenollosa's nô teacher, Umewaka Minoru, and includes detailed description of the musical accompaniment for nô.

d. Kume to Pound, 21 January 1921. Includes an invitation for Pound to accompany Kume and Itô to Japan.

e. Kume to Pound, 11 April 1921. Clearly a response to a letter, apparently lost, in which Pound had inquired about Zen Buddhism.

f. Kume to Pound, 24 March 1923. Kume's last extant letter to Pound indicates that Pound had expressed interest in a teaching position in Japan; Kume intends to speak to 'some people of Gakushuin or [Tokyo Imperial?] University for to find . . . [a] situation' for Pound. The letter, to 'My dear Ezra', is signed 'with Love / Yours Ever / Tami'.

g. Kitasono to Pound, 23 July 1938. Kitasono refers to letters from Pound of 5 May and 2 July 1938, both apparently lost, in which Pound had inquired about a teaching position in Japan (see also 82b2, 82e1, 84, and 176f): 'In Formosa the climate is not good and I cannot encourage you to become a professor there. I think Tokio Imperial University or Kyoto Imperial University is most suitable to you.' Kitasono's response to inquiries Pound had made about Japanese poetry includes reference to the *Manyôshû*, the *Kokinshû*, and the *Shin kokinshû*, and he notes that under separate cover he has sent Pound 'some pamphlets' and *A Guide to Japanese Studies*, the latter of which would refer to the *Kokusai bunka shinkôkai* edition *A Guide to Japanese Studies: Orientation in the Studies of Japanese History, Buddhism, Shintoism, Art, Classic Literature, Modern Literature* (Tokyo, 1937).

h. Kitasono to Pound, 23 August 1938. Pound has asked for 'a book on Japanese history translated from the original', but Kitasono has not been able to find one, and recommends instead, and offers to send, Sansom's *Short Cultural History* (see D22).

i. Kitasono to Pound, 15 March 1940. In response to an earlier request from Pound (see 82b2), Kitasono reports that the *Japan Times* is willing to officially designate Pound 'Italian correspondent'.

See also *BC41*.

177. Murakata, Akiko. *The Ernest F. Fenollosa Papers, The Houghton Library, Harvard University / Harvard daigaku Houghton Library, Ernest Fenollosa shiryô*, vol. 3. Tokyo: Museum, 1987.

Murakata's work is primarily a Japanese translation of the Fenollosa papers at the Houghton Library (see *CB1a*), but includes two essays of relevance here:

a. 'Ernest F. Fenollosa's Studies of *Nô*: With Reference to His and Other Unpublished Manuscripts and Ezra Pound's Edition'. Based largely on the diaries of Umewaka Minoru, and Furukawa's treatment of them in *Meiji nôgakushi josetsu* (introduction to the history of the *nô* in the Meiji period [Tokyo: Wan'ya shoten, 1969]), Murakata's account is the fullest available in English of the nature of Fenollosa's study of the *nô*, and along with Furukawa's edition of Fenollosa's letters and Yamaguchi's monumental study of Fenollosa (for notes about both see *D10d*) demonstrates that the translations from which Pound worked in his versions were largely the work of Hirata. Includes reference to John La Farge, William Sturgis Bigelow, and Okakura Kakuzô (see *D16*). See also *BL109*.

b. 'Ezra Pound ed. "Fenollosa on the Noh" as it Was: Lecture V. *Nô*, Washington, 12 March 1903'. Murakata's introduction to the Fenollosa manuscript from which Pound worked in preparing 'Fenollosa on the Noh' (*13b*) outlines his 'lack [of] concern for a socio-historical perspective', 'misleading' footnotes, 'disorganized . . . paraphrase[s]' of 'technical details beyond his comprehension', and other editorial 'confusion' and 'dereliction'.

178. Tytell, John. *Ezra Pound: The Solitary Volcano*. New York: Doubleday, 1987.

Includes passing comment about Pound's interest in the *nô* (pp. 95ff.) and perpetuates a common misunderstanding about his work with the form: quoting two letters that Pound wrote in discouragement about his work with the *nô*, to John Quinn in 1918 (*59f*) and Iris Barry probably in the same year (*83*), Tytell states flatly and without qualification that Pound had 'assembled and translated the *Noh* plays more out of a debt to Fenollosa than from conviction' (p. 136). Surely Pound's letters to Barry and Quinn demonstrate that for a time he lost the intensity of conviction about the form that he had demonstrated in his early work with it, but to suggest that the work itself lacked conviction or that it did not have significant effects on his developing poetics is to ignore or misconstrue Pound's own words about his work with the form both before and after his letters to Barry and Quinn (see, for example, *12*, *17f*, *49*, *51*, *76e*, *82b4*, *82b14*, *82d*, *82e2*, *87*), *The Cantos* early and late (see especially *27*, *56*, and *72*), and careful scholarship outlining

the connection between the two (particularly 108, 145, 147, 161, 183, 186, 187, 191, 192, 202, and 204).

179. Laughlin, James. 'Some Voices from Canto LXXIV' (56a). In *Pound as Wuz: Essays and Lectures on Ezra Pound*. Saint Paul: Graywolf, 1987.

Includes reference (pp. 147ff.) to Pound's use of HAGOROMO (13d), KUMASAKA (17g), and KAGEKIYO (21a), in the canto; Laughlin reports that he has 'heard it said'—though not by Pound himself—that while Pound was planning his operas, *Le Testament* and *Cavalcanti* he 'had the Noh plays in mind'; includes passing reference to Yeats's adaptations of the nô'.

180. Odlin, Reno. "Beneath the cherry blossom / There are no strangers". *Antigonish Review* 71-72 (1987-88): 139-54.

Ostensibly in review of *Ezra Pound and Japan* (82), but Odlin uses the book as a springboard for his own lengthy ruminations about Pound's relationship to the country. Odlin's lack of acquaintance with previous research, however—he admits in a post-script that the review was completed before he had seen Miner's *Japanese Tradition* (A25), which for thirty years had been fundamental—leads him to rehearse points that had been critical commonplaces for years, and to insult the work of careful scholars, both Miner and Donald Keene, for example, along the way.

181. Carpenter, Humphrey. *A Serious Character: The Life of Ezra Pound*. London: Faber & Faber, 1988.

The most detailed biography of Pound includes a chapter titled 'Orient from all Corners' that traces in general terms Pound's growing acquaintance first with Chinese and then Japanese subjects in the years 1913-15, and includes discussion of Fenollosa, Pound's meetings with Mary Fenollosa, and his work on the nô while at Stone Cottage with Yeats. The work also includes passing notes about Pound's relationship with Binyon, Itô, Kitasono, Kume, and Waley, along with other writers under discussion here, Aiken, Aldington, Fletcher, Lowell, and Yeats among them (see index). See also 84.

182. Casillo, Robert. *The Genealogy of Demons: Anti-Semitism, Fascism, and the Myths of Ezra Pound*. Evanston: Northwestern UP, 1988.

Includes a brief argument (pp. 306-07) that in references to AOI NO UE (22) in *The Cantos* (see 56c and 72a) Pound 'may be referring to his jealous relationship to the Jews'.

183. Longenbach, James. *Stone Cottage: Pound, Yeats, and Modernism*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1988.

Indispensable for understanding the literary relationship between Pound and Yeats, including their interests in the nô, and how these fit into a remarkable

complex of other influences in the crucial years 1914-16. Chapters 8, 'Theatre Business', and 9, 'Ghosts Patched with Histories', are particularly important here. The former develops the proposition that Pound and Yeats 'knew so little about the Japanese traditions that they were able to incorporate the Noh into existing traditions of Western drama', and the latter contextualises the results of this incorporation in a brilliant demonstration that Yeats's middle-period essays, particularly *Per Amica Silentia Lunae* (BL13), and Pound's early *Cantos*, particularly the 1917 'Three Cantos' (27), are 'meditations on the artist's relationship to the spirits of his ancestors'. The two chapters taken together demonstrate more clearly than any other work how understanding of the *nô* complemented the historical vision of both poets, and in so doing informed and complemented their mature writing. Includes discussion of both writers' relationship with Itô, and passing references throughout to other material pertinent to this study (see index).

184. Reviews of *Ezra Pound and Japan* (82), 1988, 1991, 1996.

In addition to work noted, other reviews found the book valuable, but did not offer critical comment about Pound's response to Japan. These include Fukuda Rikutarô, 'Pound to Nippon musu kichô bunken' (Precious documents that link Pound with Japan, *Gakutô* 85/5 [1988]: 14-17); J. R. Igo, Jr. (*Choice* 25 [1988]: 769; Donald Richie, 'Portrait of a Literary Love Affair' (*Japan Times*, 26 June 1996); and Charles Trueheart, 'The Men Who Made Modernism' (*Washington Post Book World*, 3 January 1988, p. 5).

a. Burkman, Greg. 'Reading Pound, Writing History'. *Bloomsbury Review* 8 (1988): 19. Burkman finds a contradiction in the fact that Pound 'could hold in London an exhibition of Tami Koume's innovative "modern art," and could admire Kitasono's surrealist experiments', while at the same time he 'remained convinced that China and Japan once harbored a material, political paradise based on harmony with traditional social structures . . . that were dependent on the historical authority of a ruler'.

b. MacGregor-Hastie, Roy. 'The Master Meets the Land of the Rising Sun'. *Daily Yomiuri*, 26 May, 1991, p. 7. Notes based on a long friendship with Pound. MacGregor-Hastie suggests that Pound's first interest in Japan came through Margaret Cravens, who according to MacGregor-Hastie in 1910 offered Pound 'half of her income' if he would go to Japan, to be looked after by her friend, a son of the last Tokugawa shogun (Yoshinobu); though Pound did not go, MacGregor-Hastie notes that he was interested enough in the offer that he wrote to the U.S. Embassy in Tokyo asking the names of prominent Japanese writers, and that this interest

led to his interest in Noguchi. Among other details noted here, MacGregor-Hastie suggests that after the Second World War Pound was 'upset' by the 'general pacifist tone' of Japanese literary journals such as *Arechi* and the 'general left-wing allegiance' of Japanese writers, and particularly that the poet Shiraishi Kazuko was among Pound's 'pet hates'.

185. Olson, Peter David. 'Seizing HAGOROMO (13d): Ezra Pound's Imaged Drama and "The Cantos"'. PhD thesis, University of Michigan, 1988. Abstract in *DAI* 49/8: 2211A.

Examines the 'influence that Noh drama . . . had on Pound's early thinking, particularly in enabling him to move from the brief encapsulations of his Imagist poetry such as IN A STATION OF THE METRO [3], to the more dynamic, paradoxical, Vorticism that directly preceded his initial attempts at "The Cantos"'. Includes also notes about 'Pound's experiences with the Noh form itself . . . both in his edition of Fenollosa's translations of Noh plays, and in Pound's own newly published attempts at the form [81]'. Includes discussion in particular of Pound's versions of HAGOROMO, NISHIKIGI (8), SUMA GENJI (17e), and the WOMEN OF TRACHIS (61), along with Yeats's AT THE HAWK'S WELL (BL12).

186. Flory, Wendy Stallard. 'The Return to Italy: "To Confess Wrong . . ."'. In *The American Ezra Pound*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1989.

Includes a well-understood presentation (pp. 193-98) of Pound's allusions to the nô in *Drafts & Fragments* (72); argues that 'the presiding supernatural presence' in the sequence is the apparition of Kakitsubata (see 23), and finds Pound drawing upon the 'redemptive message' of the play named after her, along with the 'resigned fatalism' of SOTOBA KOMACHI and KAYOI KOMACHI (17c and d) and the 'exorcism of hatred' in AOI NO UE (22).

187. Miyake, Akiko. 'Ezra Pound's Love Mysteries and the Two Noh Plays: KAYOI KOMACHI (17d) and AWOI NO UYE (22)'. *Kôbe joshigakuin daigaku ronshû* 35/3 (1989): 49-72.

A complex but brilliant argument that the Fenollosa/Pound 'errors' in the two plays in question are in fact Pound's 'inventions', or at least are consistent with themes that recur throughout his canon, particularly 'the most abstruse theme of *The Cantos*, the unity of Dantean mysteries of love and the Eleusinian Mysteries'. Ultimately Miyake argues that Pound evolved themes from his work with the nô into 'his germinal idea of the love mysteries of Persephone-Isis, and even more than Yeats integrated the Japanese classic plays into his own mythologization'. See also 191.

188. Wilhelm, J. J. *Ezra Pound in London and Paris: 1908-1925*. University Park:

Pennsylvania State UP, 1990.

The most thorough study of Pound's years in London and Paris. Includes a chapter on 'Art and the Orient' (pp. 126-39), along with frequent references to people and subjects related to this study, including Ariga, Fenollosa, haiku, Japanese literature, Mori Kainan, the *nô*, tanka, and Pound's association with Aiken, Aldington, Binyon, Bynner, Fletcher, Flint, Hartmann, Itô, Kume, Lowell, and Yeats (see index). Places Pound's meeting with Binyon in early February 1909.

189. Yue, Fan. 'Ezra Pound's Imagism: A Symbol of Cultural Interflow between East and West'. In *Proceedings of the XIIth Congress of the International Comparative Literature Association*, edited by Roger Bauer and Douwe Fokkema. Munich: International Comparative Literature Association, 1990.

Argues in general terms that Pound's most significant contribution to Imagism was his enrichment of the movement with 'Oriental nourishment, chiefly from China and Japan'.

190. Iwahara, Yasuo. 'Ezra Pound to Noguchi Yonejirô: Pound no Nippon tonô kaikô' (Pound and Noguchi: the beginning of Pound's involvement with Japan). *Kôgakuin daigaku kenkyû ronsô* 28 (1990): 33-43.

Argues that it was Noguchi who first stirred Pound's interest in Japan, even though Pound did not believe Noguchi a talented poet. The former point is undermined somewhat by Pound's earlier interest in Binyon's work on Japan (see especially BC34). A more detailed examination of Noguchi's influence on Pound is 195.

191. Miyake, Akiko. 'Ezra Pound and Noh'. *Kôbe joshigakuin daigaku ronshû* 36/3 (1990): 67-102. Reprinted, with slight emendations, in 201.

Basic to understanding Pound's use of the *nô*. Miyake's argumentation is even more dense than in her earlier, related work for the same journal (187), but is nonetheless compelling. Describes three 'periods' in Pound's encounter with the *nô*, 1913 to 1916 when he was involved with his 'interpretations' of Fenollosa's translations, 1920 to 1948 as he came to understand the *nô* as 'a stage art of unique impact', and the years preceding 1954 as he was preparing a new edition of the *nô* plays (for 60) and translation of THE WOMEN OF TRACHIS (61). Advances interrelated arguments that Pound 'quietly' conflated Greek ideas of mystical love and Dantesque motifs of ascension within his revisions of Fenollosa, and that a consequent 'mixture' of these with their Japanese counterparts informs *The Cantos*, particularly, *The Pisan Cantos* (56). Includes discussion of most of the plays that appear in "Noh" or *Accomplishment* (24) and most of *The Cantos* that

derive images from the *nô*, and includes as well brief but cogent remarks about Yeats's incorporation of principles derived from the form.

192. Miyake, Akiko. *Ezra Pound and the Mysteries of Love: A Plan for The Cantos*. Durham: Duke UP, 1991.

Miyake's central thesis is not directly related to Pound's assimilation of Japanese materials, but at several points the work turns to a subject Miyake has explored in detail in earlier works: Pound's conflation in *The Cantos* of material taken from the *nô* with the Eleusinian Mysteries and the theme of a sacred marriage between goddess and initiates (see indices, and 187 and 191). In addition, includes a chapter on 'Pound's Integration of Fenollosa's Eastern Contemplation', which though it focuses more on Chinese than Japanese subjects is nonetheless valuable here for its keen argumentation about the ways Pound incorporated principles arising from Fenollosa's Buddhism and 'Zen Idealism', and how these inform *The Cantos*, both in the successes and the failures of the work.

193. Notes. In *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 53/1 (1991).

a. Litz, A. Walton. 'A New Acquisition: Papers of Ernest Fenollosa and Ezra Pound Relating to the *Nô* Drama'. Announces the acquisition at Princeton of the new materials of the title (see 90b), and summarises the importance of Fenollosa's *nô* materials for both Pound and Yeats. Litz writes that the organisation of many of *The Cantos* around a unified image is derived from Pound's understanding of the *nô* (see 12, 17f, and 87), and that Pound's interpretations of the *nô* 'had a crucial impact on the development of modern poetry and drama' in English.

b. Miner, Earl. 'Pound and Fenollosa Papers Relating to *Nô*'. Describes the materials recently given to Princeton by an anonymous donor (see 90b). Miner suggests that the 'unity of image' Pound discovered in the *nô* ultimately was more important to his work than the haiku.

194. Rexroth, Kenneth. Letters to James Laughlin. In *Kenneth Rexroth and James Laughlin: Selected Letters*, edited by Lee Bartlett. New York: Norton, 1991.

Rexroth was not always an admirer of Pound, but in February 1945 and spring 1947 letters to Laughlin, his publisher and Pound's at New Directions, he set aside quibbles and offered uncharacteristically fulsome praise for Pound's version of NISHIKIGI (8), writing in the former letter that the work 'is the greatest poem of "our time"', and two years later that it is 'the most beautiful verse ever produced by an American'.

195. Hakutani, Yoshinobu. 'Ezra Pound, Yone Noguchi, and Imagism'. *Modern Philology* 90 (1992): 46-69.

Carefully traces evidence for a 'direct link' between Noguchi's work and Imagist poetics in general and Pound's in particular, mainly by demonstrating similarities between Pound's 'hokku-like verse', his references to the hokku in Imagist and Vorticist manifestos, particularly 'Vorticism' (12), and Noguchi's earlier writing and lectures on the subject, particularly 'What is a Hokku Poem?' (D15e5) and *The Spirit of Japanese Poetry* (D15e6), both of which had been well-received and were well known in London in the months before Pound most famously turned his attention to Japanese subjects. Includes passing notes about Yeats's interest in the *nô* and Aldington's interest in Japanese art, along with reference to Fenollosa, Flint, Hulme (see A3), and others. Incorporates 'Yone Noguchi's Influence on Ezra Pound's Imagism' (*Chiba Review* 13 [1991]: 25-35); reprinted as part 2 of Hakutani's introduction to *Selected English Writings of Yone Noguchi*, vol. 2 (D15e10).

196. Lin, Jyan-Lung. 'Pound's IN A STATION OF THE METRO [3] as a Yûgen Haiku'.

Paideuma 21/1-2 (1992): 175-83.

Argues that IN A STATION OF THE METRO exhibits the 'Zen mood' of *yûgen* (see BJ22 and BK72), and that other work by Pound in the same period is representative of the principles of *wabi* (see BL48u) and *aware* (see BJ10a), but offers no evidence that Pound was aware either of these terms or their aesthetic possibilities.

197. Wells, Keiko. 'Tsuki no natta Ono no Komachi' (Ono no Komachi having become the moon). *Bungaku* 3/2 (1992): 132-41.

Follows a line of argument first suggested by Miyake (in 187 and 191) in finding that in his versions of SOTOBA KOMACHI (17c) and KAYOI KOMACHI (17d), and in manifestations of Komachi in *The Cantos* (see 72a and e), Pound conflates Ono no Komachi with Demeter, and that she thus became for Pound a representation of both the Earth Mother and the Moon Goddess.

198. Nadel, Ira B. Introduction to *The Letters of Ezra Pound to Alice Corbin*

Henderson (88), 1993.

Of the newly discovered materials collected in the volume Nadel believes the most important to be Pound's version of TAKASAGO (see 88d). Suggesting that Pound had earlier cited the play as 'an essential prototype' for *The Cantos* (see 70c), Nadel outlines the theme and equates it with the construction of Pound's 'long Imagiste poem': 'This identity and union beyond space and time emerges as a central theme in the early as well as late *Cantos*. To build *The Cantos* around the legend of the twin pines of Takasago and Sumiyoshi, displaying a union between places and people remote from each other, appealed to Pound as a structure as well

as a theme for the poem which is constantly uniting unlike cultures and figures which vary from China and America to Jefferson and Mussolini'.

199. Livorni, Ernesto. 'Ezra Pound and Giuseppe Ungaretti: Between Haiku and Futurism'. In *Ezra Pound and Europe*, edited by Richard Taylor and Claus Melchior. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1993.

Offers a basic summary of Pound's response to the 'haiku technique', but focuses in more detail on Ungaretti.

200. Shioji, Ursula. "'Hokku-Like" Elements in Canto IV' (31). *Paideuma* 22 /1-2 (1993): 221-30.

Argues that lines 1-2, 5-7, 11-12, 35-42, 48, 50, 72-73, 88, and 104-110 of canto IV (57, pp. 13-16) are influenced by Pound's understanding of haiku.

201. Miyake, Akiko, Sanehide Kodama, and Nicholas Teele, eds. *A Guide to Ezra Pound and Ernest Fenollosa's Classic Noh Theatre of Japan*. Orono, Maine: National Poetry Foundation, 1994.

This comprehensive guide to the Hirata/Fenollosa/Pound nō translations is indispensable to further discussion of the subject. Painstakingly compares Pound's final versions of each play with Fenollosa's unpublished drafts and notebooks, and reproduces Fenollosa's original notes and 'rough' translations from which Pound worked, most of them published here for the first time. Includes for each play thorough notation of sources, invaluable 'notes for readers', and exhaustive glossaries of Japanese subjects. The long opening essay, 'Ezra Pound and Nō', incorporates Miyake's earlier work (191) and provides the best account available of how Pound's work with the manuscripts is consistent with his lifelong concerns, and how reverberations from the nō inform *The Cantos*. Individual sections about the relationship between particular plays and *The Cantos* follow Miyake's insights and are particularly valuable. These include studies of the relationship between *The Cantos* and HAGOROMO (Sachiko Yoshida, see 13d), SOTOBA KOMACHI (Miyake, see 17c), KAYOI KOMACHI (Miyake, see 17d), SUMA GENJI (Toshikazu Niikura, see 17e), KUMASAKA (Hiroko Uno, see 17g), and AOI NO UE (Miyake, see 22). Includes as well a section on Yeats's introduction to *Certain Noble Plays* (BL11), with 'Notes for Readers' by Richard Taylor (see especially BL180) and a thorough glossary by Miyake, a section on the Fenollosa manuscripts at Yale (see 90a) that Pound did not incorporate into his nō material, a valuable bibliography of criticism in English and Japanese, and a reprint of Fenollosa's 'Notes on the Japanese Lyric Drama' (D10b). See also 89.

202. Stoicheff, Peter. *The Hall of Mirrors: Drafts & Fragments [72] and the End of Ezra Pound's Cantos*. Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1995.

Stoicheff's study of the complexities of the closing cantos includes a provocative argument (pp. 96-99) that Pound returns to the *nô* late in his work and in his life because of its 'unity of emotion' and its handling of closure. Includes reference to NISHIKIGI (8), SUMA GENJI (17e), AOI NO UE (22), and KAKITSUBATA (23). For more on this work see the 'Rethinking Pound and Japan' above, p. 269.

203. Griffin, Larry D. 'Japanese Noh Drama and Ezra Pound's "Fourth Canto"' (31).

Conference of College Teachers of English Proceedings 55 (1995): 84-94.

Griffin argues that the *nô* 'added to [Pound's] development of the super-pository convention' (see 12) and that the results are especially noticeable in canto IV.

Limited by lack of acquaintance with earlier scholarship and, particularly, lack of knowledge that Pound had available the Fenollosa/Hirata translation of TAKASAGO (see 88d and 90b).

204. Nicholls, Peter. 'An Experiment With Time: Ezra Pound and the Example of Japanese Noh'. *Modern Language Review* 90 (1995): 1-13.

A provocative argument that Pound's early work with the *nô* led to 'a fundamental redirection' in his poetics by suggesting to him 'a structural conception of time' that would allow him to 'progress' from the 'momentary intuitions of Imagism' to the 'complex and extended structures of *The Cantos*'. It was the 'interpenetration of past and present' in *mugen nô* that allowed Pound to grasp the possibilities inherent in 'a long imagiste or vorticist poem' (see 12, 17f, and 87), and in his later work, including his attempts at drama based on the *nô* (see 81), his 'reworking of the past, as memory or vision', produced 'a compound tense which is at once a return and a turn to something new'; in 'the opening arc of *The Cantos*', Nicholls writes, 'Pound would seek to make that haunted space the very condition of modernism'.

205. Cheadle, Mary Paterson. *Ezra Pound's Confucian Translations*. Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1997.

Though as the title suggests Cheadle focuses on Pound's relationship with Chinese materials, the work includes a brief but perceptive analysis of his work with the *nô* in the context of an emerging Confucianism, and numerous references to his relationship with Kume and Kitasono (see index).

206. Shioji, Ursula. *Ezra Pound's Pisan Cantos and the Noh*. Frankfurt am Maim: Lang, 1998.

Shioji's work approaches references to the *nô* in *The Pisan Cantos* (56) primarily via the recondite theories of intertextuality advanced by Claes Schaar, and so includes discussion of, for example, 'Location of Surface Contexts and Infra-contexts and their Analysis on the Vertical and Horizontal Axes of the Poem'. The

work is useful for its painstaking identification of ‘the frequency and distribution’ of Pound’s references to the *nô* at Pisa, and for its overview of earlier writing on the subject in English, German, and Japanese. Includes frequent consideration of Pound’s interest in the haiku.

207. Sekine, Masaru. ‘Noh, Fenollosa, Pound and Yeats—Have East and West Met?’ *Yeats Annual* 13 (1998): 176-96.

As in four earlier works about Yeats’s mediation of the *nô* (*BL233*, 247, 250, 258) Sekine’s preoccupation is with what Western writers have not understood about the ‘unique[ness]’ and ‘essence’ of the form. Examines a Japanese text of NISHIKIGI, Fenollosa’s version (based on the rough translation of Hirata), Pound’s emendations of Fenollosa (in *BK8*), and Yeats’s DREAMING OF THE BONES (*BL14a*), and enumerates various ‘mistakes’ and ‘westerniz[at]ions’ by both Pound and Yeats.

208. Solt, John. ‘Kit Kat and Ez Po’. In *Shredding the Tapestry of Meaning: The Poetry and Poetics of Kitasono Katue*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 1999.

Offers the fullest examination of the relationship of Pound and Kitasono. Based on a PhD thesis of the same title, Harvard University, 1989.

209. Xie, Ming. *Ezra Pound and the Appropriation of Chinese Poetry*. New York: Garland, 1999.

Xie’s study, as the title suggests, focuses on Pound’s ‘appropriation’ of China and his work with Fenollosa’s manuscripts derived from Chinese sources, but includes throughout passing reference to Japanese materials as well, particularly haiku and the *nô*, Pound’s ‘fascination’ with which, Xie contends, ‘was relatively short-lived’, perhaps a fair point about Pound’s relationship with the haiku, but demonstrably false regarding his understanding of the *nô*.

- See also *A2*, 3, 5, 7, 8, 11, 13, 16, 18, 19, 23-27, 29, 30, 35, 40, 42, 46-48, 49b, 50-52, 54, 56, 57, 59-63, 65, 67-72, *BA4*, *BB1*, 4, *BC34a*, 43, *BE5*, 8, 13, 27, *BH4a-b*, 15, 22c, 29, 35, *BI16*, 33-35, 39, *BL48*, 60, 61, 64b, 81, 86, 88, 92-95, 97, 107, 116, 125, 129, 143, 161, 175, 178, 180, 183, 191, 193, 201, 212, 219, 221, 241, 244, 256, and *CC2*.

BL. W. B. Yeats, 1865-1939

Late in his life Yeats developed an interest in Zen Buddhism that grew from a reading of D. T. Suzuki, and several critics have argued that this informed his late poetry (see 113 for a list of references). Also several of his poems draw energy from the *nô* (see 29; 32, 33, 36c) and others from the symbolic representation of an ancient but well-preserved Japanese sword he was given by an admirer (see especially 21, 30a, 32b, 48k, 57d-e, 124g). The central question regarding Yeats's mediation of things Japanese, however, has to do with the ways understanding of the *nô* informed his later drama, much of it in verse, from *At the Hawk's Well* (12), written and first performed in 1916, to *The Death of Cuchulain* and *Purgatory* (44b), Yeats's last plays, published in 1939. The question has stirred more critical interest than any other related to the mediation of Japan by Anglo-American poets, providing the focus of four books (131, 167, 180, 250) and dozens of chapters, articles, and theses. Much of this critical work is preoccupied with questions about the faithfulness of Yeats's plays to the *nô*, reading his drama against either a tacit or an explicitly-detailed checklist of 'authentic' features of the *nô* itself, and finding, inevitably, that the Yeatsian drama falls short of the unique qualities of the Japanese original (see especially 233, 247, 250, 258, and BK207). This sort of commentary misses several important points, however, not least that Yeats's plays mediated the *nô*, not copied it, or attempted to copy it. If the standard to which the plays are held is the degree to which they accurately represent an original Japanese essence then they fail, but fortunately things are more interesting than this.

In 1957 Frank Kermode suggested (in 96), and many later writers have agreed, that in his discovery of the *nô* Yeats came to a confirmation of previously-held ideas about the theatre rather than a sharp turning that set his work on a radically new path. Much of what he understood of the *nô* came by way of Pound (at work on Fenollosa's manuscripts) from late 1913 through 1916 (though see 257), but for years before this Yeats's writing on the theatre had emphasised ideas that after 1915 he equated with the *nô*, including his belief in the need to establish a 'literary theatre' for the production of plays 'remote, spiritual, and ideal' that the 'right people may escape the stupefying memory of the theatre of commerce' (3). As early as 1894 he had written a play that reached its climax in the symbolic dance of a supernatural being (2), by 1906 another that relied on a chorus of musicians who commented on but did not take part in the stylised action (5), and most pre-1916 Yeatsian drama relied on anti-realistic staging and esoteric themes, and legendary or archetypal characters, usually depicted at a moment of profound spiritual conflict. The pre-1916 drama is in many

ways like the later drama, in other words, and often in the very ways the latter has been equated with the *nô*, both by Yeats himself and by others who have turned to his work. And yet when Yeats wrote in a 1916 introduction to *Certain Noble Plays of Japan* (11) that ‘with the help of [the] Japanese plays’ he had ‘invented a form of drama, distinguished, indirect, and symbolic, and having no need of mob or Press to pay its way—an aristocratic form’, or in a 1917 ‘Note on *At the Hawk’s Well*’ (12a) that he had found his ‘first model . . . in the “Noh” stage of aristocratic Japan’, he was not simply draping old ideas in the cachet of principles taken over from the Japanese. His excitement was genuine, and the effects of the *nô* in his later work considerable, even if it is true that it came to him, as the critical record mainly has it, not as an epiphany but as a confirmation that regarding particular matters he had been right all along, and then also as a model for working through problems in dramatising these that long had been vexing.

Many studies trace the characteristics of Yeatsian drama that either on Yeats’s own or internal evidence in the plays themselves are related to his understanding of the *nô*. These include his use of masks (see especially 11, 12, 12a, 14a-b, 36), chorus (11, 12, 12a, 14a-b, 28, 36a-b, 44a), and dance (11, 12, 14a, 17a, 36a-b, 44a), and principles of staging (14b, 28, 36b), stage and property design (7, 9, 12, 12a, 14b, 28, 36a-b, 44a-b), versification (11, 12), dramatic structure (14a, 44a), setting (11, 14a), and theme (11, 14a, 17a, 24a-b, 34, 38b2, 44b, 58). The most provocative outcome of Yeats’s marriage of the *nô* with his own dramatic enterprise, however, has to do with his occultism. Yeats’s drama from the beginning was in accord with the understandings of Mallarmé and Maeterlinck, and from beginning to end can be read as an elaboration of the European Symbolist theatre, particularly as it reacted against the realism of Ibsen and Shaw. But it was in the *nô*, as Takahashi Yasunari puts it in a brief article mainly about Beckett (235), that in Yeats’s attempts to ‘overcome realism’ and move ‘beyond the limitations of symbolism’ he discovered the ‘*tout à coup* that had been lacking: a ghost!’ When Yeats wrote in 1916 that the *nô* reminded him of ‘our own Irish legends and beliefs’ and that ‘the men who created [its] conventions were more like ourselves than were the Greeks and Romans, more like us even than Shakespeare or Corneille’ (11) he was addressing the anticipated Irish readership of *Certain Noble Plays of Japan*, published in an edition of 350 by his sister’s press in Dundrum, and he was referring not to Symbolist staging or design but rather to a conviction that the spirits of the dead are with us, and ‘dream back’ their passions in the world of the living.

On his own evidence it is the connection Yeats perceived between the *nô* and the legends and beliefs of the Irish countryside, particularly as they concerned the world

of spirits, that engaged his imagination when he and Pound worked together through Fenollosa's nô at Stone Cottage in the winter of 1913-14. Yet most commentaries about Yeats's encounter with the nô do not place this perception at the centre of the inquiry but focus more particularly on *At the Hawk's Well* (12), the play that most immediately followed Yeats's introduction to Fenollosa's nô. The work was dictated to Pound in their third winter at Stone Cottage and first performed, famously, in the London drawing room of Lady Emerald Cunard in the spring of 1916. Pound and Eliot were in attendance and Itô danced the role of the hawk, which he also had choreographed. Costumes and masks were by Edmund Dulac. Press and photographers were forbidden (though see Alvin Langdon Coburn's marvellous photographs taken during a full dress rehearsal in the days before, reproduced in 105). A second performance, two days later, was in the drawing room of Lady Islington, which held 300, including Queen Alexandra, who was 'wearied' by Yeats's preliminary explanation of the nô (see 70, p. 297). Yeats hoped also that evening that Prime Minister Asquith, Arthur James Balfour, John Singer Sargent, Charles Ricketts, Sturge Moore, and Augustus John might be in attendance (see 48e), but with the press forbidden the published record is not clear on the matter. One reporter did slip in, somehow, no doubt at least claiming to be a lover of poetry, and the anonymous account of the evening that appeared in the July *Vogue* (60) announced the play 'structurally . . . true to the Nô tradition' and commended Yeats for bringing this 'from Yeddo to Mayfair', but of those in attendance at 'the first performance of a Nô play outside of Japan' only the Queen and those 'princesses, duchesses, and other *personnages décoratifs*' attending ^{upon} ~~to~~ her were mentioned.

The impulse to focus attention on *At the Hawk's Well* in an account of Yeats's debt to the nô is understandable, then. It was the first play that exemplified the 'form of drama, distinguished, indirect, and symbolic' that on his own evidence resulted from his turning to the nô; he called it a 'Noh play' (as he did the other 'plays for dancers' that followed [see especially 48f]); and it was an event remarked upon in high places that in its own day and for years thereafter was seen to be nô. But to place *Hawk's Well* at the centre of an inquiry into the ways the nô affected Yeats's work is to invite critical problems that never will be resolved. Like the nô it relies on a chorus and musicians, but so had Yeats's *On Baile's Strand* (1903) and *Deirdre* (1907). As is often true in the nô it culminates in the dance of a supernatural presence, but so had *The Land of Heart's Desire* (1894). As is often the case in nô it sets forth the tale of a legendary hero at a moment of spiritual crisis, but so had *The Shadowy Waters* (1900), *Cathleen ni Houlihan* (1902) and *The King's Threshold* (1904). As often in the nô it depicts a meeting of mortal with immortal, but so had *The Countess Cathleen* (1892)

and *The Hour Glass* (1903). Like the nô it relies on stylised, anti-naturalistic stage design, but so had most of Yeats's earlier drama. There can be no doubt that it was Yeats's enthusiasm for the nô that led him to write *At the Hawk's Well* and the dance plays that most immediately followed—Yeats himself is clear about the matter in the introduction to *Certain Noble Plays* and elsewhere—but beyond this attempts to read the nô into the work face considerable difficulties. The square of blue cloth that represents the well may have its origin in the folded kimono that represents the stricken Lady Aoi in *Aoi no Ue* (BK22), but similar devices had been in use in the Symbolist theatre for years. Yeats may have relied on Fenollosa's *Yôrô* (BK75) as a source, but the image of the well of immortality also is central to many European tales. Yeats's first use of masks probably resulted from his reading of nô, but he was not unaware of the Athenian drama.

The intention in raising this issue is not to suggest that *At the Hawk's Well* is not importantly related to Yeats's understanding of the nô. Yeats himself said repeatedly that it was, and the best of many commentaries that explore the connection, by Leonard E. Nathan (123), Liam Miller (185), Andrew Parkin (192), A. S. Knowland (214), Richard Londraville (227), and Yoko Chiba (255), among others, are both convincing and insightful. But to place *At the Hawk's Well* at the centre of an analysis of Yeats's adaptation of the nô is necessarily problematic, and all but solicits arguments that call attention to what had come before, and from this are able to conclude that the nô is not of particular importance in the development of Yeats's later work. Yet it is no less a misunderstanding to claim that his interest in the nô was 'superficial' (173) or 'interesting chiefly as a novelty' (208) or 'brief' and 'limited' (238) as to suggest that *At the Hawk's Well* follows 'strict Noh rules with considerable fidelity' (102), or captures 'the essential structure' of the Japanese form (164), or for that matter that it represents 'the purest *noh* style' in Yeatsian drama (A44).

The better place to focus an account of Yeats and the nô is where Yeats's interest in the nô itself began, in Takahashi's *tout à coup*, a ghost. In Yeats's earliest sustained writing on the nô, in 'Swedenborg, Mediums, and the Desolate Places' (15a), composed in 1914 and published first as an appendix to Lady Gregory's *Visions and Beliefs in the West of Ireland*, he is clear about the nature of his early interest in the form. He has discovered that across centuries and traditions artists and others have perceived that 'the dead are near', and are compelled at times to 'keep the shape of their earthly bodies and carry on their old activities, wooing or quarrelling . . . in a round of duties or passionate events'. Since making this discovery he has 'lived in excitement . . . constantly comparing' accounts of such spirits, in the legends of Aran and Galway, in Homer, Herodotus, Dante, Paracelsus, Swedenborg, and Blake, and in the

nô. Examples are offered of each of these, but it is in regard to the nô that Yeats concludes the essay, and most fully demonstrates his 'excitement'. 'Last winter Mr Ezra Pound was editing the late Professor Fenollosa's translations of the Noh Drama of Japan, and read me a great deal of what he was doing', Yeats writes, and it was in this work that his 'discovery' was revealed and confirmed. In the nô plays he found 'nearly all' that the mediums of Soho learn from their 'familiar', but presented 'in an unsurpassed lyric poetry and in strange and poignant fables once danced or sung in the house of nobles'. These observations are followed by a lengthy passage in description of two unnamed plays, recognisably *Nishikigi* (BK8), which Yeats knew from Pound, and *Motomezuka*, which appeared in a work to which Pound had introduced him, Stopes's *Plays of Old Japan* (see D23). These plays return to Yeats for the remainder of his life when his thoughts turn to the passionate dead, as they often did, and again and again inform his later poems, drama, and system of belief (see especially 11, 13, 14a, 17b, 22, 29, 32a, 33, 34, 36c, 38b1-2, 44b, and 57h).

Nishikigi and *Motomezuka* are representative of the mugen nô, the 'nô of ghosts', which for its dramatic effect depends on understanding that the spirits of the dead in certain cases remain bound to earth by the memory of a tragic event in life, and are condemned to relive their suffering, often at a place that has become legendary through association with it, until they are released in an act of repentance and forgiveness, represented on the nô stage in the slow and beautiful dance for which the plays are justifiably famous. The relationship of this understanding to Yeats's account of his 'discovery' in 'Swedenborg, Mediums, and the Desolate Places' is clear enough, but it is in another text, *Per Amica Silentia Lunae* (13), written early in 1917, that Yeats confirms (and extends) the connection, and gives a name to the condition of the spirits who remain bound to earth by the 'passionate events' of life: the 'dreaming back of the dead'.

Per Amica Silentia Lunae is the most fully-formed statement of Yeats's system of belief to appear before the first edition of *A Vision* in 1925, and a declaration of ontological 'conviction' that underlies much of his later dramatic theory. Among the issues brought centrally into focus is the nature of the world of spirits, and central among the conceptual models Yeats calls upon to set forth his understanding is the mugen nô. He believes that between the *Anima Hominis*, the realm of experience accessible to the common man, and the *Anima Mundi*, the 'vast luminous sea' of spirit to which artists and heroes aspire and from which we all arise and to which eventually we all return, exists a third, purgatorial state. This is a 'condition of air' inhabited by spirits of the dead bound to earth by the 'passionate necessit[ies]' of their lives, who are condemned to re-enact these until the passions are expiated and the spirits

released from their suffering. This ‘dreaming back’ of the passions of the dead, Yeats believes, may be apprehensible to artists and mediums, so that some among the living ‘may see at certain roads and in certain houses old murders acted over again . . . or ancient armies fighting above bones or ashes’. The ‘Japanese poets’ are among those who have understood this and brought voice to it, Yeats writes (‘Anima Mundi’, I and VIII), and in key passages of explanation he turns again to the plays that in ‘Swedenborg, Mediums, and the Desolate Places’ had so stirred his imagination. The ‘ghost in a Japanese play . . . set afire by a fantastic scruple’ and unable to escape memory of it (‘Anima Mundi’, VIII) is the spirit he knew from *Motomezuka*, the ‘phantom lovers in the Japanese play who ^{are} compelled to wander side by side and never mingle’ (‘Anima Hominis’, X) the lovers he knew from *Nishikigi*, and it is to these that he returns in definition of the purgatorial ‘condition of air’ itself (‘Anima Mundi, X): it is a ‘place of shades who are “in the whirl of those who are fading,” and who cry like those amorous shades in the Japanese play:—“That we may acquire power / Even in our faint substance, / We will show forth even now, / And though it be but in a dream, / Our form of repentance.”’ The lines are from Pound’s *Nishikigi* (see BK60, p. 295), and fairly summarise the central conceit of several of Yeats’s later plays.

First among these is *The Dreaming of the Bones* (14a), written in 1917. Suggestions that other of Yeats’s plays of the period are ‘based on’ or ‘assimilate elements from’ particular *nô* texts as they came to Yeats from Pound (or elsewhere unspecified)—*At the Hawk’s Well* from *Yôrô*, *The Only Jealousy of Emer* (14b) from *Aoi no Ue*, *Calvary* (17a) from *Sumidagawa*, *Miwa*, or *Kakitsubata* (BK23), *The Cat and the Moon* (24) from *Kikazutatô*—are not always convincing even to a reader disposed to believe the *nô* of importance to Yeats. But there can be no doubt that *The Dreaming of the Bones* in conception, mood, and structure—is closely modelled on the *mugen nô*, most particularly *Nishikigi* (see especially 102, 114, 180, 202, 236, 243, and 250 for analysis of the point). The play makes use of the devices of *At the Hawk’s Well*, the unfolding and folding of a cloth to mark off the time and ritual space of the drama, the chorus of musicians, symbolic properties, minimalist staging made suitable for performance in a drawing room. But to these *The Dreaming of the Bones* adds the ghosts and in important ways the dramatic construction of the *mugen nô*. An opening song establishes setting and lyrical mood. A traveller, here a young man, in the darkness of night approaches a place steeped in legendary associations, the ruined Abbey of Corcomroe, and encounters mysterious and oddly spoken strangers, a man and young woman, who tell a tale of ancient lovers and passion unresolved. As in the *nô* the strangers are masked, and as their tale unfolds gradually reveal themselves to be the spirits of the lovers of whom they speak, who ask forgiveness, and as dawn breaks over

Galway they are moved finally, in the dramatic climax of the play, to dance their suffering and longing for release.

Yeats's intention in *The Dreaming of the Bones*, as always in his Noh plays, was not faithfully to reproduce the Japanese model but to adapt what he found useful to his purposes, and so it should come as no surprise that in important ways the play departs from nô convention. This is particularly true in its polemics and lack of spiritual resolution. The ghosts are the lovers Diarmuid and Dervorgilla, whose 'passionate sin' led to the twelfth-century arrival of an English army on Irish soil, and the traveller is an Irish nationalist fleeing authorities after the 1916 Easter Uprising. He is moved by the anguish of the spirits but so bound by his own passion that he cannot grant them the absolution they seek. Central themes in this regard are of 1917 Ireland, not fourteenth-century Japan, but the understanding of the relationship of spirit world to the world of the living, and the dramatic method of setting this forth, derive closely from the mûgen nô, and ground *The Dreaming of the Bones* more firmly in nô tradition than any other work in the Yeats canon.

The conceit of the dreaming back of the dead allows Yeats in *The Dreaming of the Bones* to join Ireland's past and its present effects in a single dramatic unfolding, much as understanding of the mûgen nô facilitated the 'compound tense' of the earliest of Pound's cantos (*BK27*) and again those written years later at Pisa (*BK56*, see above pp. 265-68). And like the plays *Nishikigi* and *Motomezuka* in which Yeats discovered the dramatic possibilities of the dreaming back of the dead the concept itself recurs in his work through the remainder of his life. It had underpinned the ontological stance of *The Only Jealousy of Emer*, and would return in the dramatic exploration of the dreamed-back passions of Christ in *Calvary*, the imagery of 'Byzantium' (*32a*), the 'radical divergences' from and 'bold innovation' on the 'norm' of the nô (*235*) in *The Words upon the Window Pane* (*34*) and *Purgatory* (*44b*), and is extended and further rarefied in the complex symbology of Book III of 'The Phases of the Moon', in Yeats's 'defence against the chaos of the world', the second edition of *A Vision* (*38b1-2*). These along with earlier works discussed here have clear antecedents in the winter of 1913-14, when Pound and Yeats read nô at Stone Cottage, and constitute the most important legacy from the nô in Yeats's work.

Yeats's understanding of the nô was arrived at largely through the intervention of Pound at Stone Cottage, but from the beginning was set forth in a circle that Pound's nô alone would not have reached in the same way. In the years after Yeats's earliest experiments with the form Gordon Bottomley, Sturge Moore, and Laurence Binyon, among others, would themselves turn to the 'Noh' in their own contributions to the

fragile renaissance of verse drama in England that followed upon the early performances of *At the Hawk's Well* (see especially BC22, CA3, and CA9). But the forms and devices mediated in this work derive more from Yeats's experiments than from the Japanese model itself, and often it has been this 'Noh' that has been carried forward in English verse drama, in Eliot's *Sweeney Agonistes* (see CA10), Robinson Jeffers's *Dear Judas* and *Bowl of Blood* (CA11), Kenneth Rexroth's *Phaedra*, *Iphigenia*, *Hermaois*, and *Berenike* (CA13c), and Ulick O'Connor's *Three Noh Plays* (Dublin: Wolfhound, 1980), among others.

Note: Page references, reprint information, and textual variations.

Poems and plays are listed here according to their date of first publication, but page references are adjusted to Peter Allt and Russell K. Alspach's *Variorum Edition of the Poems of W. B. Yeats* (London: Macmillan, 1957) and Alspach's *Variorum Edition of the Plays of W. B. Yeats* (London: Macmillan, 1966). Most of Yeats's poems and plays are readily available in various selected and collected editions, and much of his work has been reprinted often. Reprint information is limited here to works that are not found in standard editions of selected or collected poems or plays, and those selected and collected editions are not themselves listed. Yeats was an inveterate reviser, and many of his works appear in several versions. Only those variations of direct relevance to this study are noted.

Primary Materials

1. 'The Ainu'. Review of *Life with Trans-Siberian Savages*, by Douglas Howard. *Speaker*, 7 October 1893.

Important parts of Yeats's mature concerns are anticipated in his first published consideration of a Japanese subject, in which he takes the Ainu of Sakhalin to be representative of 'primitive peoples' and finds much to admire. As later he equates the ontology of the *nô* with that of Swedenborg and Blake (see 15a), here he finds that the 'simple and beautiful creed' of the Ainu 'would have seemed almost entirely admirable to . . . the great European mystics'. He focuses in particular on belief in ~~the~~ 'the souls of the dead', who 'return at times' to the world of the living, precisely his point of entrance into the *nô* twenty years later (in 15a), and the subject of much of his drama indebted to it. Chiba (255) makes use of this work in arguing that Yeats's 'intuitive understanding' of shamanist practices informed his interest in the *nô*; Naitô (249) goes to some extremes to find in Yeats's interests here evidence of a kindred spirit between the Irish and the Japanese. Reprinted in

Uncollected Prose by W. B. Yeats, vol. 1, edited by John P. Frayner (London: Macmillan, 1970).

2. THE LAND OF HEART'S DESIRE. London: Fisher, 1894.

Along with DEIRDRE (5) demonstrates Yeats's use of techniques 'discovered' in the nô long before his encounter with the form. The drama reaches its climax in Yeats's first use of dance on stage, and as is often the case in the nô and Yeatsian drama derived from it the dancer is a supernatural being and the dance a means of emphasising the power she holds over the protagonists, a conclusion to the work that as in the nô heightens emotion in a dramatic rather than literary way. See also 12. Reprinted in 20.

3. 'The Theatre'. In *Ideas of Good and Evil*. London: Bullen, 1903.

Just as Yeats's use of the climactic dance in his later plays is often attributed to his discovery of the nô but was at work in his drama years before his acquaintance with the form (see 2), this work anticipates by more than a decade other ideas that both Yeats and his commentators link directly to the Japanese theatre, in language strikingly like that he uses in introduction to *Certain Noble Plays of Japan* (11): 'We must make a theatre for ourselves and our friends. . . . We have planned the Irish Literary Theatre with this hospitable emotion, and that the right people may find out about us, we hope to act a play or two in the spring of every year; and that the right people may escape the stupefying memory of the theatre of commerce which clings even to them, our plays will be for the most part remote, spiritual, and ideal.' According to Wade (82) parts of this work had appeared in 1899 and 1900 in †*Dome*. Reprinted in 50.

4. 'The Play, the Player and the Scene'. *Samhain: An Occasional Review Edited by W. B. Yeats*. Dublin: Bryers and Walker, 1904.

As in the previous year when Yeats anticipated his response to the nô in the call for an Irish theatre 'remote, spiritual, and ideal' (see 3), here he does so in noting that in the theatre 'the hour of convention and decoration and ceremony is coming again'. Miller suggests of this line that when it was written Yeats 'was not aware that, on the other side of the world, a theatre form which embodied these qualities had existed for centuries and that he would come, a decade later, to discover and adapt the form to his own purpose' (185, p. 198).

5. DEIRDRE. London: Bullen, 1907.

Yeats's retelling of the legend of Deirdre and Naoise more clearly than any work demonstrates the degree to which he had already put into practice much of what he later discovered in the nô (see also 2-4). In earlier plays he had drawn on Celtic legend, but this work marks his first use of a chorus of musicians, who open the

play by establishing the scene, and provide throughout exposition and commentary on the action. The protagonists are archetypal figures caught in circumstances of tragic inevitability, and the action rises to climax in a single moment of passion, Deirdre's ritualised suicide. Stage settings varied in different productions. Performances in 1911 featured moveable screens by Craig (see *D17*), but all had in common stylised and anti-realistic patterns and shapes rather than natural representation. The imagery both verbal and visual is more unified than in Yeats's earlier drama, revolving around a chessboard and a brazier of fire set on opposite sides of the stage, representative of ritualised combat on the one hand and the mystery of supernatural forces on the other. Some of these parallels to the *nô*, and to Yeats's later experiments in adapting it, have been noted by several commentators, but Sekine (233) puts the case in the most absolute terms: not only is this play closer to the *nô* than Yeats's later plays modelled on the form, it is in fact, according to Sekine, 'the Irish equivalent of a Noh play'. See also 2, 7, 12, and 131. Reprinted in 19.

6. 'The Abbey Theatre'. Program note. Abbey Theatre, Dublin. 4 September 1908.

Indicates that Yeats was aware of Japanese writing about his work as early as 1908. He closes this brief retrospective account of the Abbey, the Dublin theatre established in 1904 by Yeats and Lady Gregory to promote Irish poetic drama, by noting that 'in Japan there are some who believe very erroneously that we are a great success . . . and one of their distinguished critics uses our example to urge upon his countrymen the support of their native drama'. Reprinted in 55, where an editorial note suggests, almost certainly correctly, that the critic in question was Shimamura Hôgetsu (1871-1918), whose evaluation of Yeats's influence on the Irish revival had appeared in *The Tokyo Daily News* in March 1906.

7. 'The Abbey Theatre—Its Aims and Works'. Program note. Abbey Theatre, Dublin. 8 September 1908.

Marks Yeats's earliest direct association of his own dramatic aims with the theatre of Japan (though see also 48c): 'When we wish to give a remote poetical effect we throw away realism altogether, and are content with suggestion; this is the idea of the Japanese in their dramatic art; they believe that artificial objects, the interior let us say of some modern house, should be perfectly copied, because a perfect copy is possible; but that when you get to sea and sky you should only suggest, and when they wish to suggest a sea they are content to put before you merely a pattern of waves'. Yeats had put this insight into practice in the earliest productions of *DEIRDRE* (5), where much of the action takes place in a room sparsely but realistically represented, but the landscape of trees visible in setting sun through

the windows was made of patterns and shadows and light. Presented first as a speech preceding a special program at the Abbey, which included Yeats's play *THE HOUR GLASS*, 4 September 1908. Yeats repeats and expands on the point in 9. Reprinted in 55.

8. 'The Tragic Theatre'. *The Mask* 3 (October 1910): 77-81.

Yeats's essay itself mentions Japan only in passing, and not in connection with the *nô*, but Ellis (257), in an attempt to show that Yeats would have known of the *nô* before his introduction to it by Pound, notes that he hardly could have missed details about the form in this issue of Craig's *Mask*, which includes three illustrations from Marcelle Hinckes' *The Japanese Dance*, a review of which (pp. 90-91) discusses the *nô*; the illustration from Hinckes on the page preceding Yeats's essay is of 'Benkei on the Bridge', and is identified as a 'nô dance'. See also *D17*.

9. 'The Theatre of Beauty'. *Harper's Weekly*, 11 November 1911, p. 11.

In a discussion of stage properties and scenery that will create beauty and 'illusion', in contrast to 'realistic' designs, Yeats again turns to 'the Japanese' as a model for his own dramatic aims (see also 7). While certain modern methods 'give one a beautiful, realistic effect', they 'aim to do what the Japanese theatre has always considered an impossibility. In Japan an interior will be exactly represented, because it can be reproduced on the stage so as to be indistinguishable from what is in a house; but an exterior is only suggested. For instance, the Japanese will represent the sea by surrounding not only the stage but the auditorium with the well-known Japanese wave pattern. Being a writer of poetic drama, and of tragic drama, desiring always pattern and convention, I would like to keep to suggestion, to symbolism, to pattern like the Japanese'. The discussion leading up to this draws largely on Craig's theories (see *D17*), but without naming Craig. Originally an address presented at Harvard University on 5 October 1911. Reprinted in 55.

10. 'Art and Ideas'. *New Weekly*, 20 June 1914, pp. 6-7; 27 June 1914, pp. 38-40.

In a discussion of his early circle of writers Yeats reveals that he does not share Pound's enthusiasm for Whistler (see *BK10*, *11*, and *76b*) and his anti-academic ideas of Japanese art, but favours instead an 'academic' criticism 'founded upon general ideas'; the writers in his circle, however, 'all silently obeyed a canon that had become powerful for all the arts since Whistler, in the confidence of his American *naïveté*, had told everybody that Japanese painting had no literary ideas'. This essentially re-states Binyon's criticism of Whistler's understanding of Japanese art (see *BC5* and *10*), and Yeats's language echoes both his earlier journal

entry about Binyon's work on East-Asian painting (54) and Binyon's own *Painting in the Far East* (BC2). See also 25, 27a, 48, 80, 129, and 228. Reprinted in 23 and 50.

1 1. Introduction to *Certain Noble Plays of Japan* (BK21), 1916.

After Pound's publication of works from the *nô* in 1914 and 1915 (see BK8, 13, and 17), Yeats asked for and received Pound's permission to publish four of the plays at Elizabeth Corbet Yeats's Cuala Press. He introduces them here with his most enthusiastic defence of a form he intends to '[adapt] for European purposes'. In 1914 Yeats had written that the ontology of the *mugen nô* was in many ways consistent with the beliefs of the Irish countryside, Swedenborg, and Soho mediums (see 15a). In this work he sets forth his understanding that the *nô* offers a set of dramatic conventions that point the way out of his difficulties with the stage (see especially 12a). 'With the help of Japanese plays "translated by Ernest Fenollosa and finished by Ezra Pound"', he writes, 'I have invented a form of drama, distinguished, indirect, and symbolic, and having no need of mob or Press to pay its way—an aristocratic form'. The essay is first and foremost a vigorous attack on dramatic realism, and a call for a return to conventions that rely on the 'beauty and emotional subtlety' of long-held aesthetic traditions. The long description of the *nô* is largely correct, and focuses particularly on the use of mask, a chorus that comments on but takes no part in the action, dance, the 'meeting with ghost, god, or goddess at some holy place or much-legended tomb', and the 'playing upon a single metaphor' (compare to Pound's understanding from the *nô* that a long Vorticist poem 'gathered about one image' is possible [see BK12, 17f, and 87], Eliot's elaboration of the point [BK92b], and see Bush's analysis of its importance in the birth and development of Anglo-American modernism [BK161]). The tales retold in the *nô* remind Yeats of 'our own Irish legends and beliefs', and he believes that 'the men who created these conventions were more like ourselves than were the Greeks and Romans, more like us even than Shakespeare or Corneille'. No drama Yeats wrote after this essay is untouched by the principles outlined in it. The work includes indirect reference to Zen ('a contemplative school of Buddhism' from which the *nô* has received its 'philosophy and its final shape perhaps'), Zeami ('a contemporary of Chaucer' who 'brought [the plays] to the Court of the Shogun at Kyoto'), and Chikamatsu ('the most famous of all Japanese dramatists' who 'composed entirely for puppets'), along with direct reference to Craig (see D17), 'theatrical [Japanese] colour prints' and an Ogata Kôrin screen that Yeats has seen at the British Museum, Kôbô Daishi (Kûkai), and the *nô* NISHIKIGI (BK8), HAGOROMO (BK13d), and TAKASAGO (BK88d), the former two of which in Pound's

versions appear in the volume, the latter of which, though not published in Pound's version until 1993, had provided Pound (and given their collaboration at Stone Cottage [see especially *BK183*] one may guess Yeats as well) a model from which to derive understanding of the 'structure' of the *nô* (see especially *BK88c*) and to put it to use in his own work. Includes also high praise for Itô Michio, 'the tragic image that has stirred [Yeats's] imagination', who has 'made possible' *AT THE HAWK'S WELL* (12), in which Yeats first consciously put into practice the principles outlined here. The work is discussed in Miner (*A25*) and the four book-length studies of Yeats's adaptations of the *nô* (*131*, *167*, *180*, and *250*); helpful 'notes for readers' may be found in *BK201*. See especially 3 and 15a for earlier writing by Yeats that anticipates the understandings advanced here, *BK109*, *154*, *155*, and *175* for argumentation that Yeats took a greater role in the 'translation' of the plays themselves than commonly is believed, and see also *A64*, *BK28*, *59d*, *89a*, *90a*, *92*, *BL20a*, *36c*, *44*, *48h*, *68*, *87*, *90*, *92*, *119b*, *123*, *D12d*, and *17a4*. Reprinted in 23 and 50.

12. *AT THE HAWK'S WELL*. In *The Wild Swans at Coole*. Churchtown, Dundrum: Cuala, 1917.

Written at Stone Cottage in Yeats's initial flush of enthusiasm for the Japanese theatre, and dictated to Pound early in 1916 (see 74, p. 215), this 'dance play', about a defining moment in the life of the legendary Cuchulain (see also *14b*, *35a*, *44a*, *168*, and *227*), is Yeats's first attempt at a drama consciously patterned on the *nô*. Of conventions he associates with the form, several in use here may be found in his earlier drama—the dance of a supernatural being in *LAND OF HEART'S DESIRE* (2), a chorus of musicians and the playing upon central metaphors in *DEIRDRE* (5), legendary characters in spiritual conflict, a meeting of mortals with immortals, and a stylised, anti-naturalistic stage design in several earlier works—but in combination here with masks and costumes, designed by Edmund Dulac, Itô's choreography, and a heightened sense of ritual—set in motion by an opening song in which the musicians 'call to the eye of the mind' the bleak setting while unfolding a cloth that marks the beginning of the play (it is folded again at the end)—the conventions coalesce into a drama that Yeats himself thought of as Irish *nô* (see *48f*). Critics have differed in assessing the degree to which the work captures the effects of the *nô*, but many have found it close in spirit. Both Taylor (*180*) and Sekine (*250*) suggests a direct source in Fenollosa's *YÔRÔ* (*BK75*); Miner (*A25*) argues that the work is 'as close an emulation of Noh as [Yeats's] limited knowledge and practical necessities allowed'; and Arnott (*A44*) finds in it 'the purest *nôh* style' in Yeatsian drama. The work was first published under the title *AT THE*

HAWK'S WELL OR WATERS OF IMMORTALITY in *Harper's Bazaar* in March 1917.

See further commentary at pp. 374-74 above; for other Yeats plays arguably indebted to his encounter with the *nô* see *BL14a-b*, *17a*, *19a*, *24a*, *28*, *34*, *35a*, *36a*, *37b-c*, *39*, and *44a-b*; and see also *A32*, *BK56c*, *59d*, *81a*, *86c*, *144*, *153*, *185*, *BL11*, *12a*, *20a*, *24b*, *48*, *48e*, *48g-h*, *60*, *62*, *64*, *68*, *70*, *77*, *81*, *84*, *86*, *87*, *90*, *93*, *99-04*, *104-06*, *112*, *113*, *116*, *119b*, *120*, *123*, *131*, *134*, *138*, *141*, *142*, *151*, *154*, *155*, *158*, *161*, *164*, *165*, *167*, *172*, *174*, *182*, *183*, *185*, *192*, *199*, *201*, *204*, *205a*, *208*, *214*, *216-19*, *222*, *226*, *227*, *230*, *233*, *236*, *239*, *247*, *250*, *252*, *255*, *CA10*, and *D17a4*. Reprinted in *17* and *20*.

a. 'A Note on AT THE HAWK'S WELL'. Yeats describes his distress at setting forth his 'muses' on the stage only to have them 'half-welcomed', yet knows that he 'need[s] a theatre', and feels 'most alive at the moment when a room full of people share the one lofty emotion'. In his new play he has resolved the problem, having found his 'first model . . . in the "Noh" stage of aristocratic Japan', that 'most subtle stage' that has taught him 'to get rid of scenery, to substitute for a crude landscape painted upon canvas three performers who, sitting before the wall or a patterned screen, describe landscape or event, and accompany movement with drum and gong, or deepen the emotion of the words with zither or flute'. Includes discussion of the advantages of masked players and of a small audience of 'those who care for poetry'. The attempt in plays based on these principles will be to 'create once more heroic or grotesque types that, keeping always an appropriate distance from life, would seem images of those profound emotions that exist only in solitude and in silence', and to provide dramatic expression to 'the subtler forms of literature'. Dated December 1916. First appeared as a preface to the play in *Harper's Bazaar*, March 1917; reprinted in whole or part as 'Instead of a Theatre', 'Yeats on His Own Work', and 'Note on the first performance of AT THE HAWK'S WELL' (see Wade [82]).

13. *Per Amica Silentia Lunae*. London: Macmillan, 1918.

Yeats's prose explanation of, among other things, a belief in ghosts, and a statement of ontological 'conviction' that underlies his later dramatic theory. The work explicitly draws upon the ontology of the *mugen nô*, particularly the Pound/Fenollosa NISHIKIGI (*BK8*) and Stopes's MOTOMEZUKA (see *D23*), to advance the thesis that the spirits of the dead 'dream back' their passions in the world of the living. The work that most explicitly gives dramatic voice to understandings outlined here—and which in the Yeats canon is most closely modelled on the 'nô of ghosts'—is THE DREAMING OF THE BONES (*14a*), though no Yeatsian drama written after 1916 is untouched by the system of belief outlined in this work, and the

concept of the dreaming back of the dead occupies Yeats for the remainder of his life: see, especially, CALVARY (17a), THE WORDS UPON THE WINDOW PANE (34), ‘The Soul in Judgment’ in *A Vision* (38b, and see also 57), and PURGATORY (44b). ‘Anima Hominis’ is dated 25 February, ‘Anima Mundi’, 9 May, 1917. See further commentary on the work at pp. 375-76 above, and see also BK27, 56a 183, BL14a, 15a, 38, 38b, 38b2, 123, and 193. Reprinted in 23 and in *Mythologies* (London: Macmillan, 1959).

14. *Two Plays for Dancers*. Churchtown, Dundrum: Cuala, 1919.

An edition of 400 copies. Both works are reprinted in 17 and 20.

a. THE DREAMING OF THE BONES. Critics who suggest that AT THE HAWK’S WELL (12) is the closest Yeatsian drama comes to the nô fail to understand the degree to which the ontology of the mugen nô parallels important features of Yeats’s occultism, particularly as outlined in *Per Amica Silentia Lunae* (13), and how this informs both structure and theme here. Mugen nô posits that the spirits of the dead may remain bound to earth by the memory of a tragic moment—what in *Per Amica* Yeats calls the ‘dreaming back’ of the dead—and are condemned to relive that moment, at a place that has become sacred through association with it, until their memory of it is quelled in an act of forgiveness or repentance. This play, modelled, as has been noted often, on Pound’s version of NISHIKIGI (BK8; see BL102, 114, 180, 202, 236, 243, and 250), draws explicitly on the ontology of the ‘dreaming back’ of the nô of ghosts, and on dramatic conventions that have given it voice. The work was written mainly in 1917, first published in *Little Review* in January 1919, and first performed, in Dublin, in 1931. See further commentary on the work at pp. 376-77 above, and see also A32, BK81f, 153, 207, BL17b, 34, 38b, 44, 48f-g, 62, 64, 84, 86, 99-101, 104, 106, 110, 111, 113, 116, 131, 141, 149, 151, 153, 154, 158, 160, 161, 166, 167, 172, 174, 185, 188, 192, 197, 199, 201, 204, 211, 216-19, 222, 226, 230, 233, 246-48, and 252.

b. THE ONLY JEALOUSY OF EMER. The case for influence from the nô in Yeatsian drama often has been overstated, even in reference to the plays that followed closely on his early enthusiasm for the form. Like the other ‘plays for dancers’, this work—a continuation of the ‘Cuchulain cycle’ (see 12)—employs masks to emphasise archetype, and Yeats’s use of the device, on his own evidence (see 11), derives largely from his study of the nô. Beyond this, the play follows conventions he developed under the influence of the nô in AT THE HAWK’S WELL (12), minimalist stage design, setting for performance in a drawing room, dance, a chorus of musicians, musical accompaniment, the ritual of the folding and unfolding of the cloth (see 12), and recalls the concept of the dreaming back of the

dead. The work itself, however, beyond relying on these conventions and the concept that the dead may inhabit a dream life until the passions of life are expiated, is neither structurally nor thematically indebted to the *nô*. Taylor (180), Miyake (BK187), and others contend that the woman of the Sidhe was inspired by the Rokujô of the Pound/Fenollosa AWOI NO UYE (BK22); Tsukimura (see 180a3) suggests that KANAWA, which was among the Fenollosa manuscripts synthesised by Pound (in BK24d), is a 'supplementary source'; and Wilson (102) finds 'exact correspondence[s]' in the symbolism here and in HAGOROMO (BK13d), and argues that the first chorus 'would hardly have been possible without the sophisticated Japanese source' (a point that Arcais [162] supports and Komesu [223] disputes). Ultimately, however, the work is not in any significant way like the *nô*. While the play no doubt would have differed or perhaps would not have been written at all had Yeats not been introduced to the form, it is an influence here only secondarily, Yeats writing in a form augmented by his understanding of the *nô*, but drawing more on his own earlier experiment with it than on the Japanese drama itself. The work was first published in *Poetry* in January 1919, and first performed, in Amsterdam, in 1922. It was revised, in prose, for performance at the Abbey Theatre, as FIGHTING THE WAVES (35a). See also A32, BK153, BL44, 48g, 62, 64, 84, 86, 87, 99-101, 104, 106, 110, 113, 116, 130, 131, 134, 141, 151, 153, 154, 158, 167, 172, 185, 192, 199, 201, 204, 211, 218, 222, 226, 227, 230, 233, 236, 246, 247, 250, 252, and 259.

15. Essays and notes. In *Visions and Beliefs in the West of Ireland*, collected and arranged by Lady Gregory. 2 vols. London: Knickerbocker, 1920. 2nd ed., Gerrards Cross: Smythe, 1970.

In addition to two essays by Yeats this work includes his notes to Lady Gregory's transcriptions of the 'visions and beliefs' she had recorded in the Irish countryside. The second of the essays and two of the notes touch on an emerging sense of a spiritist tradition in Japan similar to that of Ireland, an understanding that would inform Yeatsian drama and belief for the remainder of his life. The notes are undated, but Yeats was at work on them at Stone Cottage in the winter of 1914-15.

a. 'Swedenborg, Mediums, and the Desolate Places'. Dated 14 October 1914, this work was written before Yeats's earlier-published introduction to *Certain Noble Plays of Japan* (11) and *Per Amica Silentia Lunae* (13), and so the extended passages about the *nô* here are Yeats's earliest in the published record, and reveal the degree to which he associated the form with the life of spirits, and fit it into an emerging occultist system that occupied him for the remainder of his life. The first

reference to the *nô* comes in a note (p. 316) about AOI NO UE (*BK22*) and its ‘theme’ of ‘the exorcism of a ghost which is itself obsessed by an evil spirit . . . represented by a dancer wearing a “terrible mask with golden eyes”’, but it is not until the work reaches conclusion (pp. 333-35) that Yeats turns at length to the form, particularly to MOTOMEZUKA, which Yeats knew from Stopes (see *D23*), and NISHIKIGI (*BK8*), which he knew from Pound, works from the *nô* to which he will return for the remainder of his life when his thoughts turn to the passionate dead, and which will inform his poems, drama, and system of belief in various and surprising ways (see *11, 13, 14a, 17b, 22, 29, 32a, 33, 34, 36c, 38b1-2, 44b, and 57h*). See further commentary on the work at pp. 374-75 above, and see also *BL1, 119b, 193, and 202*. Reprinted in *51*.

b. Note 36. Lady Gregory has recorded the story of a servant girl and her lover who were separated in life, but after death return to earth to request that a priest marry them, which he does, and the ghostly couple disappears from sight. Yeats remarks in the note that this is the ‘same story as that in one of the most beautiful of the “Noh” plays’, and that he will ‘tell the Japanese story’ in his terminal essay. The reference is to NISHIKIGI (see *BK8*), the plot of which Yeats recounts in detail in ‘Swedenborg, Mediums, and the Desolate Places’ (*a*). Thoughts of this similarity stayed with Yeats: he returns to it some twenty years later in a key passage in the second edition of *A Vision* (*38b1*).

c. Note 39. Includes a lengthy passage recounting a tale of possession by a spirit in Percival Lowell’s *Occult Japan* (see *D6*), after which Yeats demonstrates an understanding of Shintô that echoes Lowell: it ‘always . . . in certain of its sects practiced ceremonies that had for their object the causing of possession’.

16. DEMON AND BEAST. *Dial* 69 (November 1920): 464-65.

Doherty (*196*) reads this work and LAPIS LAZULI (*40*) in terms of the ‘Zen’ in D. T. Suzuki’s translation of the Lankavatara Sutra, though the poem was written in 1918, eight years before Yeats’s earliest direct reference to Zen (see *47b*), nine before Yano introduced him to Suzuki’s work (see *67*), and fourteen before Suzuki published his translation of the Lankavatara Sutra.

17. *Four Plays for Dancers*. London: Macmillan, 1921.

Reprints AT THE HAWK’S WELL (*12*), THE DREAMING OF THE BONES (*14a*), THE ONLY JEALOUSY OF EMER (*14b*), and ‘A Note on AT THE HAWK’S WELL’ (*12a*), the last under the title ‘Note on the First Performance of AT THE HAWK’S WELL’. All work included is reprinted in *20*. See also *64*.

a. CALVARY. Mugen *nô* was only one of several sources from which Yeats developed the doctrine of the ‘dreaming back’ of the dead (see especially *13*), but

he found in the form both a validation for the idea and a set of conventions for giving it dramatic life. This work retains the conventions inspired or confirmed by the *nô* that Yeats first brought together in *AT THE HAWK'S WELL* (12), and relies for its subject on the dreaming back of the passions of Christ. Beyond this, though critics have found more of the *nô* in the work—Wilson (102) argues that the closing dance of the Roman Soldiers derives from the *nô* ‘God-dance’, and Taylor (180) that Yeats ‘appears to have used’ Pound’s *KAKITSUBATA* (BK23) as a ‘model’—the central symbols, themes, and issues do not derive from Japanese sources, and the lack of ‘release’ from the passions binding him to earth sets this Christ well outside the spiritual tradition of the *nô*. According to the automatic script of Yeats’s wife, the material of the play was ‘given’ to Yeats by the ‘control’ Ameritus (see 57c). See also A32, BK153, BL38b, 44, 48g-h, 62, 64, 69, 84, 86, 99-101, 104, 108, 113, 116, 131, 141, 151, 153, 154, 158, 167, 180, 185, 192, 199, 201, 204, 218, 222, 226, 230, 233, 246, 247, 250, and 252.

b. ‘Note on *THE DREAMING OF THE BONES*’ (14a). In discussing the ‘world-wide belief that the dead dream back’ (see 13), Yeats notes Cornelius Agrippa’s contention that the wicked ‘dream themselves to be consumed by flames’, and that ‘precisely the same thought’ occurs in a *nô* play ‘where a spirit, advised by a Buddhist priest she has met upon the road, seeks to escape from the flames by ceasing to believe in the dream’. The play in question would be *MOTOMEZUKA* (see D23), which Yeats had allied with his notion of the dreaming back of the dead in two earlier works (13 and 15a) and to which he would return repeatedly (see 29, 32a, 38b2, and 57h).

18. ‘Four Years, 1887-1891’. *London Mercury* 3 (June 1921): 129-40; 4 (July 1921): 259-70; (August 1921): 364-77.

Twice Yeats’s thought turns to Japanese painting in this autobiographical account of his early years in London and his early interests in occultism. In section XIV he describes his wish as a young man to incorporate the ‘general pattern of [Irish] myth’ into his poetry, ‘much as a mediæval Japanese painter’ was able to ‘[leave] his style as an inheritance to his family’. Later, in section XX, he recalls an interest in the occultist experiments of acquaintances in London in the 1880s, and is reminded of a remarkable painting he had read of while a boy in Dublin, in a ‘pamphlet on Japanese art’ at the Royal Irish Academy. The horses painted on a temple wall had come to life and ‘slipped down after dark and trampled the neighbours’ fields of rice’; someone who had visited the temple in the morning was ‘startled by a shower of water drops, had looked up and seen [the horses of the painting] still wet from the dew-covered fields, but now “trembling into

stillness". Yeats wondered in the late '80s if the 'barrier' between the trampled fields of rice and evidence of occultist experiments was 'impassable', and supposed that it was, 'yet all [then] was uncertainty'. Reprinted in 27.

19. *Plays in Prose and Verse*. Collected Edition of the Works of W. B. Yeats, vol. 2.

London: Macmillan, 1922.

Reprints DEIRDRE (5).

a. THE PLAYER QUEEN. Yeats was at work on this play in 1914, and though Pound's letter to Harriet Monroe of 31 January of that year (*BK59b*) contends that Yeats was already interested in the *nô*, the work shows no practical influence from the form. Arnott (*A44*) suggests that the confrontation between the Queen in life and the Queen in art 'is an interesting variation on the meeting of the Mountain Hag and the Dancer in [the *nô*] YAMAMBA', though that work was not among Fenollosa's manuscripts or early-century English translations, and no evidence exists that Yeats would have known of it.

20. *Plays and Controversies*. Collected Edition of the Works of W. B. Yeats, vol. 3.

London: Macmillan, 1923.

Reprints THE LAND OF HEART'S DESIRE (2) and *Four Plays for Dancers* (17).

a. 'A People's Theatre, A Letter to Lady Gregory'. Yeats's explanation that 'the Abbey Theatre can never do all we had hoped' establishes a contrast between a modern 'objective' and a Dantesque 'subjective' art, and so closely parallels his description of the ideal theatre in introduction to *Certain Noble Plays of Japan* (11) that Wilson (98) finds evidence in the work that Yeats 'connected the Japanese and Florentine cultures', even though Japanese culture is not mentioned here. Places Pound, 'who had never acted on any stage', in rehearsal for AT THE HAWK'S WELL (12). First appeared in the †*Irish Statesman*, 29 November and 6 December 1919. Reprinted in 51.

21. MEDITATIONS IN TIME OF CIVIL WAR. *London Mercury* 7 (January 1923): 232-38.

A poem in seven sections responding to the Irish Civil War of 1922-23, mainly written at and set in and around Yeats's home at Thoor Ballylee in 1922. The central image of section 3, MY TABLE, is a sword given to Yeats by Sato Junzô, here representative of the changelessness of art and set in contrast to troubling changes Yeats perceived in the souls of men. Sato and his family 'house', where the sword 'lay five hundred years' (l. 11), are invoked by name; the 'embroidered dress' that 'Covers [the sword's] wooden sheath' (ll. 6-7) is explained by Sato himself in 'A Sketch of My Life' (see 124g); the sword is recalled in the seventh section, I SEE PHANTOMS OF HATRED AND OF THE HEART'S FULLNESS AND OF THE COMING EMPTINESS, where Yeats observes from the tower-top 'the light of a moon / That

seems unlike itself, that seems unchangeable, / A glittering sword out of the east' (ll. 3-5). Oshima (124, p. 124) suggests of this closing section that 'the claim that Yeats was . . . under the spiritual influence of Japan might be justified'. Reprinted in 24. Yeats's earliest association of Sato's sword with the moon comes in the voice of the 'control' Dionertes in the 'automatic script' of 21 March 1920 (57d), and he returns to the symbology of the sword in A DIALOGUE OF SELF AND SOUL (30a) and SYMBOLS (32b); his fullest explanation of how he came to receive the sword from Sato is in 48k; see also 28, 46a, 48o-p, 57e, 57g, 70, 89, 124, 170, 184, and 242.

22. Preface to *Synge gikyoku zenshū* (Collected plays of Synge). Tokyo: Shinchosha, 1923.

In this brief work dated December 1921 Yeats refers repeatedly to his interest in Japanese literature, and acknowledges that it has been a 'help' to him. Particularly noted are the 'ancient poetry', which has 'come to mean so much' to him through the translations of Waley (see D26) and others, NISHIKIGI (BK8) and the *nô*, and the 'diary of one of your court ladies', surely a reference to *Diaries of Court Ladies of Old Japan* (BI9), which had appeared in Boston and London in the months before Yeats wrote this work. Reprinted in *W. B. Yeats: Prefaces and Introductions*, edited by William H. O'Donnell (London: Macmillan, 1988).

23. *Essays*. Collected Edition of the Works of W. B. Yeats, vol. 4. London: Macmillan, 1924.

Reprints 'Art and Ideas' (10), Yeats's introduction to *Certain Noble Plays of Japan* (11), and *Per Amica Silentia Lunae* (13).

24. *The Cat and the Moon and Certain Poems*. Dublin: Cuala, 1924.

Reprints MEDITATIONS IN TIME OF CIVIL WAR (21).

a. THE CAT AND THE MOON. A comedy about two beggars, one blind the other lame, which makes use of the techniques Yeats adapted from the *nô* for AT THE HAWK'S WELL (12), and which Yeats himself thought of as a *kyôgen* (see *b* below). Wilson (102) argues that the play 'follows the Noh rules closely', and insofar as Yeats 'deviates' he 'realised potentialities the Japanese drama had not explored, but which he saw as latent in their form'; Arnott (A44) finds the work 'a virtually perfect Irish *kyôgen*'; Ellis (257, p. 255), Tsukimura (138), Genet (205b) and others suggest a source in KIKAZUZATÔ, the only *kyôgen* among Fenollosa's manuscripts, in which a blind man and a deaf man each discover ways to torment the other, though Taylor (180), who finds referents for each of the plays for dancers in a specific *nô* text (see 12, 14a-b, and 17a), mentions KIKAZUZATÔ but finds that the action of Yeats's play 'is not modelled on any particular Japanese

text'. Dated 1917; first performed, in Dublin, in 1931. See also 35c, 48g, 151, 172, 185, 201, 211, and 248. Reprinted in 35.

b. 'Notes [for THE CAT AND THE MOON]'. Yeats explicitly ties the work to his understanding of *kyôgen*: 'I intended my play to be what the Japanese call a "Kiogen," and to come as a relaxation of attention between, let us say, "The Hawk's Well" [12] and "The Dreaming of the Bones" [14a]'; he also had originally intended to include the work in *Four Plays for Dancers* (17), but did not because 'it was in a different mood'. See also 203.

25. 'The Bounty of Sweden: A Meditation'. *London Mercury* 10 (September 1924): 466-79.

As early as 1909 Yeats had read Binyon, accepted his definition of the importance of literary tradition in Japanese painting, and set this in contrast with the degradation of tradition in modern European art (see 27a). In this work he enlarges the point, again drawing on Binyon: 'The artistic genius of old Japan continually renewed itself through dynasties of painters. The descendants of Kanoka made all that was greatest in the art of their country from the ninth to the eleventh century, and then it but passed to other dynasties, in whom, as Mr. Binyon says, "the flower of genius was being continually renewed and revived in the course of many generations"'. Yeats continues with discussion of the 'serenity' of Japanese art, its freedom from 'academic tyranny', its 'tradition as naturally observed as the laws of a game or dance', and then sets in contrast to 'our individualistic age' the 'famous [Japanese] player' whose genealogy may be traced to actors of the Middle Ages, and the man Yeats had seen 'judging Chinese and Japanese pictures' in the British Museum Print Room, who, Yeats was told, was 'one of the greatest living authorities' and 'the Mikado's hereditary connoisseur, the fourteenth in his family to hold the post'. The 'player' in question would have been Umewaka Minoru, whom Yeats would have known from Pound's work with the *nô* (see especially BK1 7f); 'the Mikado's hereditary connoisseur' would have been Kohitsu Ryônin (see BC2). The reference to 'Kanoka' is a mistranscription from Binyon's discussion of Kose no Kanaoka (fl. late 9th to early 10th centuries). Yeats closes the passage by allying the Japanese reliance on tradition and lineage to an aesthetic of anti-realism, a principle that permeates his writing about his own dramatic enterprise both before and after his acquaintance with Japanese art: 'May it not have been possible that the use of the mask in acting, and the omission from painting of the cast shadow, by making observation and experience of life less important, and imagination and tradition more, made the arts transmittable and teachable?' See also 10, 48, 80, 129, and 228. Reprinted in 1938 and 1955 editions of 27.

26. FERGUS AND THE DRUID. In *Early Poems and Stories*. London: Macmillan, 1925. Revised version of a poem that first appeared in *National Observer* in 1892. Van de Kamp (234) suggests that while Yeats 'blatantly misrepresents' the nô as drama he 'incorporates' the form in such poems as this. Fergus here, according to Van de Kamp, 'encapsulates the essence of Zen' when he tells the Druid (l. 38), 'I have grown nothing, knowing all', and in this and other revised lines 'Yeats's great-rooted blossomer is kindred to the pine tree on the backdrop of the Nô stage, a symbol of eternity, longevity and peace'. In earlier printings the line Van de Kamp quotes had read 'I have grown nothing, being all'. Yeats largely maintained the changes in this version in subsequent printings.
27. *Autobiographies: Reveries Over Childhood and Youth and the Trembling of the Veil*. Collected Edition of the Works of W. B. Yeats, vol. 6. London: Macmillan, 1926. Enlarged as *The Autobiography of William Butler Yeats*. London: Macmillan, 1938. Enlarged as *Autobiographies*. London: Macmillan, 1955. All editions reprint 'Four Years, 1887-1891' (18); the enlarged editions include 'The Bounty of Sweden' (25) and the following.
- a. 'Estrangement: Extracts from a Diary Kept in 1909'. In section XLVII Yeats reveals that he has been occupied with 'Binyon's book on Eastern Painting', surely a reference to *Painting in the Far East* (BC2), and that it has reminded him of the importance of the 'literary element' in East Asian art, which he equates both with the 'moral element' in poetry and with aesthetic 'tradition', and contrasts to the 'vulgarity' of 'modern art', for 'supreme art is a traditional statement, passed on from age to age, modified by individual genius, but never abandoned'. He makes a similar point, again in reference to Binyon's work, in 25; see also 10, 48, 54, 80, 129, and 228.
28. THE RESURRECTION. *Adelphi*, June 1927, pp. 714-29. Revised in *Stories of Michael Robartes and His Friends*. Dublin. Cuala, 1931.
- Both versions of Yeats's dramatisation in prose of three opposing concepts of the nature of Christ, embodied by a Greek (an Egyptian in the *Adelphi* version), a Hebrew, and a Syrian, retain much of the style of his earlier experiments with a drama indebted to the nô, including a chorus of musicians, mask, intended performance in a drawing room or small theatre with a select audience, minimal stage properties, and an opening and closing marked by the ritual unfolding and folding of a cloth, but the play is further removed from Japanese sources than the 'plays for dancers' (12, 14a-b, and 17a), and indebted more to Yeats's own earlier experiments than to the nô itself. Taylor (226) is perceptive in a note that at the climactic moment, when a masked Christ is revealed to be both god and man and

slowly crosses the stage, the effect is as 'striking and significant' as a dance, but generally critics have not claimed for the play structural or thematic similarities to the *nô*. The 1931 version is dedicated to Sato Junzô (see especially 21 and 48k); the work was first performed, in Dublin, in 1934. See also 34, 35b-c, 47a, 48l, 69, 71, 120, 130, 149, 180, and 185. Reprinted in 35.

29. AMONG SCHOOL CHILDREN. *London Mercury* 16 (August 1927): 346-48.

Eide (148) suggests a source of lines 9-12 in Stopes's translation of MOTOMEZUKA (see D23) and argues plausibly that the structure of the work is indebted to the *nô*, particularly in the opening self-identification of the *waki* (the secondary character in the *nô*, a traveller, often a priest, who appears and identifies himself at the beginning of the play, ll. 1-8), the confrontation of the *waki* and the *shite* (the principle character, ll. 17-24), and the closing 'singularly appropriate and significant substitute for the dance' (ll. 57-64). Mizuta (133) and Naitô (224) offer readings of the work in the context of Suzuki's Zen.

30. *The Winding Stair*. New York: Fountain, 1929. Enlarged ed., London: Macmillan, 1933.

The 1933 edition reprints BYZANTIUM and SYMBOLS (32a-b).

a. A DIALOGUE OF SELF AND SOUL. The dialogue is between a Soul that calls the poet to an 'ancestral night' of escape from the wheel of life and death, and a Self, which even in old age and sickness affirms the blessedness of life, and calls upon as its symbol 'Sato's ancient blade . . . / Still razor sharp, still like a looking-glass / Unspotted by the centuries', and 'the old embroidery, torn / From some court-lady's dress', which bound around the scabbard 'Can, tattered, still protect, faded adorn' (ll. 9-16; see especially 21 and 48k). When the voice of the Soul protests that a man 'past his prime' should not 'remember things that are / Emblematical of love and war' but instead seek deliverance from 'the crime of death and birth', the voice of the Self returns to the sword and to its history, and makes its symbolism explicit: 'Montashigi, third of his family, fashioned it / Five hundred years ago, about it lie / Flowers from I know not what embroidery— / Heart's purple—and all these I set / For emblems of the day against the tower / Emblematical of the night, / And claim as by a soldier's right / A charter to commit the crime once more' (pp. 25-32). Yeats wrote to Olivia Shakespear of the poem that he makes the sword and its silk covering the 'symbol of [his] life' (48p). 'Montashigi', as often has been noted, is a corruption of Motoshige, the family name of the sword maker, who according to Sato (see 124, p. 133) flourished 1394-1428. The connection to Japanese subjects in the poem perhaps does not end with Sato's sword. Writing about Yeats's interest in Zen has often been ill-informed, but in the

first published work to speculate about a Zen influence in his mature poetry (see 66), his friend George Russell (*Æ*) is careful not to overstate the case, and finds that the ‘acceptance of life’ in this work may have come from Yeats’s ‘study’ of Zen. See also 73, 139, 220, and 224.

- 3 1. ‘To Rabindranath Tagore’. In *The Golden Book of Tagore*, edited by Ramananda Chatterjee. Calcutta: Golden Book Committee, 1931.

The letter celebrates Tagore’s work and notes Yeats’s interest in ‘Asiatic form’, which he ‘first found in [Tagore’s] books and afterwards in certain Chinese poetry and Japanese prose writers’ (p. 269). The only Japanese prose writers Yeats on his own evidence may be shown to have read are Murasaki Shikibu (see 52a, 131, and 228), Noguchi (see *D15b*), Suzuki (see *D28*), and Kagawa Toyohiko (see 46c), though translations of works by Ki no Tsurayuki, Kenkô, and Sei Shônagon were in his library (see 228).

- 3 2. *Words for Music Perhaps and Other Poems*. Dublin: Cuala, 1932.

Both works noted are reprinted in the expanded edition of 30; see also 33.

a. BYZANTIUM. Thwaite (97) was the first to note a source in MOTOMEZUKA, which Yeats knew in Stopes’s translation (see *D23*), in lines 25-32, where ‘blood begotten spirits come / And all complexities of fury leave, Dying into dance, / . . . / An agony of flame that cannot singe a sleeve’. The point is further developed by Wilson (98) and Eide (148), the latter of whom also speculates about a connection between the closing ‘gong tormented sea’ and Péri’s translation of AYA NO TSUZUMI. Yeats’s keen interest in MOTOMEZUKA, and its central presentation of the young girl who ‘dreams back’ her torment in flames that arise from her own imagination, is traceable throughout his writing about the nô (see notes at *D23*). The poem is dated 1929 here and 1930 in the reprint in 30. Naitô (224) finds a Zen Buddhist influence in the poem.

b. SYMBOLS. The poem of six lines does not mention Sato by name, but the reference to his sword (see especially 21 and 48k) is unmistakable: ‘All destroying sword-blade still / Carried by the wandering fool. // Gold-sewn silk on the sword-blade / Beauty and fool together laid’. Written in October 1927. See also 139.

- 3 3. *Crazy Jane Poems*. In *The Winding Stair and Other Poems*. London: Macmillan, 1933.

Hirschberg (181) is probably right in finding that particular images in the seven poems of the Crazy Jane sequence are indebted to the nô in general and to the imagery of Pound’s version of NISHIKIGI (*BK8*) in particular, though it would be difficult to substantiate the suggestion that in these poems about Crazy Jane and

her relationship with Jack the Journeyman Yeats ‘clearly adapted the format of the Nôh’. The ‘blasted oak’ to which ‘midnight upon the stroke’ Jane is called by Jack’s ghost in *CRAZY JANE AND THE BISHOP* is indeed reminiscent of the ‘holy place or much-legended tomb’ Yeats had earlier noted provides the setting in the *mugen nô* (11), and the ‘skein upon the ground’ that unites Jane with her ‘lonely ghost’ in *CRAZY JANE AND JACK THE JOURNEYMAN* likewise recalls the skein of woven grass in *NISHIKIGI*, but though Hirschberg’s suggestions are provocative, and point to an incorporation of material from the *nô* in Yeats’s poems as well as his plays (see also 29, 32a, and 36c), the primary sources of this series are unrelated to Japanese materials. Six of the seven poems had appeared earlier in 32, and several had appeared first in *New Republic*, 12 November 1930, and *London Mercury* 23 (1930), but the seven appear together for the first time here. See also Eide (148) for a suggestion of the ‘shadow’ of Ono no Komachi (see *BK17c-d*) in the series.

34. THE WORDS UPON THE WINDOW PANE. Dublin, Cuala, 1934.

This play, in prose, is indebted to the *nô* to the degree that Yeats’s idea of the ‘dreaming back of the dead’ is indebted to the form, and evidence for a direct link is clear, particularly in *Per Amica Silentia Lunae* (13), Yeats’s first full exploration of the concept, in which he explicitly ties it to the understanding of the ‘Japanese poets’. That he found evidence elsewhere that the dead ‘dream back’ their passions—part of his point in *Per Amica* is that the understanding is a phenomenon apprehended by various cultures at various times—makes it impossible to conclude that the idea originates in his understanding of the *nô*, but at the least he found in *mugen nô* a confirmation of it, and a way of dramatising it that he put to use in the *Plays for Dancers* (17) and later work, particularly *THE RESURRECTION* (28). This work does not draw on the techniques Yeats adapted from the *nô* in the plays for dancers—masks, a chorus of musicians, and other devices—but the ‘dreaming back’ is central. In the early speeches of Dr. Trench, a member of the Dublin Spiritualists’ Association, may be found explication of the concept of the ‘dreaming back’ as clear as any in Yeats’s writing: ‘Some spirits are earthbound—they think they are still living and go over and over some action of their past lives, just as we go over and over some painful thought, except that where they are thought is reality. . . . Sometimes a spirit relives not the pain of death, but some passionate or tragic moment of life’, and they are bound to a place where the event took place, and may only ‘pass out of [their] passion and . . . remorse’ if the living who are aware of their presence ‘pray that the spirit find rest’ (ll. 191-224). The ghosts here, who become manifest not in the manner of *nô* or of *THE DREAMING OF THE BONES* (14a) but rather in the realistic presentation of a *séance*, through

the voice of a medium, are those of Jonathan Swift and two women he loved, their agony, like that of the lovers in NISHIKIGI (*BK8*), that their love was unrealised. Takahashi (*235*) is perceptive in finding that this work and PURGATORY (*44b*) demonstrate ‘more interesting assimilations’ of what Yeats learned from the *nô* even than the plays for dancers. The works, according to Takahashi, are ‘radical divergences’ from the ‘norm’ of the *nô*, and ‘bold innovation[s]’ on the form, but unlike critics such as Sekine (see *BK207*, *BL233*, *247*, *250*, and *258*), who often find Yeatsian drama successful to the degree that it follows Zeami’s ideals, Takahashi suggests that these ‘divergences . . . from the example of the master Zeami are not an artistic sin but proof of Yeats’s creative achievement’: he ‘internalis[es] the ghost . . . so that the audience is made to perceive another drama played out in a space which is invisible or inaudible’. First performed, in Dublin, in 1934. See also *38b*, *117*, *120*, *185*, *216*, *246*, and *248*. Reprinted in *35*.

35. *Wheels and Butterflies*. London: Macmillan, 1934.

Reprints THE CAT AND THE MOON (*24a*), the later version of THE RESURRECTION (*28*), and THE WORDS UPON THE WINDOW PANE (*34*).

a. FIGHTING THE WAVES. A prose version of THE ONLY JEALOUSY OF EMER (*14b*) revised for performance at the Abbey Theatre, where it was first performed on 13 August 1929. Miller (*185*) suggests the revision was ‘perhaps . . . prompted’ by the version of ATSUMORI in Waley’s *Nô Plays of Japan* (*D26b*), and that the work ‘marked the end of Yeats’s attempt to write in a form very closely modelled on the *Nô*’. See also *36a-b*. Reprinted in *51*.

b. Introduction to THE RESURRECTION. Includes Yeats’s only published reference to Hearn: ‘All ancient nations believed in the re-birth of the soul and had probably empirical evidence like that Lafcadio Hearn found among the Japanese’. Reprinted in *51*.

c. Introduction to THE CAT AND THE MOON. Equates the thought of ‘the Japanese labour leader and Christian saint Kagawa [Toyohiko, see *46c*] . . . [who] speaks of that early phase of every civilisation where a man must follow his father’s occupation, where everything is prescribed, as buried under dream and myth’, with Ireland, for ‘the Irish country people kept something of that early period’, and for this reason, Yeats says, he wrote his *Celtic Twilights* and annotated Lady Gregory’s *Visions and Beliefs* (see *15*). Unlike notes to the play that appeared with its original publication (*24b*), this introduction does not mention *kyôgen*, though Yeats does note that he ‘wanted some light entertainment to join a couple of the dance plays or THE RESURRECTION [*28*] and a dance play’. Reprinted in *51*.

36. *The King of the Great Clock Tower, Commentaries and Poems*. Dublin, Cuala, 1934.

a. THE KING OF THE GREAT CLOCK TOWER. In this work and FIGHTING THE WAVES (35a) Yeats attempted to move his dance plays out of the drawing room and back to the public stage, and while both works retain most of the devices of the earlier dance plays—most notably the use of chorus and mask, suggestive rather than representational properties, and a climax in dance—both are cast in prose. That Yeats nonetheless believed the plays to be in some degree ‘imitations’ of a Japanese model is made clear in his commentary (b). Recounts in the manner of the dance plays the ‘fable’ of a King, his mysterious Queen, and the ‘Stroller’ who visits them and loses his head because of it. First performed at the Abbey Theatre, 30 June 1934. Rewritten in verse both as A FULL MOON IN MARCH (37b) and THE KING OF THE GREAT CLOCK TOWER (37c). See also 37a, 98, and 207.

b. ‘Commentary on “The Great Clock Tower”’. Two opening sections lament the inability of performers to ‘sing poetry’, and outline Yeats’s efforts to find players able properly to perform his dramatic verse. Section III explains his experiments with the ‘dance plays’ in this context, and suggests the degree to which even at this late date he thought of himself as working from a ‘Japanese model’: ‘I gave up the fight [to have poetry properly sung on stage], began writing little dance plays, founded upon a Japanese model, that need no scenery, no properties, and can be performed in studio or drawing room, thinking that some group of students might make a little money playing them and gradually elaborate a technique that would respect literature and music alike. Whenever I produced one of these plays I asked my singers for no new method. . . . When the Abbey School of Ballet was founded I tried these plays upon the stage where they seemed out of place. Why should musician or actor fold and unfold a cloth [see 12] when the proscenium curtain was there, why carry on to the stage drum, gong, and flute when the orchestra was there. FIGHTING THE WAVES [35a] and the present play [KING OF THE GREAT CLOCK TOWER] so far imitate the Japanese model that they climax in a dance, substitute suggestion for representation, but like the Japanese plays themselves they are stage plays.’

c. RIBH AT THE TOMB OF BAILE AND AILLINN. The first of seven ‘supernatural songs’ (expanded to twelve in 37), in which the monk Ribh prays over the grave of the legendary Irish lovers Baile and Aillinn, who had died of broken hearts, each having been falsely informed of the death of the other. Ishibashi (131) was the first to suggest that the ‘basic story’ is derived from NISHIKIGI (BK8), and indeed while Baile and Aillinn are legendary characters, Ribh and his prayers over their grave—reading from a ‘holy book’ by the light of the conflagration of their joining

on the anniversary of their death—are of Yeats’s invention, and clearly reminiscent of setting, occasion, and ‘action’ not only in NISHIKIGI but in several other works of the nô stage. The yew and apple trees that grow above the grave and represent the lovers, though part of the Irish legend, are likewise reminiscent of particular works from the nô, most notably TAKASAGO (see *BK88d*), which Yeats knew (see 11), in which ghostly lovers are rooted to their passion in the form of trees, about which their spirits linger until freed by the prayers of a travelling priest. Jeffares (in 139) cautiously concurs with the idea that the poem is indebted to the nô, and quotes a passage from Yeats’s introduction to *Certain Noble Plays of Japan* (11) in which he explicitly allies the legends of Ireland with the dramas of Japan: ‘The love sorrows [of the nô] . . . may owe their nobility to a courtly life’, Yeats observed there, ‘but he to whom the adventures happen, a traveller commonly from some distant place, is most often a Buddhist priest; . . . The adventure itself is most often a meeting with ghost, god, or goddess at some holy place or much-legended tomb; and god, goddess, or ghost reminds me at times of our own Irish legends and beliefs, which once, it may be, differed little from those of the Shinto worshipper’. On 24 July 1934 Yeats wrote of this poem to Olivia Shakespear (in a letter printed in 48) in terms not explicitly drawn from but nonetheless suggestive of his understanding of the nô. Appeared earlier in *Poetry* 45 (1934). Reprinted in 37.

37. *A Full Moon in March*. London: Macmillan, 1935.

Reprints RIBH AT THE TOMB OF BAILE AND AILLINN (36c).

a. Preface. After a friend he had trusted in the past had ‘denounced . . . in violent language’ the prose version of THE KING OF THE GREAT CLOCK TOWER (36a) Yeats concluded that prose dialogue was as unpopular among his ‘studious friends’ as verse among ‘actors and playgoers’, and so he has rewritten THE KING OF THE GREAT CLOCK TOWER in verse, though recommends the earlier version to anyone ‘inclined to play it’; further, to reduce the ‘fable’ to its ‘essentials’ and to give it ‘greater intensity’, he has ‘started afresh’ with a new version in verse, which eliminates the King, and presents it here as A FULL MOON IN MARCH.

b. A FULL MOON IN MARCH. THE KING OF THE GREAT CLOCK TOWER (36a and 37c) reduced to its ‘essentials’. Taylor (226) calls this work ‘the most highly developed of the dance plays derived from the Japanese nôh’. First appeared in *Poetry* in March 1935. See also 98, 120, 207, and 214.

c. THE KING OF THE GREAT CLOCK TOWER. A verse revision of the earlier play of the same title (36a), for Yeats’s ‘studious friends’ (see a above). Wilson (98) finds the work ‘perhaps the closest Yeats ever came in a dance-play to the realisation of the formal ideal he took over from the Japanese’. Dedicated to Ninette

de Valois, founder of the Abbey School of Ballet, associated with the Abbey Theatre, and dancer in several productions of Yeats's plays, 'asking pardon for covering her expressive face with a mask'. See also 207.

38. *A Vision*. 2nd ed. London: Macmillan, 1937. Reprint, 'with the author's final revisions', 1956.

Yeats's 'defence against the chaos of the world' outlines a complex philosophical, ontological, and symbolic system he 'learned' from his 'instructors', the spirits speaking through the mediumship of his wife, her automatic script, and her dreams (see 57) between October 1917 and March 1924. The system is self-consciously inclusive, yet includes very little directly traceable to Japanese sources—nothing whatever in the first edition of 1925—even though the automatic script and notebooks on which it is based were completed during the years of Yeats's greatest interest in and most direct mediation of the *nô*. Yeats's encounter with the *nô* at Stone Cottage (see, especially, *BK183*) provided seeds which have here taken root—early formulations of the ontology of 'The Phases of the Moon', particularly in Book II, 'The Completed Symbol', and III, 'The Soul in Judgment', may be found in *Per Amica Silentia Lunae* (13), where Yeats explicitly ties his emerging understanding of the nature of ghosts to the Japanese poets and the authors of *nô*—but ultimately the developing and developed system itself informs Yeats's 'nô plays' more than the *nô* plays inform the system. Certainly the concept of the 'dreaming back' remains important here, and cannot be separated from Yeats's encounter with the *nô*, but beyond this critics wishing to place Japan in a central position in the mature Yeatsian symbology would do well to note the virtual absence of Japanese subjects in this larger symbolic system that he himself believed central to his work. His understanding of the *nô* and of Suzuki's Zen (see *D28*) have affected the understandings outlined here, but of more central importance are doctrines deriving from, among widely diverse sources, medieval European occultism, medieval astrology, and the Vedas.

a. 'The Completed Symbol, XVIII'. Book II of 'The Phases of the Moon' closes with this section, in which Yeats notes that his 'instructors identify consciousness with conflict', and 'substitute for subject and object and their attendant logic a struggle towards harmony, towards Unity of Being'. Several passages that illustrate the point, Yeats writes, 'run in [his] head', and he cites three 'written by Japanese monks on attaining Nirvana'. These in fact are anecdotes from Chinese tradition, mainly as handed down in the Ch'an/Zen texts *Wu-men kuan* (Jpn.: *Mumonkan*) and *Pi-yen-lui* (Jpn.: *Hekiganroku*), though all appear in the first series of Suzuki's *Essays in Zen Buddhism* (see *D28*), which is Yeats's acknowledged source: he

remarks in a footnote that he has ‘compared [his] memories with their source in *Zazuki’s [sic] Zen Buddhism*, an admirable and exciting book’, and finds that they are accurate except that he has ‘substituted here and there better-sounding words’. See also 46*b*.

b. ‘The Soul in Judgement’. Book III of the ‘The Phases of the Moon’ is Yeats’s most thorough non-dramatic working through of the concept of the ‘dreaming back’ of the passions of the dead, which he first described in print—and connected to the ontology of the *nô*—in *Per Amica Silentia Lunae* (13), and aided by what he had learned from the *nô* had dramatised, most notably in *THE DREAMING OF THE BONES* (14*a*), *CALVARY* (17*a*), and *THE WORDS UPON THE WINDOW PANE* (34), and to which he would return in *PURGATORY* (44*b*). Once again here, nineteen years after the publication of *Per Amica*, he turns to the *nô* in explanation of the concept, the same examples, it turns out, that had occupied him in those earlier years:

1. Section III. As he had done earlier (see particularly 11) Yeats associates the ontological foundation of the *mugen nô* with perceived similarities in Irish and occultist tradition: ‘The *Spirit*,’ he writes, ‘at last draws backward into itself . . . all it has felt or known. I am convinced that this ancient generalisation . . . once was a universal belief. . . . Certainly I find it in old Irish literature, in modern Irish folk-lore, in Japanese plays, in Swedenborg, in the phenomena of spiritualism, accompanied as often as not by the belief that the living can assist the imaginations of the dead’. He recalls again the ‘ghost lovers in a Japanese play [*NISHIKIGI* (BK8)] asking a wandering Buddhist priest to marry them’, and the ‘two that appeared to a Catholic priest in Aran, according to an Aran tale, with a like object’, a similarity to which he first had called attention in notes to Lady Gregory’s *Visions and Beliefs in the West of Ireland* (see 15*a-b*) in the second decade of the century.

2. Section VI. As he had done two decades earlier in ‘Swedenborg, Mediums, and the Desolate Places’ (15*a*) and *Per Amica Silentia Lunae* (13), Yeats turns to the *nô* in general and to *MOTOMEZUKA* (see D23) in particular to work through his understanding of the ontology of ghosts, though here he adds a new distinction. A ‘spirit’ that has experienced intense passion in life ‘is compelled to live over and over again the events that had most moved it’, like ‘those apparitions haunting the places where they have lived that fill the literature of all countries and are the theme of the Japanese *Nô* drama’. Spirits whose passions in life were associated with physical constraints, and whose working out of unreconciled passion serves to ‘perfect an event that concerns the living’, may be said to inhabit this ‘state’ of the ‘dreaming back’. But whereas Yeats had earlier attributed the relived passions of

all spirits to the 'dreaming back', here he finds a new 'state': 'the various legends of spirits that appear under impulse of moral and emotional suffering', and whose reliving of passions concerns not the living but the moral and emotional peace of the spirit itself, must be 'attributed' to a 'state' Yeats calls 'Phantasmagoria'. He recalls in this regard the 'girl in a Japanese play whose ghost tells a priest of a slight sin, if indeed it was a sin, which seems great because of her exaggerated conscience'. 'She is surrounded by flames', he continues, 'and though the priest explains that if she but ceased to believe in those flames they would cease to exist, believe she must, and the play ends in an elaborate dance, the dance of her agony'. This example, from MOTOMEZUKA, had been in Yeats's mind since the winter of 1914 with Pound at Stone Cottage, and arguably informs his poetry more than other material traceable to Japan (see *D23*). The distinction between the 'dreaming back' and the 'phantasmagoria' is given voice by the old man in PURGATORY (*44b*), in Yeats's last return to dramatic principles developed from the *mugen nô*. After describing the 'souls in Purgatory' who cannot escape the earthly habitation of their 'transgressions', the old man notes that they are of two kinds, those whose transgressions are 'Upon others, [that] others may bring help, / For when the consequence is at an end / The dream must end; if upon themselves, / There is no help but in themselves / And in the mercy of God' (ll. 38-42).

39. THE HERNE'S EGG. London: Macmillan, 1938.

Of Yeats's drama written after his encounter with the *nô*, this work, which may be seen as a dramatised working through of the philosophical system codified in *A Vision* (*38*), is the least derivative of, and the least like in its effect, the classical Japanese theatre. The chorus of attendants, masks, much of the minimalism, and the focus on the re-lived passions of the dead are dispensed with. Mime, ritualised movement, and anti-representational stage properties remain central, but these are as much the devices of European Symbolist and Expressionist drama as of the *nô*, and so a direct link between the Japanese form and the dramaturgy here would be difficult to argue. Even those critics most inclined to find lessons from the *nô* behind Yeats's middle- and late-drama have reserved comment, or have written of 'assimilation' rather than of 'influence': see especially *149* and *180*, and also *44b* and *98*.

40. LAPIS LAZULI. *London Mercury* 37 (March 1938): 477-78.

Oshima (*124*, p. 66) finds in the glittering, gay eyes of the ancient Chinese of the closing lines evidence of Yeats's understanding of Zen, as he received it from Suzuki, a suggestion that in the published record may not be proven but which is at least plausible given Yeats's acquaintance with Suzuki and familiarity with his

work (see *D28*). F. A. C. Wilson (see *124i*), for one, finds Oshima's reading here 'utterly convincing'. Reprinted in *41*.

41. *New Poems*. Dublin: Cuala, 1938.

Reprints LAPIS LAZULI (40).

a. IMITATED FROM THE JAPANESE. The speaker celebrates the coming of spring and finds it 'astonishing' that he has lived through seventy years without 'danc[ing] for joy'. Yeats included an earlier version of the poem in a letter to Dorothy Wellesley in December 1936 (45). He wrote there that he had 'made' the poem 'out of a prose translation of a Japanese Hokku in praise of Spring', but the work is nothing like 'hokku', prose translation or otherwise, and does not remind of anything in Japanese tradition. Finneran in *The Collected Poems of W. B. Yeats*, rev. ed. (New York: Collier, 1989) finds an 'apparent source' in Miyamori's *Anthology of Haiku* (see 27), most likely, he suggests, 'My Longing After Departed Spring', by Emori Gekkyo (1745-1824; p. 487), but the similarity is not striking. Yeats's poem is nine lines about joy occasioned by the arrival of spring, Gekkyo's two lines about longing occasioned by its departure. The 'prose translation of a . . . Hokku' from which Yeats worked, then, has yet to be identified.

42. Introduction to *Aphorisms of Yōga*, by Bhagwān Shree Patanjali. London: Faber & Faber, 1938.

Includes one of Yeats's few published accounts of his understanding of Zen (pp. 16-17), linked here with the Samādhi (Jpn.: *satori*) of Vedic teaching. 'That experience', Yeats writes, 'has become the central experience . . . perhaps of all Far-Eastern civilisation', and while the 'technique' may be different in India, China, and Japan, the experience is the same. 'Some years ago', he continues, 'that I might understand its influence upon Chinese and Japanese landscape painting, I sought that method in vain through encyclopedias and histories; it certainly prepared an escape from all that the intellect holds true, and that escape, as described in the Scriptures and the legends of Zen Buddhism, is precipitated by a shock, often produced artificially by the teacher'. The story Yeats recounts in some detail following this, of the monk whose finger was cut off by the Abbot that the former might gain enlightenment, takes some liberties with an anecdote from the *Hekiganroku*, and with Suzuki's retelling of it in his first series of *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, which would have been Yeats's source for the story (see *D28*). Placed and dated Dublin, 1937.

43. THE STATUES. *London Mercury* 39 (March 1939): 481.

Oshima (*124e*) offers a persuasive analysis of the poem that traces its philosophical stance to Yeats's acquaintance with Suzuki's work about Zen. The

reading finds that in stanzas 1 and 2 Yeats describes respectively the ‘adolescence’ and ‘prime’ of European civilisation, and that stanza 3 describes its ‘decrepitude’ and posits the need, ‘When gong and conch declare the hour to bless’ and ‘Grimalkin crawls to Buddha’s emptiness’, to turn to the ‘theory of Emptiness’ that Yeats would have known through his reading of Suzuki. Suzuki himself, in a letter to Bandô Shōjun quoted by Naitō (159), believed that Yeats’s reference here to ‘Buddha’s emptiness’ was ‘most likely’ a reference to the *sunyata* Suzuki discusses in *Zen and Japanese Culture*, which he had sent to Yeats at about the time he would have been at work on this poem. For notes about Suzuki’s work and Yeats’s response to it see *D28*, and see also *47b*, *47d*, *146*, *159*, and *224*. Dated 9 April 1938. Reprinted in *44*.

44. *Last Poems and Two Plays*. Dublin, Cuala, 1939.

Reprints THE STATUES (43).

a. THE DEATH OF CUCHULAIN. The end of a cycle of plays about the life and death of the legendary Cuchulain that occupied Yeats on and off for thirty-five years, encompassing ON BAILE’S STRAND (1904), THE GREEN HELMET (1910), the ‘dance plays’ AT THE HAWK’S WELL (12) and THE ONLY JEALOUSY OF EMER (14b), and FIGHTING THE WAVES (35a). The degree to which this work draws on Yeats’s understanding of the *nô* is open to argument. On the one hand, one can point to little strikingly like the *mugen nô*, the ‘*nô* of ghosts’ that had earlier occupied Yeats’s thought both in prose explorations of the aims and methods of the Japanese theatre, particularly his introduction to *Certain Noble Plays* (11), and his conscious adaptations of it, particularly in the ‘plays for dancers’ (12, 14a-b, and 17a). The play retains musicians and a climactic dance, and opens and closes with the chorus-like commentary of characters separated in time and space from the action; and the Old Man who speaks the prologue comments ironically on the need for ‘an audience of fifty or a hundred’ who ‘know the old epics and Mr. Yeats’s plays’, recalling the ‘aristocratic audience’ Yeats earlier associated with the *nô* (particularly in 11), and for whom he wrote his early adaptations of the form. In spite of these devices, however, the work is unlike the earlier dance plays. It incorporates more characters—eleven including the musicians—and does not rely on masks, the folding and unfolding of the cloth (see 12), or a ‘dreaming back’ of the passionate dead. Wilson (98) notes that he was told by Ishibashi (see 131) that the prologue ‘strongly resembles the *Kyogen*’, but the comparison is a stretch of the imagination: works for the *kyōgen* are not ordinarily monologues, and do not directly set the stage for a more serious following work; Miller (185) notes that the painted cubes of wood that represent the severed heads of Cuchulain and those who

killed him indicate Yeats's 'complete agreement' with the use of stage property as 'conventional symbol' to represent other things, as in the *nô*, but while the point is no doubt correct, the device is at work in dozens of earlier works of the Symbolist and Expressionist stage of Europe, and cannot confidently be traced to the Japanese. Still, the dramatic effect of the play is curiously *nô*-like. Taylor (180) may over-state the case when he writes that 'whether . . . conscious or not, the construction . . . is the most *Nô*-like of all of Yeats's plays', but one cannot disagree with his exposition of the point: 'The action progresses through an alternation of narration and mediation, rising to a medial climax, and after an interval renews itself in a brief scene of contrasting mood and tempo which is dominated by a symbolic dance'; this, combined with a 'reliance on [a] known mythic cycle' and 'references to prior action . . . familiar from earlier treatment by Yeats', provides the work 'a richness of texture that is . . . reminiscent of *Nô*'. One suspects that Yeats neither knew of nor intended this, but the accuracy of the point testifies to the degree to which by 1939 he had internalised important conventions from the Japanese form, and consciously or not was able to put them to use in this work that brings much of the solemn, ritualised effect of the *nô* to the twentieth-century European stage. See also 172 and 227.

b. PURGATORY. After the extravagance and ultimate unplayability of *THE HERNE'S EGG* (39), this work, Yeats's last to be staged during his lifetime, returns to a minimalist theatre consciously drawing on principles learned and developed from the *mugen nô*. The only speaking characters are a boy and an old man, and stage directions call only for 'a ruined house and a bare tree in the background'. The story that unfolds through the dialogue is not predominantly of time present, but rather of days when the house was grand, and how first its inhabitants and then the house itself came to ruination. Early in the work (ll. 31-35), the 'dreaming back', 'the theme of the Japanese *Nô* drama', Yeats had called it the previous year (see 38b2), is given voice by the old man—'The souls in Purgatory . . . come back / To habitations and familiar spots. / . . . / Re-live / Their transgressions, and that not once / But many times'—and this 'dreaming back' of the agonies of ghosts, particularly that of the old man's mother, the daughter of the house, is central to the play. Moments related to her 'transgression', and her husband's, are witnessed first by the old man, then the boy, and thrice by the audience, in momentary images visible through a window, lit and again darkened as the old man speaks. The debt to *nô* here is subtle and sophisticated. The work does not rely on chorus, musician, dance, or mask, and suggests no self-consciousness about the aesthetic sensibility or size of the audience. Surely the bare tree recalls

the painted pine backdrop of the nô stage, but rather the more profound debt is in the conflation of past and present on stage, the past agony and its present ‘dreaming back’, set in its ruined ‘habitation’ on the night of the anniversary that begot it, with minimal dramatic ‘action’ in time present mediated by dramatised visions of a tormented spirit in a lost and irredeemable past, culminating in a prayer for release: the work closes with lines that recall and fairly summarise the religious stance of the mugen nô: ‘Oh God, / Release [the] soul from its dream! / Mankind can do no more. Appease / The misery of the living and the remorse of the dead’. Yeats’s final return to the ‘theme of the . . . Nô drama’ has not gone unnoticed by critics, though few have suggested a particular source in the nô. Both Taylor (180) and Holloway (A36) note that the ghosts visible in the lit window recall lines from Pound’s NISHIKIGI (BK8), but beyond this the work is clearly Yeats’s variation on general themes he had discovered in nô nearly a quarter century earlier. According to Miller (185) the play was written for performance at the Peacock (see 185). It was first staged in August 1938. See also 13, 34, 98, 120, 188, 216, 231, 246, and 248.

45. To Dorothy Wellesley, 25 December 1936. In *Letters on Poetry from W. B. Yeats to Dorothy Wellesley*. London: Oxford UP, 1940. Reprint, 1964.

Includes an early draft of IMITATED FROM THE JAPANESE (41a), and notes about its composition: ‘I have been in bed unable to do anything but sleep, yesterday I got up for the first time. I made this poem out of a prose translation of a Japanese Hokku in praise of Spring’. See also 139.

46. *Pages from a Diary Written in Nineteen Hundred and Thirty*. Dublin: Cuala, 1944. Published in an edition of 280; page references here are adjusted to the reprint in *Explorations* (51).

a. ‘September 12th’ (p. 320). Includes passing reference to Sato’s sword (see notes at 21 and 48k) and the ‘piece of silk from a Japanese lady’s Court Dress’ in which it was wrapped.

b. ‘September 15th’ (p. 325). The ‘Nirvana Song [Jpn.: *tôki-no-ge*] of the Japanese Monk’ that Yeats recalls is in fact an anecdote about a Chinese monk, but it appears in the first series of Suzuki’s *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, which would have been the source of Yeats’s knowledge of it (see D28). Yeats recalls the same anecdote—and makes the same mistake about the monk—in the second edition of *A Vision* (38a).

c. ‘September 20th’ (pp. 326-28). The whole of the lengthy entry is about Kagawa Toyohiko (1888-1960), Japanese Christian labour leader, pacifist, and author of more than 150 monographs, including several successful novels. Yeats

greatly admires Kagawa's 'moral understanding', but raises questions about the repercussions of his thought, and the entry closes with Yeats's curious explanation that his purpose in writing the passage has been to 'protect [himself] against the fascination of Toyohiko Kagawa and his heroic life'. His acquaintance with Kagawa would have come from the 1924 English translation of *Shisen o koete, Before the Dawn* (London: Chatto and Windus), which Yeats recalled reading in a letter to Oshima of 19 August 1927 (52a), and from James Fullerton's 1929 translation of *Ai no kagaku, Love, The Law of Life* (London: Student Christian Movement Press), passages of which Dume (80) traces to Yeats's references here. See also 35c and 52a.

47. *W. B. Yeats and T. Sturge Moore: Their Correspondence 1901-1937*. Edited by Ursula Bridge. London: Routledge and Paul, 1953.

Letters noted are from Yeats to Moore.

a. 17 July 1923. Yeats writes that he is 'deep in a new Nôh Play', probably THE RESURRECTION (28). He referred to his drama as 'Noh' from late 1917 to late 1923 (see 48f).

b. 5 February 1926. Includes Yeats's earliest direct reference in the published record to Zen (though see also 11). He remarks first on a passage from Waley's *Introduction to the Study of Chinese Painting* (London: Benn, 1923), and quotes the famous enlightenment poem of Hui-neng (Jpn.: Enô, 638-713, the sixth patriarch of Zen), about the 'mirror' of the mind; Yeats adds that 'Zen art was the result of a contemplation that saw all becoming through rhythm a single act of mind'. Oshima (124e) suggests Hui-neng's poem as a source for Yeats's perception that 'Mirror on mirror mirrored is all the show' in THE STATUES (43, l. 22), and that Yeats would have known of the poem from his reading of Suzuki's *Essays* (see D28), second series, where Hui-neng's poem appears on pp. 27-28, but Yeats probably had not read Suzuki in February 1926 (see 67), and no evidence exists that he ever owned or read the second series of the *Essays*. The more likely source is the one Yeats quotes in the letter, Waley, p. 221: 'Knowledge is not a tree, / The mirror has no stand; / Since nothing exists, / How could dust rise to cover it?' Yeats mentions Zen in passing in two other letters included in the volume, of 'before 29 March 1926' and 23 February 1928 (d below).

c. Before 2 June 1927. Writing of a planned season of 'dance plays' at the newly-opened Peacock Theatre (see 185), Yeats notes that he has 'two fine Japanese Noh Masks'. These masks and a third Yeats apparently acquired later are described by Miller (185); according to Ishibashi (131) he used one of them for 'meditation'.

d. 23 February 1928. Includes a passing reference to Zen that according to Oshima (124e) demonstrates that Yeats in his reading of Suzuki (see D28) had come to know 'that the essence of Eastern wisdom consists [of] the negation of knowledge'; Oshima argues further that this understanding informs lines 20-21 of THE STATUES (43): 'Empty eye-balls knew / That knowledge increases unreality'.

48. *The Letters of W. B. Yeats*. Edited by Allan Wade. London: Hart-Davis, 1954.

In addition to letters noted, others include details of Yeats's relationship with Pound, Binyon, and Craig, references to Itô, and discussion of the writing, planning, and production of Yeats's plays indebted to his understanding of the nô, particularly the first performance of AT THE HAWK'S WELL (12; see index).

a. To Fiona Macleod, January 1897?. Even at this early date Yeats's conceptions of drama reveal interest in much of what he later found sanction for in the nô: 'My own theory of poetical or legendary drama is that it should have no realistic, or elaborate, but only a symbolic and decorative setting. A forest, for instance, should be represented by a forest pattern. And not by a forest painting. One should design a scene which would be an accompaniment not a reflection of the text: . . . The acting should have an equivalent distance to that of the play from common realities. The plays might be almost, in some cases, modern mystery plays'.

b. To the editor, *Daily Chronicle*, 27 January 1899. Anticipates by seventeen years Yeats's introduction to *Certain Noble Plays of Japan* (11) and its call for an aristocratic audience and a drama with 'no need of mob or Press to pay its way': the need, Yeats contends here, is for 'a theatre which is part of the intellectual life', but this is not possible until drama 'escapes from that general public whose slave it has become', for 'the general public . . . will always hate literature and the arts because it will always shrink away from the laborious or exhausting ecstasy in which literature and the arts are understood'. The theatre may only 'escape' by 'working for' that 'small public which cares for literature and the arts'.

c. To Lady Gregory, 24 November 1904. Includes the earliest example in the published record of Yeats connecting the arts of Japan with his own dramatic work (see also 7). Lady Gregory's son, Robert, has designed a 'wing' for plays soon to be presented at the Abbey Theatre, and while Yeats finds it 'very good for a remoter play', it is 'too far from realism to go with comedy or with any ordinary play'. Yeats is 'very glad to have it', but has 'found out' that the 'exact thing' he wants is 'the sort of tree one finds in Japanese prints', and so 'if Robert could find time to look up some prints and to make . . . a wing of this sort in the next three or four

days', Yeats would 'be very glad'. The plays upcoming at the Abbey were Lady Gregory's SPREADING THE NEWS and Yeats's own ON BAILE'S STRAND, the first of what would become a cycle about the life and death of Cuchulain (see 12, 14b, 35a, 44a, 168, and 227).

d. To John Butler Yeats, 14 March 1916. Yeats has been 'turning over a book of Japanese paintings' and remarks of their 'delight in form' and 'ordering of natural objects' without resort to 'imitation'; 'one feels', he writes, that the artists have 'had to *consciously* and deliberately arrange' their subjects (emphasis Yeats's).

e. To John Quinn, 2 April 1916. Written the day of the first performance of AT THE HAWK'S WELL. Yeats anticipates success by turning to a simile drawn from his understanding of Japanese tradition: 'If when the play is perfectly performed . . . [Arthur James] Balfour and [John Singer] Sargent and [Charles] Ricketts [see 190] and Sturge Moore [see CA9] and [Augustus] John and the Prime Minister [Asquith] . . . will come to see it, I shall have a success that would have pleased Sophocles. No press, no photographs in the papers, no crowd. . . . I shall be as lucky as a Japanese dramatic poet at the Court of the Shogun.'

f. To Lady Gregory, 8 September 1917. From this date at the latest until at least his letter to Edmund Dulac in October 1923 (48m) Yeats refers to the drama he is writing as his 'Noh', here in reference to THE DREAMING OF THE BONES (14a). See also letters to Lady Gregory of 4 and 12 January 1918 in this volume, 47a above, 48g, h, and i below, and 57c.

g. To Quinn, 8 Feb 1918. Wade does not include an editorial note about Yeats's comment that he has 'written four plays in the style of the "Noh"' and has a 'plan for a fifth', but those Yeats had in mind would have included AT THE HAWK'S WELL (12), THE ONLY JEALOUSY OF EMER (14b), THE DREAMING OF THE BONES (14a), and presumably THE CAT AND THE MOON (24a). The planned fifth work would either be CALVARY (17a) or a never-completed play mentioned in a letter to Lady Gregory of the previous 14 January (see p. 645).

h. To Quinn, 23 July 1918. Yeats writes that he has 'finished another "Noh" play', presumably CALVARY (17a), and laments Itô's production of AT THE HAWK'S WELL in New York, for Yeats 'meant these "Noh" plays never to be performed in a theatre', and 'had thought to escape the press, and people digesting their dinners, and to write for [his] friends', a point he had made in more formal language two years earlier in introduction to *Certain Noble Plays of Japan* (11).

i. To Quinn, 11 July 1919. Yeats writes of a recent invitation 'to lecture for two years in Japan at a university there' (Keio, see 124a1), but he has not had time to

decide whether to accept. Clearly, however, he has given the matter thought: 'It would be pleasant to go away until the tumult of the [Irish civil] war had died down. . . . But would one ever come back?—would one find some grass-grown city, scarce inhabited since the tenth century, where one seemed surpassing rich on a few hundred a year?' The letter continues weighing the decision, but ultimately offers better reasons for staying in Ireland than for going to Japan, though see *j* below and 56. A decade later Yeats received a second offer of a Japanese professorship, which he was 'tempted' to accept, but persuaded by his wife did not (see 48*s-t*, 52*e-f*, and 124*a2*). See also 48*k* and 63.

j. To A. H. Bullen, 15 November 1919. Four months after his letter to Quinn about the invitation to Japan (*i*) Yeats continues to take the offer seriously, though now considers staying for a shorter time: 'I go to America on Jan 6 and may after lecturing go on to Japan where I have been offered some lectures at Tokyo University and be away a little over a year'. The original offer in fact was not from Tokyo University, but from Keio University in Tokyo (see 124*a1*).

k. To Edmund Dulac, 22 March 1920. Includes Yeats's fullest account in the published record of his meeting with Sato and receipt of the sword that appears in the *Vision* papers (57*d-e*), *MEDITATIONS IN TIME OF CIVIL WAR* (21), *A DIALOGUE BETWEEN SELF AND SOUL* (30*a*), and *SYMBOLS* (32*b*):

A rather wonderful thing happened the day before yesterday. A very distinguished looking Japanese came to see us. He had read my poetry when in Japan and had now just heard me lecture. He had something in his hand wrapped up in embroidered silk. He said it was a present for me. He untied the silk cord that bound it and brought out a sword which had been for 500 years in his family. It had been made 550 years ago and he showed me the maker's name upon the hilt. I was greatly embarrassed at the thought of such a gift and went to fetch George, thinking that we might find some way of refusing it. When she came I said "But surely this ought always to remain in your family?" He answered "My family have many swords." But later he brought back my embarrassment by speaking of having given me "his sword." I had to accept it but I have written him a letter saying that I "put him under a vow" to write and tell me when his first child is born—he is not yet married—that I may leave the sword back to his family in my will.

Yeats continues by noting that he has come to a decision about the offer from Japan (see *i* above): 'We are not going to Japan. At least not for the present. The offer from there grew vaguer and the expense of living is immense. We should be bankrupt before we reached Tokyo'.

l. To Lady Gregory, 10 April 1921. Yeats writes of recent difficulty finding 'themes' for his poetry and that he 'may have to start another Noh play and get caught up into it' if his new poems 'turn out badly'. The poems, *THOUGHTS UPON THE PRESENT STATE OF THE WORLD* (*Dial*, September 1921), did not turn out

badly, and Yeats's next 'Noh play', the first version of *THE RESURRECTION* (28), did not appear until June 1927.

m. To Dulac, 14 October 1923. Among Yeats's published letters this is the last in which he refers to his own drama as 'Noh'.

n. To Olivia Shakespear, 25 May 1926. Includes reference to the 'silent' transmission through the centuries of 'the doctrine of the Zen school'. See also 47*b*.

o. To Shakespear, 7 September 1927. Yeats closes by noting that he has 'a mass of letters mainly to Japanese to write'. By this date he was corresponding with Oshima, Yano (see 76), Sangû Makoto (see 52), Sato (see 184), and probably Suzuki (see *D28*); he had known Noguchi as early as 1903 and had written to him at least once in the twenties (see *D15b*).

p. To Shakespear, 2 (or 4) October 1927. Writing of a new poem, *SWORD AND TOWER*, which according to Wade's note became *A DIALOGUE OF SELF AND SOUL* (30*a*), Yeats says of Sato's sword (see especially 21) and its silk covering that he makes it his 'symbol of life'.

q. To Shakespear, 2 March 1929. Includes passing reference to men in Japan, presumably poets, who would agree with Yeats's idea that 'the world's last great poetic period is over', even while 'the young' of Europe, including Pound, do not.

r. To Shakespear, 29 March 1929. Remarking about the ease with which he is writing poetry, Yeats writes that he 'feel[s] like one of those Japanese who in the middle ages retired from the world at 50 or so . . . to devote himself "to art and letters" which was considered sacred'.

s. To Shakespear, 31 July 1929. Yeats writes of a second offer of a professorship in 'Japan' (see also *i* above), actually in Taiwan, then under Japanese occupation. He discusses details of the invitation—it is for one year, eight hours a week, £1000, and includes a residence and travelling expenses; he is 'tempted' to accept, in part because of a three-month summer holiday in Japan proper: 'If my health is good enough it would be new life . . . wandering around Japanese temples among the hills—all the best Chinese art is in Japan. What an adventure for old age—probably some new impulse to put in verse'. The invitation would have been from Yano, then professor at Taihoku Imperial University in Taipei; Yeats had been in correspondence with him about a possible trip to Japan as early as January 1928 (see 52*e-f*).

t. To Shakespear, 9 August 1929. A brief note saying that the Yeats family will not go to Japan (see *s*) because Yeats's wife has been 'quite firm' that they should not; Yeats is 'relieved and disappointed'. He wrote to Yano the same day turning down the invitation (see 52*f*).

u. To Ethel Mannin, 9 October 1938?. In discussing his ‘private philosophy’ Yeats describes the treatment of death in the painting of several traditions, including ‘the Zen school of Japanese Buddhism’, the artists of which ‘have the idea of the concordance of achievement and death, and connect both with what they call “poverty.” To explain poverty they point to those paintings where they have suggested peace and loneliness by some single object or by a few strokes of the brush’. Yeats would have had in mind one or more of several passages in Suzuki’s *Zen Buddhism and Its Influence on Japanese Culture*, a work Suzuki had sent to him (see *D28*), in which both *wabi* (a sensation of loneliness or its cause) and *sabi* (an intermingling of beauty and sorrow or loneliness) are translated as ‘poverty’.

49. Note, 23 December 1938. In Moore (85), 1954.

In discussion of Yeats’s ‘final’ spiritual and philosophical ‘doctrine’, Moore quotes a note Yeats dictated to his wife on this date, a month before his death, which demonstrates that his interest in Suzuki’s Zen (see *D28*) remained with him until the end: ‘Recent movement in philosophy . . . must apply everywhere to religious life the implication . . . in this sentence: We can express truth but cannot know it. . . . Compare Vico. Compare Zen’.

50. *Essays and Introductions*. London: Macmillan, 1961. Reprint, 1989.

Reprints ‘The Theatre’ (3), ‘Art and Ideas’ (10) and Yeats’s introduction to *Certain Noble Plays of Japan* (11).

51. *W. B. Yeats: Explorations*. London: Macmillan, 1962. Reprint 1989.

Reprints ‘Swedenborg, Mediums and the Desolate Places’ (15a), ‘A People’s Theatre’ (20), FIGHTING THE WAVES (35a), introduction to THE RESURRECTION (35b), introduction to THE CAT AND THE MOON (35c, with section IV omitted), and ‘Pages From a Diary Written in Nineteen Hundred and Thirty’ (46).

52. Letters. In Oshima (124), 1965.

In addition to those noted the work includes other letters not directly pertinent here, among them six to Oshima (22 August 1925, 1 October 1926, 24 March 1929, 12 December 1930, 18 August 1933, and 19 July 1937), one to Sangû Makoto (30 March 1914), and one to Yano Hôjin (23 June 1927, see 76). Most of the letters to Oshima appeared earlier in publications in Japan. Published letters from Japanese correspondents to Yeats appear in *184* and *D15e9*.

a. To Oshima, 19 August 1927. Yeats writes of his interest in Japan and his recent reading: ‘Every year I find more beauty and wisdom in the art and literature of your country. I am at present reading with excitement [S]uzuki’s *Essays in Zen Buddhism* [see *D28*]. I have also read Toyohiko Kagawa’s Novel . . . translated into English under the title “Before the Dawn” [see 46c], and find it about the most

moving account of a modern saint that I have met . . . and of course I have been reading Arthur Waley's translation of "The Tale of Genji" [D26c], but that is one of the great classics of the world, and I have too much to say about it to say anything'. See also 131 and 228.

b. To Oshima, 2 January 1934. Oshima notes that he had sent Yeats a book of reproductions of ukiyoe with hand-written notes in English about the prints, which Yeats acknowledges in the letter: 'I have received that delightful book and have already spent a couple of hours over it. I thank you not only for the book but for the trouble you have taken to tell me about the painter and what each picture represents'.

c. To Oshima, 22 September 1935. Oshima had sent 'a few' ukiyoe to Yeats, which Yeats comments on: 'Your noble present came today. I have been going through it with my daughter. . . . She is an art student now and as we turned over the pages I pointed out the powerful drawing, the dramatic energy in the pose of every figure. . . . We both took especial pleasure in the painting of some man seeing his mother's ghost, where there is so much delicate colour. I shall read the book very carefully.'

d. To Yone Noguchi, 27 June 1921. Responds to the gift of Noguchi's *Hiroshige* (D15e8) and draws contrasts between Japanese and European art: 'Your *Hiroshige* has given me the greatest pleasure. I take more and more pleasure from Oriental art, find more and more that it accords with what I aim at in my own work. European painting of the last two or three hundred years grows strange to me as I grow older, begins to speak as with a foreign tongue. When a Japanese, or Mogul, or Chinese painter seems to say "Have I not drawn a beautiful scene?" one agrees at once, but when a modern European painter says so one does not agree so quickly, if at all. All your painters are simple, like the writers of Scottish ballads or the inventors of Irish stories, but one feels that [William] Orpen and [Augustus] John have relations in the patent office who are conscious of being at the forefront of time. . . . I would be simple myself but I do not know how. I am always turning over pages like those you have sent me, hoping that in my old age I may discover how. I wish some Japanese would tell us all about the lives—their talks, their loves, their religion, their friends,—of these painters. I would like to know these things minutely, and to know too what their houses looked like, if they still stand, to know all those things that we know about Blake, and about Turner, and about Rossetti. It might make it more easy to understand their simplicity. A form of beauty scarcely lasts a generation with us, but it lasts with you for centuries. You no more want to change it than a pious man wants to change the Lord's Prayer, or

the Crucifix on the wall—at least not unless we have infected you with our egotism.’ Yeats closes by wishing that he had ‘found [his] way’ to Japan ‘a year or so ago’ (see 48*i*) and had remained there, for his own country ‘remains uncomfortable’, as he ‘dreaded . . . it would’. The letter appears also in Atsumi (D15e9).

e. To Yano, January 1928. Expresses continued interest in travelling to Japan (see 48*i*): ‘I do not think my interest in your country will ever slacken, especially now that I have found this new interest—its philosophy. Whether I shall ever see Japan is another matter. I do not know to what extent I shall recover my old state of health. If the doctor here is right, I can hardly hope to do so. Since I have met you I have felt a door open into Japan; you have told me so much, and given to me the means of further knowledge’. The ‘philosophy’ Yeats mentions would be in reference to the work of Suzuki, introduced to him by Yano (see 67 and D28).

f. To Yano, 9 August 1929. Summarised by Oshima in a note. Yano had invited Yeats to lecture at Taihoku Imperial University, Taiwan, then under Japanese rule, and Yeats’s response, according to Oshima, expressed ‘great temptation to visit Japan’, but his son Michael’s ill health prevented him from doing so; since ‘the best things . . . he wanted to see with his own eyes were all in Japan’, however, ‘when his children were grown . . . he would perhaps visit [the] country at his own expense’. Yeats had written to Olivia Shakespear of his temptation to accept the offer on 31 July (48s). See also 48*i*.

53. To D. T. Suzuki, 1928. In Ishibashi (131), 1966.

Yeats’s familiar tone suggests that the correspondence had been under way for some time, though Ishibashi notes that this is the only surviving letter from Yeats to Suzuki. Yeats thanks Suzuki for an issue of the *Eastern Buddhist*, which he ‘greatly appreciate[s]’ (though see 228), and notes that ‘the little poems you have translated in Zen Buddhism [*Essays in Zen Buddhism* (see D28)] are constantly upon my lips’. These ‘little poems’ appear in the second edition of *A Vision* (see 38a), Yeats’s introduction to *Aphorisms of Yoga* (42), and *Pages from a Diary* (see 46b).

54. Journal entry, 9 August 1909. In *Memoirs: Autobiography, First Draft Journal*.

Edited by Denis Donoghue. London: Macmillan, 1972.

The earlier draft of material Yeats incorporated into section XLVII of ‘Estrangement: Extracts from a Diary Kept in 1909’ (see 27a) demonstrates again his early acquaintance with Binyon’s work on Japanese and Chinese art: ‘I had been talking of the literary element in painting . . . and turning over the leaves of Binyon’s book on Eastern painting in which he shows how traditional, how literary

it is'. The book in question would be the 1908 edition of *Painting in the Far East* (BC2). See also 10, 25, 48, 80, 129, and 228.

55. *Uncollected Prose*, vol. 2. Edited by John P. Frayner and Colton Johnson. London: Macmillan, 1975.

Reprints 'The Theatre of Beauty' (9) and, together under the title 'British Association Visit to the Abbey Theatre', 'The Abbey Theatre' (6) and 'The Abbey Theatre—Its Aims and Works' (7).

56. Note. Quoted in *The Making of Yeats's A Vision* [38]: *A Study of the Automatic Script*, vol. 2, by George Mills Harper. Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 1987. In Yeats's notes and scribbles in the 'unstructured Script' (see 57) of 28 July 1919 he drew a diagram to help determine the answer to a question that had been troubling him, and included at the bottom of the page a question that indicated its function: 'Do we go to Japan [?]' (p. 310). For notes about the invitation to Japan and Yeats's reaction to it, see especially 48*i*.

57. *Yeats's Vision Papers*. 3 vols. Vols. 1 and 2 edited by Steve L. Adams, Barbara J. Frieling, and Sandra L. Sprayberry. Vol. 3 edited by Robert Anthony Martinich and Margaret Mills Harper. Iowa City: U of Iowa P, 1992.

The primary documents underlying Yeats's symbolist system in *A Vision* (38), including his 1917-20 written queries to 'familiar', 'controls' and other spirits, and their 'automatic script' responses via the mediumship of Yeats's wife (vols. 1 and 2), and 1920-22 'Sleep and Dream Notebooks', 'Vision Notebooks', and Card File (vol. 3). As in *A Vision* itself, Japanese subjects are by no means central, but do intervene in a subsidiary way as the system unfolds. In addition to passages noted below, the materials include frequent references to Buddhism, the concept of the 'dreaming back' of the dead (see especially 13), Pound, and other subjects of indirect relation to this study (see indices). In addition, George Mills Harper's Introduction (vol. 1, pp. 1-54) refers to an unpublished correspondence between Yeats and Waley (see D26), and cites a letter from Yeats to Waley of 24 November 1917. See also 56.

a. Automatic script, 5 January 1918 (vol. 1, pp. 202-08). After a lengthy exchange about the relationship between 'masks' and 'affinities of souls' at different phases of the unfolding system, Yeats inquires to the 'familiar', Thomas of Dorlowicz, about Yeats's own 'spiritual training'. When Thomas 'responds' that Yeats must avoid 'all public work', Yeats specifically inquires about lectures and 'the Noh plays'. Thomas's response: 'Noh all right—lectures if settled & not done at random from restlessness'.

b. Automatic script, Oxford, 17 January 1918 (vol. 1, pp. 264-71). Again the 'familiar' is Thomas of Dorlowicz, the topic of discussion the 'persona of fate'. Yeats notes that Thomas has earlier mentioned *Commedia dell'arte*, and Thomas responds, 'That is like the Noh partially a dramatisation of the soul'.

c. Automatic script, 24 August 1919. Yeats here is communicating—of course, as always in these materials with his wife as the medium—with the 'control' Ameritus, who after a question about whether or not passion can exist 'in a drifting life' encourages Yeats to spend more time on poetry and less on the automatic script, for, Ameritus contends, 'I have also given you material for a Noh play' (vol. 2, p. 387). The editors note that the play in question would be CALVARY (17a).

d. Automatic script, Portland, Oregon, 21 March 1920 (vol. 2, pp. 534-36). Sato visited Yeats in Portland and presented him with the sword (see especially 21 and 48k) either 20 or 21 March 1920. Yeats recalls in a 'Sleep and Dream Notebook' written on or around 28 March (f) that Sato had visited earlier in the day before the automatic script of the 21st was undertaken, but he wrote to Dulac on the 22d of the 'wonderful thing' that happened 'the day before yesterday' (48k), and Sato himself years later recalled that he had visited Yeats 'about the 20th of March in 1920' (124g). Whichever day the visit took place, the script dated 21 March is largely about the sword. In the 28 March 'Sleep and Dream Notebook' Yeats sets the scene: 'The day the Japanese gave me the old Japanese sword, the Japanese dined with us & after dinner I spoke to him of certain [of] our philosophic ideas. . . . After he went away & while George was getting out the script book for script of March 21, a voice said in clear loud tones "quite right that is what I wanted". The script repeated this & said what I heard was by "direct voice"'. The 21 March script opens with this 'quite right', and continues with both Yeats's written queries and the responses of the 'control' Dionertes exploring the significance and symbolism of the sword, allying it emphatically with 'movement', the moon (see also MEDITATIONS IN TIME OF CIVIL WAR [21]), the sun, 'subjective passion', and birth. The script concludes with Dionertes imploring Yeats to use the symbol: 'sword = birth / . . . / FISH [which Yeats's wife had dreamed of] = CONCEPTION / . . . / you have got to begin to write soon / life should be ritual / Yes / Yes / . . . / possibly / suggestion / to kill softness / sword & fish'.

e. Automatic script, 24 March 1920. According to the dates of the script book no script was written on 22 or 23 March, but when on a train between Portland and San Francisco the work began again, aided by a Tarot pack, the unidentified 'control' returns to the symbolism of Sato's sword (see 21), and allies it directly both with Yeats himself and with 'the daimon': the Tarot cards are dealt, but there

are 'no swords', because, the control contends (vol. 2, p. 536), 'swords indicate Eastern influence—that is lacking here / It looks like a failure'. But when the cards are dealt a second time the control is more pleased, writing to Yeats (spelling as in the text): 'Yes Yes that is alright—much better Sword is yourself and the symbolism is complete—We wanted an eastern symbolically incarnation . . . The sword is the daimon / . . . / That which came from west to east returned to west / Now it must be the reverse / in the multitudinous avatar all symbolism of all people must go from / East to west & back to East'.

f. Sleep and Dream Notebook 1, Pasadena, 28 March 1920 (vol. 3, especially p. 9). See *d* above.

g. Sleep and Dream Notebook 7, 1 May 1921. The entry closes (vol. 3, p. 76) with an obscure reference to Sato. He has sent from Chicago a baby's quilt, which Yeats notes, and then adds, 'A guess is how did he know'. What it is that Sato 'knew' is not clear. A note Yeats added later indicates that the quilt was for his daughter Anne, but this does not clarify the reference.

h. Vision Notebook 2, 27 November 1923 (vol. 3, p. 187). Yeats's notes include reference to a 'Japanese story of two lovers', connected in a way that is not clear from the syntax with 'meet[ing] those who are in dreamed event'. An editorial note suggests the reference is to MOTOMEZUKA (see *D23*), but that is not a play that focuses particularly on two lovers. More likely Yeats had in mind the lovers 'dreaming back' their passion in NISHIKIGI (*BK8*).

58. 'The Poet and the Actress. 1916'. In Clark (*121*), enlarged ed., 1993.

A prose dialogue between a verse dramatist and a successful modern actress. The former attempts to persuade the latter to cover 'her expressive face with a mask' for his new, anti-realistic, play. The work turns at important junctures to the *nô* as a paradigm, as in a passage in which the poet describes 'the art [he] longs for': It is 'a battle [that] takes place in the depths of the soul, and one [of] the antagonists does not wear a shape known to the world or speak a mortal tongue. It is [a] struggle of a dream with the world. It is only possible when we transcend circumstance and ourselves, and the greater the contest the greater the art. We have to do with our selves what . . . Mr. Craig and the other craftsmen of the theatre are doing with the scene, or what the Japanese did centuries ago to scene and player alike. When the contest is deliberate we have a moral genius'.

59. Unpublished materials.

The largest Yeats archives in Europe are at the National Library of Ireland in Dublin (Abbey Theatre Papers; typescripts of several of the plays; the collection of personal papers in the possession of Michael Yeats until 1986; letters from Craig)

and the Department of Manuscripts at the British Museum. Other significant collections may be found at the Bodleian Library, Oxford; the Central Library, Belfast; the Brotherton Library, Leeds; the Huntington Library, San Marino, California; the Berg Collection at the New York Public Library; the Henry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin; the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; and the libraries at Harvard University, Yale University, the State University of New York at Buffalo, and Wellesley College. Yeats letters are also held in the Bynner Papers at Harvard (*BE22a*) and the Pound Papers at Yale (*BK90a*).

Secondary Materials

60. 'Are You in the Nô? The Symbolic Drama of Japan, Ages Old, Mystic, Aristocratic, Has Made Fashionable London Its Own'. *Vogue*, 1 July 1916, p. 69.
Describes the nô in terms obviously indebted to Yeats and Pound—it is 'a drama of the aristocracy', 'ghostly' in 'psychology', and never played before a 'crowd' (see especially *BK17b* and *BL11*)—and reveals the degree to which *AT THE HAWK'S WELL* (12) was believed to be not an adaptation but a transplantation of the form: the play is 'structurally . . . true to the Nô tradition'; Yeats 'has done a memorable thing' in 'bringing it from Yeddo [Edo] to Mayfair', and the audience in the drawing-room performances—including the Queen, 'attended by princesses, duchesses, and other *personnages décoratifs*'—witnessed 'the first performance of a Nô play outside of Japan'. Includes description of the second performance and reference to Dulac's masks and costumes, Itô's dancing, and the 'informative material [see *BK21*] . . . being made accessible by Mr. Ezra Pound . . . scholar, poet, and close confrère of Mr. Yeats in the Nô movement'.
61. Noguchi, Yone. 'A Japanese Poet on W. B. Yeats'. *Bookman* (New York) 43 (1916): 431-33.
Interesting mainly as a curiosity. Describes a meeting and discussion with Yeats, joined toward the end by Pound and Gaudier Brzeska. Several times the discussion turns to Japanese subjects, and Noguchi quotes Yeats at length, though the style of the quoted material reminds more of Noguchi than of Yeats himself. Yeats 'confess[es]' that his 'mind is perfectly saturated now' with the nô, 'declare[s]' that in his occult interests he is 'an ancestor worshipper almost as if Japanese', 'declare[s]' Japan a 'sensible and noble' country, and so on.
62. Boyd, Ernest. 'The Irish Renaissance—Renascent'. *Dial* 67 (1919): 53-55.
Boyd's questions about Yeats's 'Anglo-Irish Noh' remain provocative: the plays for dancers (see 17) 'are the creatures of a mood . . . definite evidence of a revolt

against the mechanism of the modern stage. . . . Yet, while we may welcome any theory which seems to provide Mr. Yeats with the necessary stimulus to write poetic plays, it is clear that the drama cannot be restored to dignity by a negation of the material framework of its existence. . . . Where there are no playgoers to be bored by impossible plays, no dramatists to be subordinated to scenic effects, and no actors to interfere with the poetry of ideal speech, then we shall witness the euthanasia of the Higher Drama'. These comments are incorporated into a larger discussion of Yeats's drama in Boyd's *Ireland's Literary Renaissance* (rev. ed., London: Richards, 1922).

63. Hirata, Tokuboku [Kiichi]. 'Raichô sentosuru Yeats no fûkaku' (Profile of Yeats, who is coming to Japan). *Eigo bungaku* 4/1 (1920): 1-5.

A biographical sketch that announces that Keio and Tokyo universities will bring Yeats to Japan as a lecturer. The most detailed account of the aborted trip is in Oshima (see 124a1). Yeats weighs reasons for accepting and declining the offer in his letter to Quinn of 11 July 1919 (48i). Hirata, under his pen-name Tokuboku, had become by 1920 a successful novelist and translator. See especially 109 and D10d for notes about his role in the translation of the nô manuscripts that ended up in Pound's hands.

64. Reviews of *Four Plays for Dancers* (17), 1921-22.

a. 'The Wizardry of Mr. Yeats'. *Saturday Review* (London) 132 (1921): 643. The first of many works to suggest that Yeats discovered in the nô more of a sanction than a point of departure: 'We take the liberty of suggesting that the art of Mr. Yeats would have developed in precisely the same direction had not the Noh plays been discovered to the Occident'. Finds the work a 'beautiful experiment . . . doomed to have no posterity'. Includes reference to the nô itself and to 'the art of Itow' (Itô).

b. Colum, Padraic. 'A New Dramatic Art'. *Dial* 72 (1922): 302-04. One may sense the remoteness of the nô in 1922 Europe and America in Colum's description of the form, as well as how thoroughly discourse about it had been shaped by Pound and Yeats: 'The Noh . . . is concerned with the disembodied. . . . The excitement that it holds is partly the excitement of the séance. It dramatizes too—we have hardly any way of expressing this—a place—the revelation of a place, the legend of a place'. Yeats's technique is close enough to this form, according to Colum, that 'one must have the Noh plays published by . . . Pound . . . [BK24] in mind' while reading his plays, for he 'has brought [the nô] into the circle of his own art', so that he may be 'abstract and circumstantial, dramatic and lyrical, expressionistic and traditional', and 'above all' may be 'ritualistic'.

c. 'Plays for Dancers: Mr. Yeats Employs a Japanese Model'. *Springfield Daily Republican*, 8 March 1922, p. 12. Despite the title, does not discuss the 'model' beyond noting in one sentence that Yeats has turned to Japan to find it.

65. Noguchi, Yonejirô. 'Yeats to nôgaku' (Yeats and the nô). In *Teki o aise*. Tokyo: Genbunsha, 1922.

Noguchi's is the first of dozens of articles devoted to this subject. Focuses on differences in 'Western' and Japanese aesthetic sensibilities, and finds in Yeats's plays something of a middle ground.

66. Æ (George Russell). Review of *The Winding Stair* (30). *Irish Statesman* 13 (1930). Includes the first suggestion in print that Yeats's mature philosophy and verse may have been shaped in part by his study of Zen Buddhism, which Yeats would have known through the work of Suzuki (see *D28*). In discussion of A DIALOGUE OF SELF AND SOUL (30a), Æ notes the 'acceptance of life' in lines 43-48, and the consequent 'sweetness flowing into the heart' of the closing lines, and speculates about the source of the understanding in Zen: 'It may have been from his study of the Zen philosophy that [Yeats] came to this acceptance. The Zen philosopher discovered the possibility of a Nirvana in this world very different from that mysterious cosmic Nirvana of the founder of Buddhism. It might come upon the soul in a second, that illumination which makes Earth and its creatures to appear spiritual, as St. Peter after a vision found nothing to be common or unclean. A Zen philosopher would have understood St. Peter, and he would have understood why the poet, looking at the Japanese sword bound with some silken embroidery, found, in these, symbols of conflict and love, of all that made human history, and would not surrender all that rich drama for the silence of the spirit. The acceptance, the harmony between the self and the world it is born into, brought that sweetness.' Reprinted in *The Living Touch* (London: Macmillan, 1937). See also 113.

67. Yano, Hôjin. *Henei* (Partial portraits). Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1931.

Yano's study of writers and works that have occupied him as a student of English literature opens with a long discussion of Yeats (pp. 1-62), and includes description of a meeting with him in Ireland in 1927, when Yano presented him with an edition of the first series of Suzuki's *Essays on Zen Buddhism* (see *D28*). See also 76.

68. Hidaka, Tadaichi. 'Yeats to Nippon no nôgaku' (Yeats and Japanese nô plays). In *Nippon no nôgaku*. Tokyo: Yûbunkaku, 1932.

Hidaka's work precedes Nagasawa Saisuke's translation of 'Certain Noble Plays of Japan' (11) and AT THE HAWK'S WELL (12), and restates in Japanese the central

arguments of the former, with additional notes about Yeats's reputation as poet and playwright.

69. Clarke, Austin. 'The Poetic Drama of Mr. Yeats'. Review of *Wheels and Butterflies* (35). *London Mercury* 31 (1935): 391-92.

'In taking over the complete form of the ancient *Nô* plays of Japan', Clarke writes, Yeats 'has presented us with an interesting artistic problem', for while he has solved his own problem of finding an outlet for the 'spectacular performance of poetry', he has 'precipitated a new conflict . . . in the mind of the audience', since 'the appearance of Irish mythological figures as Japanese warriors produces a bizarre effect which is the reverse of true ritualistic art'. Only in *CALVARY* (17a) and *THE RESURRECTION* (28), Clarke finds, 'does the semi-Oriental form . . . attain harmony', though the 'technical necessities of the *Nô*' have had the 'interesting effect' of 'involv[ing]' Yeats in 'old-fashioned narration of place and event, which would have horrified him in early years'. In addition, the Japanese forms have provided 'a romantic background' for Yeats's 'belief in modern mediumship'.

70. Hone, Joseph. *W. B. Yeats, 1865-1939*. London: Macmillan, 1943. 2nd ed., 1962. Hone's indispensable biography includes various details of relevance to this study. Of particular interest are notes about the first performances of *AT THE HAWK'S WELL* (12, see p. 297), Itô (p. 289) Sato (see 21 and 48k)—'One got the impression from Yeats's conversational references to Sato that he was possibly a crony of Confucius', Hone recalls (p. 361)—and Sato's sword (p. 459).

71. Peacock, Ronald. 'Yeats'. In *The Poet in the Theatre*. London: Routledge, 1946. Reprint, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1986.

Peacock's adept and influential defence of Yeats as dramatist includes passing but perceptive comment on the relationship of his work to the *nô*: 'Giving rein to his impulse to keep Shakespeare at the greatest possible distance, Yeats went, finally, to Japan for a model, to the aristocratic "*Nô*" stage. He had written a number of plays before he found this form. . . . But there are many indications that works like *THE SHADOWY WATERS* (1900, 1911) tend toward this model that sets a seal on his searching. He was to write plays later that in their turn receded from the model, like *THE RESURRECTION* [28]; but its presence is still felt.'

72. Eliot, T. S. 'Ezra Pound'. *Poetry* 68 (1946): 326-39.

Recalls a particular evening of importance to this study: for Eliot, 'Yeats did not appear, until after 1917, to be anything but a minor survivor of the '90's. After that date [Eliot writes], I saw him very differently. I remember well the impression of the first performance of *THE HAWK'S WELL* [12], in a London drawing room, with a celebrated Japanese dancer [Itô] in the role of the hawk, to which Pound took me.

And thereafter one saw Yeats rather as a more imminent contemporary than as an elder from whom one could learn.'

73. Witt, Marion. 'Yeats' A DIALOGUE OF SELF AND SOUL' (30a). *Explicator*, 5/7 (1947): no. 48.

Witt notes that Sato's sword and its embroidered wrapping in the poem under discussion are for Yeats symbols of the 'vital objective life' of 'war and love'; she follows this by noting that 'the sword as symbol for the active life is very common in Yeats' work' from the eighties forward, and concludes that in this poem 'the sword and embroidery are . . . only incidentally Japanese . . . not inherently so'.

74. Ellmann, Richard. *Yeats, the Man and the Masks*. New York: Macmillan, 1948. Reprint, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1987.

Ellmann includes passing discussion of the influence of Pound and the nô on Yeats. This work is the apparent source of the often-repeated and erroneous assertion that Itô 'had acted in the Noh in Japan' (p. 214).

75. Bentley, Eric. 'Yeats as a Playwright'. *Kenyon Review* 10 (1948): 196-208.

Argues that while the nô provided Yeats a 'dramatic equivalent for his new verse style', a model 'terse, refined, solid, cryptic, [and] beautiful', and taught him ways to simplify staging, and to combine music and dance with words 'without letting the words get swamped', post-1916 Yeatsian drama is so unlike its 'Japanese prototypes' that the nô should be seen above all as Yeats's 'excuse' for 'departing from even the most deeply entrenched Western [dramatic] pattern'. Reprinted in *The Permanence of Yeats*, edited by Joseph Hall and Martin Steinmann (New York: Macmillan, 1950).

76. Yano, Hôjin. 'Yeats to Nippon' (Yeats and Japan). *Seikaijin* 1/1 (1948): 71-78.

Yano (1893-1988) was a poet, translator, and prominent scholar of English letters, variously Professor at Taikoku Imperial University in Japanese-occupied Taiwan, Tokyo, Kyoto, Dôshisha, and Waseda universities, and President of Tôyô University. He met Yeats in Ireland in 1927 and the two remained friends and correspondents. Yano initiated the second invitation for Yeats to lecture in Japan (see 52e-f, and also 48i), and is the apparent source for Yeats's introduction to Suzuki (see 67 and D28). This anecdotal work recounts details of their friendship. See also 89 and 224.

77. O'Casey, Sean. *Inishfallen, Fare Thee Well*. London: Macmillan, 1949.

Includes a valuable first-hand account of the first Dublin performance of AT THE HAWK'S WELL (12), in the drawing room at Yeats's house on Merrion Square, 23 March 1924 (pp. 289ff.). O'Casey was not impressed: 'Yeats had read in a big book all about the Noh Plays, had spoken about them to others, and had seized on the

idea that he could do in an hour what had taken a thousand years to create. And so with the folding and unfolding of a cloth, music from a zither and a flute, and taps from a drum, Yeats's idea of a Noh play blossomed for a brief moment, then the artificial petals faded and dropped lonely to the floor, because a Japanese spirit had failed to climb into the soul of a Kelt.' Similar remarks follow. Reprinted in O'Casey's *Autobiographies*, vol. 2 (London: Macmillan, 1963; reprint, 1992).

78. Sangû, Makoto. 'Yeats to Nippon' (Yeats and Japan). In *Shomotsu to chosha* (Books and authors). Tokyo: Azuma shobô, 1949.

As much a lamentation that Yeats was never able to visit Japan as an overview of his Japanese interests. Sangû believes that of all English literary figures Yeats and Binyon had the greatest interest in Japan, and that Yeats, stimulated by Pound and Fenollosa's work with the nô, had a 'longing' (*dôkei*) for the country and understood it more deeply than any English writer of his generation.

79. Henn, T. R. *The Lonely Tower: Studies in the Poetry of W. B. Yeats*. London: Methuen, 1950. Rev. ed., 1965.

Henn's classic study suggests (1950, p. 80) that in his drama Yeats worked toward 'the exclusion of the extraneous and irrelevant', and 'from this follows his unduly high valuation of the Japanese Nôh plays as a model', for 'that limited, stylized, aristocratic and remote drama . . . allowed him to express both his gifts for lyric and also the mystical doctrines of the Self and Anti-Self'.

80. Dume, Thomas L. 'William Butler Yeats: A Survey of His Reading'. PhD thesis, Temple University, 1950.

Dume's study attempts to determine what books Yeats may be shown to have read, but among those listed in chapter IV, 'Works Relating to the East: Theosophy, India, China, and Japan', only Kagawa's *Love, the Law of Life* (see 35c) and Suzuki's *Essays on Zen Buddhism* (see D28) are related directly to Japan; Binyon's *Painting in the Far East* (BC2) and the Pound/Fenollosa "Noh" (BK24) are listed in other sections. For other Japan-related works Yeats himself acknowledged reading see 1, 15c, 35c, 52a-b, and 52d, and see O'Shea (228) for yet others that were in his library.

81. Thompson, Francis J. 'Ezra in Dublin'. *University of Toronto Quarterly* 21 (1951): 64-77.

Examines the relationship between Yeats's plays based on his understanding of the nô and Fenollosa and Pound's 'Noh' or *Accomplishment* (BK24), and for reasons not altogether clear classifies the former according to definitions of types of nô in the latter. Jochum (189) notes the 'somewhat overingenious' interpretation of the political implications of AT THE HAWK'S WELL (12).

- 8 2. Wade, Allan. *A Bibliography of the Writings of W. B. Yeats*. London: Hart-Davis, 1951. 3rd ed. rev., edited by Russel K. Alspach, 1968.

The standard Yeats bibliography provides further publication history and bibliographic detail for many works noted in this study.

- 8 3. †Mizuta, Iwao. 'A Note on AMONG SCHOOL CHILDREN' (29; presumably in Japanese). *Yamaguchi daigaku kyōikugakubu kenkyū ronsō* 1/3 (1952): 72-81. According to Oshima (124h, p. 176), Mizuta finds a 'Zen-like "Unity of Being"' in the poem. See also 113.

- 8 4. Hidaka, Tadaichi. 'Yeats no buyōshigeki to Nippon no nôgaku' (Yeats's dance plays and Japanese nô). *Risshō daigaku bungakubu ronsō* 1/1 (1953): 8-27.

Argues that Yeats intuited that the nô was an expression of the essential characteristics of the Japanese, and that he attempted similarly to express the Celtic temperament in his dance plays.

- 8 5. Moore, Virginia. *The Unicorn: William Butler Yeats' Search for Reality*. New York: Macmillan, 1954.

Moore's study of the development of and sources for Yeats's philosophical and religious concerns has been criticised for its style but remains useful, and turns at several points to material relevant here (see index). Of particular interest are suggestions that Fenollosa's theories of language influenced Yeats's style more than has been noted (see especially pp. 248-49), and that his study of Zen contributed significantly to his mature development (pp. 346-47), a subject given fuller attention by later critics (see notes at 113). Perpetuates the misunderstanding that Itô was a 'Nôh dancer'. Based on 'Religion and William Butler Yeats', PhD thesis, Columbia University, 1952.

- 8 6. Gamberini, Spartaco. 'Il teatro di William Butler Yeats'. *Rivista di studi teatrali* 1/11-12 (1954): 47-89.

Section 2, 'Ezra Pound e I nô', traces in general terms Pound's role in the advent of Imagism, his acquisition of Fenollosa's manuscripts, and his subsequent enthusiasm for the nô, which he passed on to Yeats, who found in the form the 'ideal theatre' for which he had been searching. Includes discussion of Yeats's technical appropriation of nô principles in each of the *Four Plays for Dancers* (17).

- 8 7. Nane, Jirô. *Nô no tenkai* (The development of the nô). Tokyo: Hinoki shoten, 1954.

Preceding Nane's translation of AT THE HAWK'S WELL (12) and THE ONLY JEALOUSY OF EMER (14b) is a lengthy introduction to the plays that is perhaps the first work in Japanese to see in Yeats's interest in the form something more than Yeats himself had discussed in 'Certain Noble Plays of Japan' (11). Finds the

essence of the *nô* in its subtle symbology, and argues that Yeats intuited this and adapted it in his plays for dancers.

88. Parkinson, Thomas. 'Yeats and Pound: The Illusion of Influence'. *Comparative Literature* 6 (1954): 256-64.

Included in a larger argument that Pound's influence on Yeats has been overstated are notes about the *nô*: Pound introduced Yeats to the *nô* and he was 'smitten', but the plays 'encouraged and strengthened' tendencies already apparent in his drama instead of 'shap[ing] and chang[ing]' it.

89. Yano, Hôjin. *Eibungaku yawa* (Evening chats on English literature). Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1955. Rev. ed., 1958

Recounts in detail the story of Sato's sword (see especially 21 and 48k) and how Sato came to present it to Yeats, and includes extended discussion of the Fenollosa *nô* manuscripts that ended up in Pound's hands and provided the most important source for Yeats's experiments with the form. Along with Yamaguchi (see D10d), Yano demonstrates that Hirata Kiichi (here called 'Tokuboku') must have had a greater hand in the translation of Fenollosa's manuscripts than generally has been acknowledged; includes fuller information about Fenollosa's relationship with Ariga Nagao and Mori Kainan than is available in English-language studies.

90. Mills, John G. 'W. B. Yeats and Noh'. *Japan Quarterly* 2 (1955): 496-500.

Outlines in general terms Yeats's interest in *nô*, largely by paraphrasing 'Certain Noble Plays of Japan' (11) and 'A Note on AT THE HAWK'S WELL' (12a); includes notes about an interview Mills conducted in Japan with Itô.

91. Murray, Peter. 'Noh: The Japanese Theatre of Silence'. *Icarus* (Dublin) 4/15 (1955): 102-07.

Describes the *nô* in general terms, emphasising its disregard for 'the peevish whims of bourgeois taste', and finds that the form provided Yeats a 'more suitable framework to work upon' than 'conventional drama'.

92. Baird, James. *Ishmael*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1956.

In a section on 'Emotive Compulsion toward the Orient' (pp. 68-73) in a larger discussion of literary primitivism, Baird offers brief but compelling remarks about Yeats and the *nô*. Yeats's suggestion in introduction to *Certain Noble Plays* (11) that 'it is now time to copy the East and live deliberately', Baird finds, is a 'judgment . . . most strange', for the *nô* is among 'the most highly sophisticated abstractions' of Buddhism, and a European or American does not turn to it to 'live deliberately', but rather 'with the emotive compulsion of a man seeking respite from himself'. Europeans and Americans who turn to the *nô* find in it 'a way out of an endlessly intolerable self consciousness' and 'a genuine substitution for . . .

lost sacrament'. Fenollosa knew this, Baird suggests, but 'there is some question' about whether Pound and Yeats did as well.

93. Itô, Michio. *Utsukushiku naru kyôshitsu* (A classroom for the beautiful). Tokyo: Hôbunkan, 1956.

Pages 20-34 of Itô's autobiography include fond reminiscences of his friendships with Yeats and Pound, first-hand description of their work with Fenollosa's manuscripts and the first production of AT THE HAWK'S WELL (12), and the story about Asquith that makes sense of lines about Itô in Canto LXXVII (see BK56c). See also Itô's 'reminiscences' (94) and, for English translation of pertinent sections of both, Carruthers (178).

94. Itô, Michio. 'Omoide o kataru' (Reminiscences). *Hikaku bunka* 2 (1956): 57-76.

Includes details of Itô's friendship with Pound and his first meeting with Yeats, for whom Itô's companions Kume and Kayano gave a recitation of nô singing (see also BK82c2). Itô recalls that Yeats remarked on the strong feeling of association he felt between the nô and recent symbolic drama in the West. In both this work and 93, Itô acknowledges that he had neither interest in nor more than passing knowledge of the nô until becoming inspired by the enthusiasms of Pound and Yeats. The section of the work relating to the 1915 meeting with Yeats has been translated into English by Oshima (124, p. 180) and Carruthers (178).

95. Thwaite, Anthony. 'A Talk with Itô'. *Truth*, 3 August 1956, p. 899.

Describes a conversation with Itô in which he discusses his meeting with Pound at the Café Royal in 1915 and, through Pound's introduction, his meeting with Yeats. Like Itô's autobiographical writing (93-94), demonstrates that he knew little of the nô before he 'came to' it 'through Fenollosa's knowledge and Pound's enthusiasm', but once he had become interested he 'sent back to Tokyo for Japanese books on the subject' and 'steered Pound through the versions which were published by the Cuala Press' (BK21).

96. Kermode, Frank. 'The Dancer'. In *Romantic Image*. London: Routledge and Paul, 1957. Reprint, London: Ark, 1986.

Remarks here about Yeats and the nô are brief (pp. 77-80) but important, and have influenced the way later critics have understood the subject. No earlier work had noted the degree to which Yeats's developing dramatic theories had prepared him for his reception of the nô. The point has been made many times since 1957, but Kermode's statement of it remains among the most eloquent: 'Much of [Yeats's] earlier thought on the drama must have seemed to him a steady, though unwitting, progress in the direction of the Nô; he almost invented it himself. . . . Everything [he] could discover about the plays confirmed him in opinions long held', and

‘every aspect of the technique and presentation . . . must have struck Yeats as certain proof of the soundness of his own theory of drama’. Includes remarks about Zeami and his ‘flower’ of *nô*, *yûgen* (see *BJ22* and *BK72*).

97. Thwaite, Anthony. ‘Yeats and the Noh’. *Twentieth Century* 162 (1957): 235-42.

Thwaite’s work was by far the most insightful study of the subject in 1957, and remains useful, even if subsequent scholarship has demonstrated that some of its assertions are incorrect. Several studies have shown, for example, that even in 1915 Itô and Fenollosa’s notes were not the only sources of information about the *nô* available to Pound and Yeats (see notes at *BK172*), as Thwaite himself tacitly acknowledges in his reference to Stopes (see *D23*). Argues that Pound’s work with the *nô* lacks the ‘chameleon-like quality’ that makes his other translations powerful, but that in Yeats the influence ‘caught fire’, and his later development as a playwright ‘took root from this one source’. This is, remarkably, the first critical work to note one of the more provocative issues in the study, ‘the link between Yeats’s interest in the Noh and his interest in spiritualism’ (see Longenbach [*BK183*] for the best analysis of the point), and among the first to suggest that even if the ‘manner of presentation’ of Yeats’s later plays is ‘taken over wholesale from the Noh’, the form served less as a ‘model’ than a ‘justification’ of a theory of drama he had developed before he knew of the form. Notes about the source of lines in *BYZANTIUM* (32a) in *MOTOMEZUKA* (see *D23*) are developed further by Wilson (98) and Eide (148).

98. Wilson, F. A. C. *W. B. Yeats and Tradition*. 1958. Reprint, London: Methuen, 1968.

Wilson’s influential and controversial study focuses primarily of Yeats’s last five plays, *KING OF THE GREAT CLOCK TOWER* (36a and 37c), *A FULL MOON IN MARCH* (37b), *THE HERNE’S EGG* (39), *DEATH OF CUCHULAIN* (44a) and *PURGATORY* (44b), in an attempt to relate his ‘mature symbols . . . each to its literary or philosophical “source”’, and finds those sources often in the *nô* (see index). Like most mature criticism of Yeats’s debt to the form, the work finds that his discovery of the *nô* ‘confirmed [Yeats] in the experiments he had been practicing for years’, but more fully than most critical work applies this ‘confirmation’ to the later plays, and places it firmly in the context of his fully-developed symbology. Includes a section on *BYZANTIUM* (32a) that finds ‘allusions to the Noh plays’, particularly *MOTOMEZUKA* (see *D23*). See also 102.

99. Suetsugu, Yoshiko. ‘The Influence of Japanese Noh Plays Upon the Symbolist Plays of W. B. Yeats’. *Hikaku bunka* 5 (1958): 149-249.

In addition to pointing out elements of *nô* theory and practice that Yeats did not understand, Suetsugu summarises what Yeats himself wrote about his interest in

the form, and traces particular manifestations of influence in his work, particularly in the 'plays for dancers' (see 17). First presented as an MA thesis, Bryn Mawr College, 1957.

100. Rexroth, Kenneth. 'The Plays of Yeats'. In *Bird in the Bush: Obvious Essays*. New York: New Directions, 1959. Reprint, Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries, 1970. Unedited transcript of a talk given 'without notes or preparation' on a weekly book program for San Francisco radio station KPFA. The nô 'had a determinative influence on Yeats. . . . He was simply overwhelmed by the new dramatic insights afforded by Noh.' The dance-dramas 'compare very favorably with the greatest Japanese Noh', and are Yeats's 'greatest achievement'. Rexroth's debt to Yeats's 'dance plays' is apparent in his own nô-inspired verse drama (see CA13c). Partly incorporated in 'William Butler Yeats, Plays', in Rexroth's *More Classics Revisited* (New York: New Directions, 1989).

101. Sharp, William L. 'W. B. Yeats: A Poet Not in the Theatre'. *Tulane Drama Review* 4/2 (1959): 67-82.

Argues that Yeats's *Four Plays for Dancers* (17) fail as drama because characters are not clearly delineated, in contrast both to the Western tradition and to the nô: 'for all its formalism the Noh drama is alive, and packed with emotional excitement that is defined by what is done and said, while Yeats's *Plays for Dancers* remains surprisingly dead and unilluminating'.

102. Wilson, F. A. C. *Yeats's Iconography*. London: Gollancz, 1960.

A 'sequel' to Wilson's *W. B. Yeats and Tradition* (98) that extends the study of Yeats's symbolism and its sources backward to *Four Plays for Dancers* (17) and THE CAT AND THE MOON (24a). Like Wilson's former work, refers throughout to symbolism and device Yeats took over from the nô (see index). Includes lengthy, cogent, and widely influential arguments that AT THE HAWK'S WELL (12) follows 'strict Noh rules with considerable fidelity', THE ONLY JEALOUSY OF EMER (14b) draws its symbolism from HAGOROMO (BK13d), THE CAT AND THE MOON (24a) explores 'potentialities . . . latent' in kyôgen, CALVARY (17a) culminates in a nô-derived 'God-dance', and THE DREAMING OF THE BONES (14a) is 'in a very real sense . . . not an original play at all, but the recreation of a Japanese original', NISHIKIGI (BK8). An appendix summarises fragments of an unpublished Yeats 'dance play' of 1923, called THE BRIDEGROOM here, drafts of which according to Wilson include a 'brilliant' and 'dramatic' dance scene that is 'perhaps the most exciting . . . in all Yeats's plays' and that 'will not seem strange to anyone versed in the Noh'. Taylor (180) suggests that the play was begun in 1918 and notes that it

follows 'rather closely' the 'general plot' of the nô SUMIDAGAWA, translation of which had appeared in Stopes (see *D23*).

103. †Inukai, Takeshi. 'W. B. Yeats: Influence of Japanese Culture on His Poetry, for Professor Shôtarô Oshima' (presumably in Japanese). *Albion* (Tokyo) 1 August 1960, 24-29.

Cited by Oshima (*124h*, p. 183), but not available at the National Diet Library of Japan or through library loan services in Japan, the U. K. or the U. S.

104. Moore, Gerald. 'The Nô and the Dance Plays of W. B. Yeats'. *Japan Quarterly* 7 (1960): 177-87.

Even by this date Moore is able to begin by noting that the 'influence of the Japanese Nô on the later dramatic work of W. B. Yeats has become one of the clichés of literary criticism', yet this work itself does not rise above obvious similarities and differences often noted earlier. Includes notes about Itô and Dulac (see *12*).

105. Gordon, D. J., and Ian Fletcher. 'The Poet and the Theatre'. In *W. B. Yeats: Images of a Poet*. Manchester: Manchester UP, 1961.

An account of Yeats's interest in the theatre from his earliest plays through publication of the *Plays for Dancers* (*17*), useful here primarily for a collection of photographs that accompany the text, including the only in existence of Itô, Henry Ainley, and Allan Wade in costume for the original production of AT THE HAWK'S WELL (*12*), taken in 1916 by Alvin Langdon Coburn.

106. Jacquot, Jean. 'Craig, Yeats et le théâtre d'Orient'. In *Les théâtres d'Asie*. Paris: Editions du Centre national de la Recherche Scientifique, 1961.

Argues that Yeats's relationship with Craig (see *D17*) prepared him for his reception of the nô. Focuses primarily on AT THE HAWK'S WELL (*12*), THE DREAMING OF THE BONES (*14a*), and THE ONLY JEALOUSY OF EMER (*14b*). See also *D17*.

107. Staub, August W. 'The "Unpopular Theatre" of W. B. Yeats'. *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 47 (1961): 363-71

Laments that Yeats's 'Noh plays' are 'undecided failures', and blames, primarily, Craig (*D17*) and his 'idealistic and . . . adolescent approach to the theatre', Pound, who 'indirectly . . . ruined forever [Yeats's] chances of becoming a major dramatic poet', and the nô form itself, which unlike Greek poetic drama 'never attained a secular level'.

108. Calendoli, Giovanni. 'La polemica teatrale di W. Buttler [*sic*] Yeats: I limiti del realismo nell'arte dell'attore'. *La fiera letteraria*, 11 November 1962, p. 5.

Outlines the uses to which Yeats put his understanding of the nô, including his incorporation of the form in service of an ideal of anti-realistic drama.

109. Furukawa, Hisashi. *Ōbeijin no nôgaku kenkyû* (European and American studies of the nô). Tokyo: Tokyo joshidaigaku gakkai, 1962.

Furukawa, a scholar of the nô and not of English literature, while working on a section on the nô for a study of the cultural history of the Meiji period arrived at the remarkable conclusion that a comprehensive modern history of nô could not be written without reference to the European and American writers who had been touched by it. This careful study is the fruit of that understanding. Furukawa traces the source of Yeats's knowledge of the nô from Umewaka Minoru and Hirata Kiichi to Fenollosa and Pound, and argues that Yeats was the first European to comprehend fully the remarkable beauty of the form. Includes a section reproducing Fenollosa's letters to Hirata, and detailed description and analysis of the relationship between Fenollosa, Hirata, and Umewaka. Demonstrates conclusively that the Fenollosa manuscripts from which Pound worked in his versions of the nô (*CBI*) were based on translations largely done by Hirata rather than by Fenollosa himself.

110. Kai, Mariko. 'Yeats no butôshigeki to nôgaku' (Yeats's dance plays and the nô). *Eibungaku* 22 (1962): 78-88.

Kai notes Yeats's understanding of similarities between Irish and Japanese folk beliefs and traces in general terms his incorporation of nô principles in, particularly, *THE DREAMING OF THE BONES* (14a) and *THE ONLY JEALOUSY OF EMER* (14b).

111. Ure, Peter. *Yeats the Playwright: A Commentary on Character and Design in the Major Plays*. London: Routledge and Paul, 1963. Reprint, 1969.

Ure's analysis (pp. 90-97) of *THE DREAMING OF THE BONES* (14a) relies on frequent comparisons to its nô sources, and the work includes as well other passing discussion of the nô and 'Yeats's Noh plays' (see index).

112. Matsuura, Kaichi. 'Yeats no nôgeki mohô no tokushu hitsuzensei: narabini 'taka no i' no imi ni tsuite' (On the special necessity of Yeats's imitation of the nô and the meaning of *AT THE HAWK'S WELL* [12]). *Tsurumi joshidaigaku kiyô* 1 (1963): 1-50.

Matsuura outlines Irish folk beliefs in the supernatural and how they fit into Yeats's ontological system, and argues that he found in the nô both a confirmation for a Celtic visionary consciousness and a set of dramatic principles that allowed him to bring it successfully to the stage.

113. Oshima, Shôtarô. 'W. B. Yeats and Japan'. *Waseda daigaku daigakuin bungaku kenkyûkai kiyô* 9 (1963): 1-25.

Part I, about Yeats's relation with 'the Zen philosophy', takes a wide view about what that philosophy encompasses, but is nonetheless important as the first critical work in English to explore the subject in detail, though see also 66, 83, and 85. Later critics are more rigorous in their definitions of Zen, and Oshima himself is more insightful about it in 124e. Part II finds that the simple staging and design of the 'plays for dancers' (12, 14a-b, 17a) is derived from Yeats's acquaintance with the *nô*. See also 124c. For other critical comment about Yeats and Zen see 66, 124, 124c, 131a, 133, 134, 146, 159, 163, 165, 166, 170, 196, 198, 211, 220, 224, 234, 244, 249, 255, and 256.

114. Clark, David Ridgley. 'NISHIKIGI (BK8) and Yeats's THE DREAMING OF THE BONES (14a)'. *Modern Drama* 7 (1964): 111-25.

Describes a movement in Yeatsian drama from 'inadequate representation of the . . . suffering of passion' in the early plays to an 'imitating [of the] moment when passion becomes perception', which, Clark contends, Yeats learned from the 'Noh of spirits' (*mugen nô*); the work traces this insight through analysis of Yeats's adaptation of NISHIKIGI in THE DREAMING OF THE BONES, extending the argument first advanced by Wilson (102). Based on 'The Theatre of Desolate Reality: W. B. Yeats's Development as a Dramatist', PhD thesis, Yale University, 1955. Largely incorporated into 121.

115. Ghosh, Prabodh Chandra. 'Poetic Drama and W. B. Yeats'. *Calcutta Review*, ser. 3 170/1 (1964): 41-65.

Restates in general terms Yeats's debts to the *nô*.

116. Hubbell, Lindley Williams. 'Yeats, Pound, and *Nô* Drama'. *East-West Review* 1 (1964): 70-78.

A lively discussion by a poet who himself spent many years in Japan. Notes that the resemblance between Yeats's plays for dancers and the *nô* is 'superficial', but nonetheless traces sympathetically Yeats's interest in the form to a long-held 'dream' of a 'theatre for the cultivated few'. The discussion of Pound focuses largely on the poetics derived from Fenollosa's 'Chinese Written Character' (BK32), but in discussing his 'translations' from the *nô* finds that even if they are 'fragmentary' they are nonetheless of a 'literary distinction which has never been equalled' in *nô* translation in English, 'not even by Waley . . . himself a literary artist of a high order'. Finds finally that the influence of Fenollosa's essay on the Chinese written character 'was as important in the development of Pound as a poet as the Fenollosa translations of *Nô* . . . were in the development of Yeats as a playwright', and in both cases the influence 'was decisive and permanent'. Reprinted in Hubbell's *Miscellany* (Tokyo: Nan'undo, 1972).

117. Matsuura, Kaichi. 'Yeats to kôreijutsu to nôgeki: THE WORDS UPON THE WINDOW PANE [34] no shôkai' (Yeats and spiritism and the nô, with reference to THE WORDS UPON THE WINDOW PANE). *Tsurumi joshidaigaku kiyô* 2 (1964): 3-30. Compares belief in the supernatural, particularly the manifestation of ghosts, in European and Japanese tradition, and finds that Yeats's nô-derived drama uses imagery like that found in the nô to bring these beliefs to the stage.
118. Oshima, Shôtarô. 'The Poetry of Symbolic Tradition in the East and the West'. *Waseda daigaku daigakuin bungakuka kiyô* 10 (1964): 1-29. Finds similarities between Yeats's symbolism and that of Asian traditions, including those of Japan, but does not demonstrate influence.
119. *The Theatre of W. B. Yeats*. Edited by Roger McHugh *Threshold* 19. Yeats Centenary Issue. Belfast: Threshold, 1965. In addition to the essays noted below, includes Pronoti Bakshi's 'The Japanese Noh: A Survey' and Frederick Kalister's 'The Rhythm and Music of Noh Drama', both of which offer basic outlines of their subjects that have been superseded by more recent work in English, and neither of which directly addresses Yeats's understanding of the form.
- a. McHugh, Roger. 'The Plays of W. B. Yeats'. Places Yeats's 'Nô plays' in the Symbolist tradition of Mallarmé and Maeterlinck. Assertions that nô is 'essentially didactic' and was developed as 'a method of training . . . samurai . . . in the ritual, literature and folklore of their own culture' are misunderstandings.
- b. Oshima, Shôtarô. 'Yeats and the Japanese Theatre'. Like much of Oshima's work, includes interesting details—in this case, in particular, about Itô and performances of *AT THE HAWK'S WELL* (12) in Japan—but relies ultimately on essentialist assertions about supposed similarities between the 'Celts', who are 'endowed with more sensibility than reason, and are subjective rather than objective', and the Japanese. To be fair to Oshima, and to other Japanese critics who rely on the point, Yeats himself provided the groundwork for it in works such as 'Swedenborg, Mediums, and the Desolate Places' (15a) and his introduction to *Certain Noble Plays of Japan* (11), but even in those works he was careful to universalise his assertions, and to posit both Japanese and Irish temperaments as representative of a larger tradition of cultural and aesthetic sensibility that had perceived that the dead are near to the living. Reprinted, revised and corrected, as Part I of 'Yeats and the "Noh" Plays' (124b).
120. Bradford, Curtis B. *Yeats at Work*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 1965. Includes transcriptions of Yeats's manuscript notes about and drafts of several works, including *AT THE HAWK'S WELL* (12), *THE RESURRECTION* (28), *THE*

WORDS UPON THE WINDOW PANE (34), A FULL MOON IN MARCH (37b), and PURGATORY (44b), along with comments about Yeats's revisions and the relationship of the manuscript notes and drafts to the final published versions. Of particular interest here are manuscript versions of AT THE HAWK'S WELL, and notes about how Yeats changed his conceptions of the work after he learned that Itô would be able to dance the role of the hawk (see pp. 174-211).

- 1 2 1. Clark, David R. *W. B. Yeats and the Theatre of Desolate Reality*. Dublin: Dolmen, 1965. Enlarged ed., with Rosalind Clark, Washington, D. C.: Catholic U of America P, 1993.

Incorporates 114, and includes throughout insightful comment about Yeats's adaptation of the nô (see index). The expanded edition includes Yeats's 'The Poet and the Actress' (58), published here for the first time.

- 1 2 2. Farag, F. F. 'Oriental and Celtic Elements in the Poetry of W. B. Yeats'. In *W. B. Yeats, 1865-1965*, edited by Desmond Maxwell and Suheil Badi Bushrui. Ibadan: Ibadan UP, 1965.

Mainly about Yeats's Indian interests, though suggests that both in his adaptation of material from the Hindu sagas and from the nô, he 'interpreted some . . . implications and inserted others to develop an esoteric meaning which is in most cases alien to the spirit of the original'. Based on 'Oriental Mysticism in W. B. Yeats', PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1959.

- 1 2 3. Nathan, Leonard E. *The Tragic Drama of William Butler Yeats: Figures in a Dance*. New York: Columbia UP, 1965.

Chapter 4, 'The Development of the Theatre's Antiself', a careful reading of *Per Amica Silentia Lunae* (13), 'Certain Noble Plays of Japan' (11), and AT THE HAWK'S WELL (12), documents ways Yeats's discovery of the 'catalyst' of the nô verified and extended both his ontology and his dramatic theory, culminating in a form that in the post-1916 plays 'released the Yeatsian theme from . . . the severely limited and repetitive dramatic expression' of his earlier plays. Includes other passing references to the nô in other plays (see index). Based on 'W. B. Yeats's Development as a Tragic Dramatist', PhD thesis, University of California Berkeley, 1961.

- 1 2 4. Oshima, Shôtarô. *W. B. Yeats and Japan*. Tokyo: Hokuseido, 1965.

Miner noted in 1958 (in A25) that after Yeats's 'period of studying nô with Pound' he had other sources of information about Japan, but that questions remained about what they were. This work offers clear evidence of several, Suzuki (see D28), Yano (see 76), Noguchi (D15), Sato Junzô (see especially 21 and 48k), and Oshima himself, who from 1925 to 1938 corresponded with Yeats and sent him various

items of *japonaiserie*, collections of ukiyoe annotated in English, *shikishi* (cardboard plaques) with reproductions of nô masks printed on them, and numerous Japanese books. Ultimately, however, the work disappoints as a critical study. Oshima undercuts this criticism in the preface, in contention that the book ‘has been planned chiefly [for] the purpose of publishing Yeats’s letters’ to him, and that ‘the essays . . . are intended as appendices’, yet in the same preface he calls attention to an ‘intimate interrelationship between Yeats and Japan’, and contends that ‘understanding of the poet cannot be approached without a knowledge of [this] connexion’. The trouble is that Oshima arguably is right about both points, but they are not demonstrated here. The essays and editorial matter too often mix pride that Yeats had an interest in Japan with generalities about ‘Zen wisdom’ or ‘Eastern ways of thinking’, or supposed similarities in the ‘racial attitudes’ of the Celts and the Japanese (see also 119*b* and 249). Oshima is impeccable with details relating to Yeats’s acquaintance with particular Japanese works and people, but this does not in itself contribute instrumentally to the critical discussion. In addition to Yeats’s letters to Oshima (see 52) and material noted below, includes numerous rare photographs of Yeats and subjects related to his Japanese interests, along with other material less pertinent to this study. Several of the letters printed here appeared first in Oshima’s earlier publications, including *Yeats kenkyû* (Yeats studies, 1927), *Yeats* (1934), and *Yeats: hito to sakuhin* (Yeats, the man and his work, 1961).

a. Notes to letters.

1. According to an introduction to the letter of 19 August 1927 (52*a*), Oshima had mentioned to Yeats in an earlier letter that in July 1927, at the suggestion of Yeats’s acquaintance Noguchi, a party would be held in honour of publication of Oshima’s *Yeats kenkyû*. Oshima’s note about a speech Noguchi gave at the party provides the fullest information available about an aborted plan for Yeats to accept a lectureship at Keio University in 1919 (see also 48*i-k*, 48*s-t*, 52*e-f*, 56, 63, and a2 below): Noguchi ‘talked about the great yearning Yeats had for Japan, and also about the reason why Yeats’s visit to Japan, which had been so much looked forward to in Japan, was not realised. What he said was roughly as follows. When he met Yeats in New York [in 1919], he asked him if he had the intention of coming to Japan. Yeats answered “Yes!” Soon after that [Noguchi] returned to Japan and talked with the administrative authorities of Keio University over inviting Yeats to Japan. They willingly consented to the plan and promised to pay half of the necessary expenses, but it was left to him to raise the other half. He could not raise the money so easily, and the plan was put off from day to day, while Yeats was waiting

for Noguchi's letter in America. Meanwhile Noguchi happened to go to Osaka and there told the plan to a certain newspaper company in that city. They readily offered to bear the other half of the expenses. . . . Thus the plan seemed to be realized at last. But arrangements could not be made so easily between Keio University and the newspaper company. Besides there were other circumstances preventing the prompt realization of the plan. And before he could write to Yeats, he received a letter from him, saying that he could not visit Japan because he was obliged to return to Ireland. . . . Thus, after all, the plan was nipped in the bud.'

2. Note to the letter to Yano of January 1928 (52e). Yano taught in 1928 at Taihoku Imperial University in Taiwan, and arranged for an invitation to Yeats to lecture for three months there and, apparently, to stay in Japan proper either before or after the appointment. Yeats mentions the offer in letters to Olivia Shakespear of 31 July and 9 August 1929 (48s-t). See also 52f.

b. 'Yeats and the "Noh" Plays'. Part I reprints 'Yeats and the Japanese Theatre' (119b); part II adds discussion of 'the essential relationship between the Noh plays and the plays of Yeats', suggesting that the form provided him with ideas about a small and aristocratic audience, the use of masks, plot structure from *mugen nô*, and methods of presenting ghosts on stage.

c. 'Yeats and the Zen Philosophy'. Revised version of Part I of 'W. B. Yeats and Japan' (113).

d. 'The Elements'. Suggests that in the 'racial memory' of the Irish and the Japanese may be found similarities in folklore about stones and water, and that Yeats uses these 'elements' as symbols in ways similar to classical Japanese and Chinese poets.

e. "'Buddha's Emptiness'". By far the most insightful of the critical articles in the collection. A convincing reading of THE STATUES (43), which finds Yeats's understanding of Zen, via Suzuki, behind the philosophical stance of the poem. F. A. C. Wilson in review of the work (see *i* below) finds that Oshima's analysis 'entirely resolves all problems'. See also 113.

f. 'An Interview with W. B. Yeats'. More Oshima's recollection of his 5 July 1938 meeting with Yeats than presentation of the interview itself. Notes the *japonaiserie* in Yeats's study—twenty prints of kabuki performances arranged on the wall, and Japanese festival dolls on the fireplace mantle (see also 131)—and recalls Yeats inquiries about Kikuchi Kan (playwright and novelist, 1888-1948) and Japanese literature, and his remarks about the 'inspiration' he had found in Japanese 'beauty', particularly in his writing of the 'plays for dancers' (12, 14a-b, 17a). First appeared in Japanese in *Yeats shishû* (Tokyo: Hokuseido, 1958), a

collection of Oshima's translations of Yeats's poems. Reprinted in E. H. Mikhail, ed., *W. B. Yeats: Interviews and Recollections*, vol. 2 (London: Macmillan, 1977).

g. Material about Sato. Oshima's 'An Interview with Mr. Junzô Sato [March 1964]' and Sato's 'A Sketch of My Life' together constitute the fullest account in English of Sato's memories of the circumstances surrounding Yeats's acquisition of the Japanese sword that appears in *MEDITATIONS IN TIME OF CIVIL WAR* (21), *A DIALOGUE OF SELF AND SOUL* (30a), *SYMBOLS* (32b), and the *Vision Papers* (57, especially *d-e*, and see 48k for Yeats's own recollection). The interview includes discussion of Yeats's interest in Japanese subjects, including the *nô*, Japanese literature, and the 'philosophy of Zen Buddhism', and his wish to travel to Japan in 1920 (see notes at 48i).

h. Bibliography of Yeats in Japan. Includes translations and most Yeats criticism published in Japan through 1965.

i. Reviews: F. A. C. Wilson (*Modern Language Review* 63 [1968]: 469-70) notes that while Oshima's essays are not 'comprehensive enough to fill [the] gap' in Yeats studies caused by the 'dearth of material about his awareness of eastern culture', they 'contribute interestingly to our understanding especially of Yeats's alignment to Taoism and Zen Buddhism'; Frank Tuohy (*Studies in English Literature* 43 [1967]: 284-86) writes that the book is 'a remarkable and unusual contribution' to Yeats studies, though suggests that Oshima 'has sometimes taken the passing interest of a voracious and restless mind to indicate a more profound and sympathetic knowledge than [Yeats] actually possessed'; Rivers Carew (*Dublin Magazine* 5/1 [1966]: 81) finds the book 'not designed as a work of searching scholarship', but that it is nonetheless a 'beautifully produced and illustrated tribute'; other favourable comment is offered by Rachel Burrows ('Yeats's Debt to Japan', *Irish Times* 17 December 1965, p. 9), Austin Clarke ('Yeats and the Noh Plays', *Irish Press*, 23 October 1965, p. 6), James Kirkup (*Japan Quarterly* 12 [1965]: 540-42), Giorgio Melchiori (*Notes and Queries* OS 211/NS13/3 [1966]: 114-17), and Patrick O'Flanagan (*Monumenta Nipponica* 21 [1966]: 420-21). See also 136.

125. Ueda, Makoto. *Zeami, Bashô, Yeats, Pound: A Study in Japanese and English Poetics*. The Hague: Mouton, 1965.

Ueda's study of the poetics of the four writers of the title succeeds in its stated aim of 'illuminat[ing] . . . features of poetry which transcend the difference of language and literary convention', and offers much that is useful as a background for this study, but beyond a few passing remarks the work does not attempt to trace influence. Based on a PhD thesis of the same title, University of Washington, 1961,

abstract in *DAI* 22/11: 4007-08.

126. Baksi, Pronoti. 'The Noh and the Yeatsian Synthesis'. *Review of English Literature* 6/3 (1965): 34-43.

Argues that the nô 'helped [Yeats] to find a dramatic form involving an interweaving of what he had hitherto regarded as discrete strands'. The attempt to show what of the form exists in which plays would benefit from a fuller understanding of nô history and convention.

127. Ghosh, Prabodhi Chandra. 'Yeats and the Nô'. In *Poetry and Religion as Drama*. Calcutta: World, 1965.

In spite of the title, includes only passing and general remarks about the subject.

128. Haerdter, Michael. 'William Butler Yeats—Irishes Theater zwischen Symbolismus und Expressionismus'. *Maske und Kothurn* 11/1 (1965): 30-42.

Includes notes about Yeats's debt to the nô that suggest the form came as a revelation to him, and provided a bridge between his past 'mystical' studies and the formal and conceptual aims he had been working toward in the theatre.

129. M[iner], E[arl]. 'Nô'. In *Encycloedia of Poetry and Poetics*, edited by Alex Preminger and Frank J. Warnke. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1965. Enlarged as *Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, 1974.

Miner's discussion of the nô devotes more attention to its influence on European and American playwrights than to the form itself, and summarises the influence in the work of Pound and Yeats, the latter of whom 'became so absorbed that he completely reshaped his later dramaturgy in the image of nô'. Includes reference as well to work by Binyon, Bottomley (see CA3), Bertholt Brecht (whose 'operas' *Der Jasager* [1930] and *Der Neinsager* [1932] were written 'in the light of' Waley's translation of TANIKŌ [in D26b]), Paul Claudel (among whose diplomatic posts was the Ambassadorship at Tokyo in 1921, and among whose plays are several influenced by the nô), Damon (see CA8), Goodman (see CA12), Moore (see CA9), Péri, Waley, and Thornton Wilder (see also A25, 30, and 55).

130. Parkinson, Thomas. 'The Later Plays of W. B. Yeats'. In *Modern Drama: Essays in Criticism*, edited by Travis Bogard and William Oliver. New York: Oxford UP, 1965.

Argues that the influence of the nô on Yeats's drama 'can easily be exaggerated', because 'the Japanese forms sanctioned and strengthened motives already existent in Yeats's dramaturgy'. Suggests but makes little effort to prove that Yeats had a greater hand in Pound's versions of the nô (see BK24) than previously had been acknowledged, a point made more compellingly by Chiba (BK175, and see also BK154). Focuses on DEIRDRE (5), THE ONLY JEALOUSY OF EMER (14b), and THE

RESURRECTION (28), and includes passing reference to other plays.

131. Ishibashi, Hiro. *Yeats and the Noh: Types of Japanese Beauty and Their Reflection in Yeats's Plays*. Edited by Anthony Kerrigan. In *Dolmen Press Yeats Centenary Papers MCMLXV*, no. 6. Dublin: Dolmen, 1966.

Traces the 'ideal of beauty' in the *nô*, as outlined by Zeami, and discusses the degree to which this ideal is understood or, more commonly, misunderstood in Yeats's 'dance plays', though remains sympathetic to Yeats throughout. Concludes that 'a creation . . . can be born of a misunderstanding'. Includes photographs and illustrations 'selected to present correspondence between Yeats's approach to the *Noh* and the art of the *Noh* as practiced in Japan', and provides details of Yeats's direct experience of Japanese subjects drawn here from conversations with his wife: Yeats was 'very fond' of *The Tale of Genji* (see D26c) and *hinamatsuri* dolls (celebratory dolls associated with the annual 'girl's festival' and the ancient imperial court); he owned at least two *nô* masks (see also 47c), one of which he used as 'a symbol of meditation'; and he saw a 'fragmentary, amateur performance' of HAGOROMO (BK13d) in London and 'heard a recording [of the same play] for gramophone made by professional *Noh* actors'. Incorporates 'Yeats to *nôgaku*' [Yeats and *nô*], *Geibun kenkyû* 7 (1957): 84-105.

a. Appendix: Yeats and Zen. Useful notes about Yeats's late interest in Zen, especially his reading of and correspondence with Suzuki. Concludes that 'it should not be forgotten that Yeats's later interest in the *Noh* developed in this direction, and that some of his later poems could be re-examined in this light'. Includes a 1928 letter from Yeats to Suzuki (53). See also 113.

132. Farag, Fahmy Fawzy. 'The Unpopular Theatre of W. B. Yeats'. *Cairo Studies in English*, 1963/66 (1966): 97-108.

Recounts in general terms Yeats's 'modell[ing]' of plays on the *nô*; repeats the erroneous assertion that Itô had acted in the *nô* before his sojourn to Europe.

133. Mizuta, Iwao. 'W. B. Yeats and Zen Buddhism'. *Yeats Society of Japan Annual Report* 1 (1966): 9-10.

Synopsis of a paper presented to the society. Finds that Yeats 'grasped the essential meaning' of the Zen 'philosophy', having discovered in it 'the very "convictions" he had been independently developing'. See also 113 and 196.

134. Stucki, Yasuko. 'Yeats's Drama and the *Nô*: A Comparative Study in Dramatic Theories'. *Modern Drama* 9 (1966): 101-22.

Stucki systematically analyses points of similarity often taken for granted between Yeats's dance plays and the *nô*, and argues that all fundamental principles of the form are 'negated' in Yeats. Examples are drawn primarily from AT THE HAWK'S

WELL (12) and THE ONLY JEALOUSY OF EMER (14b). Includes reference to Zen, *yūgen*, and the *mugen nô*.

135. †Hogan, T. E. 'Yeats and the Noh: A Study in Yeats's Dramatic Theory and Practice, 1889-1920'. PhD thesis, University of Sydney, 1966.

136. Naff, William E. Review of *W. B. Yeats and Japan (124)*, by Oshima. *Comparative Literature* 19 (1967): 80-83.

Finds that Yeats 'actually made very little progress in achieving a grasp of the Oriental civilizations about which he wrote', and turned to the 'East' largely as a way of 'fleeing . . . the twentieth-century West'. Regarding Oshima's work Naff believes it 'humane, polished, and reflecting an extensive erudition in both European and Japanese sources', but also argues that it suffers from an 'implicit acceptance of the simplistic one-to-one confrontation between the "West" and the "Orient"'.

137. Narang, G. L. 'The Influences behind Yeats's Dramatic Theory'. *Kurukshetra University Research Journal* 1/2 (1967): 283-89.

Includes basic notes about the influence of the *nô*.

138. Tsukimura, Reiko. 'A Comparison of Yeats's AT THE HAWK'S WELL [12] and Its Noh Version *Taka no izumi*'. *Literature East and West* 11 (1967): 385-97.

Argues that the structure of Yeats's 'dance plays' is fundamentally different than that of the *nô*. While AT THE HAWK'S WELL and other dance plays revolve around the 'Western theatrical convention' of 'the presentation of a[n antithetical] theme through characters in conflict', *nô* structure more often requires 'lyrical concentration' on a 're-creation of the protagonist's past experience'. Tsukimura's analysis of Yeats's play and the structurally and thematically contrasting modern *nô* based on it, by Yokomichi Mario, is fascinating, and illuminates as clearly as any treatment of the subject the degree to which Yeats's plays are *not nô*, though the tendency to fault Yeats to the degree that he does not adhere to classical *nô* structure represents a fundamental misunderstanding of his intentions and his work. See 239 for a radically different approach to the same material.

139. Jeffares, A. Norman. *Commentary on the Collected Poems of W. B. Yeats*. London: Macmillan, 1968. Enlarged as *A New Commentary on the Poems of W. B. Yeats*. 1984.

An exacting poem-by-poem commentary that includes notes about Japanese sources in MY TABLE (see 21), A DIALOGUE OF SELF AND SOUL (30a), SYMBOLS (32b), and IMITATED FROM THE JAPANESE (41a).

140. Furukawa, Hisashi. 'Yeats to *nô*' (Yeats and the *nô*). *Nippon Yeats kyōkai kaihō* 3 (1968): 3-4.

Traces in general terms the transmission of nô texts to Yeats via Fenollosa and Pound—and emphasising Hirata's importance (see also 109 and D10d)—and Yeats's fascination with the combination of poetry, music, and dance, and subsequent incorporation of both the nô and the kyôgen in his drama. See Furukawa's earlier work (109) for fuller treatment of the subjects outlined here.

141. Seki, Masako. 'Dance in the Plays of W. B. Yeats: The Evolution of the Imagery and Technique of Dance'. *Eibungaku hyôron* 16 (1968): 1-34.

Argues that while Yeats was interested in dance even in his early plays, it was in encounters with Itô and the nô that he discovered a method for incorporating dance into the conceptual centre of his drama, and that this allowed him to adequately express his 'visionary world' on the stage. Focuses in particular on *Four Plays for Dancers* (17).

142. Furukawa, Hisashi. 'Yeats and Noh'. *Yeats Society of Japan Annual Report* 3 (1968-69): 5-6.

Synopsis of a lecture given at the third general meeting of the Yeats Society of Japan in 1967. Furukawa, a scholar of the nô, urges Yeats scholars to take a greater interest in the relationship between the nô and Yeats's plays. Suggests in passing that the 'reason for the success' of AT THE HAWK'S WELL (12) may be found in the fact that neither Yeats nor Itô was well-informed about the nô, and that Yeats 'was not sympathetic' to the kyôgen.

143. Ellmann, Richard. 'Ez and Old Billyum'. In *New Approaches to Ezra Pound*, edited by Eva Hesse. London: Faber & Faber, 1969.

Examines the relationship between Yeats and Pound, and notes that the nô plays helped Yeats to resolve a 'battle' with 'naturalistic drama'.

144. Bülow, Isolde von. *Der Tanz im Drama: Untersuchungen zu W. B. Yeats' dramatischer Theorie und Praxis*. Bonn: Bouvier, 1969.

Includes discussion about the influence of nô; Jochum (189) suggests that the work suffers from 'numerous small inaccuracies . . . [and] lack of acquaintance with actual productions'.

145. Johnson, Josephine. 'Yeats: What Methods? An Approach to the Performance of the Plays'. *Carrell* 10/2 (1969): 19-32.

Argues that while the faithfulness of Yeats's interpretation of the structure and design of the nô is 'not relevant to his success as a playwright', what he 'imagines' to be significant in nô structure and design is relevant, and should be taken into account in production of the plays. Offers knowledgeable discussion of parts of Zeami's dramatic theory and argues that these are 'exactly what Yeats instinctively

outlines for his actors and musicians in performance'. Reprinted in *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 57/1 (1971): 68-74.

146. Naitô, Shirô. "Chôzô" ni ataeta zen no eikyô' (The influence of Zen on THE STATUES [43]). *Nippon Yeats kyôkai kaihô* 4 (1969): 12-20.

The first of several works in which Naitô traces the influence of Suzuki's Zen in Yeats's poems (see 159, 166, 224, and 249), particularly here in connection with lines 17-24 of THE STATUES. Largely incorporated, in English, in 224. See also 113 and 196.

147. Kim, Myung Whan. 'Mythopoetic Elements in the Later Plays of W. B. Yeats and the Noh'. PhD thesis, Indiana University, 1969. Abstract in *DAI* 30/11: 4949A. Compares Yeatsian drama with the nô and finds that both are 'creative examples of a spiritual world-view based on the orthodox tradition of mythology, religion, and heroism'. See also 149, 157, and 158.

148. Eide, Elling O. 'Unai Otome as Helen of Troy'. *Monumenta Nipponica* 25 (1970): 455-58.

A 'brief note' that, following Thwaite's insight (in 97) about a source for BYZANTIUM (32a) in Stopes's translation of MOTOMEZUKA (see D23), suggests that images from that play may be found as well in AMONG SCHOOL CHILDREN (29), and that the structure of the poem is derived from the nô. Argues further that a fuller investigation of nô influences in Yeats's poetry would be fruitful, and points to a possible relationship between BYZANTIUM and AYA NO TSUZUMI, available in Péri's French translation when the poem was written, and other Yeats poems and SOTOBA KOMACHI (see BK17c).

149. Kim, Myung Whan. 'The Vision of the Spiritual World in Yeats's Plays and the Noh'. *Phoenix* (Seoul) 14 (1970): 39-79.

Identifies three 'spiritual' similarities between Yeats's plays and the nô—the use of ghosts as *dramatis personae*, ritual, and interest in the 'identity of the Mind'; includes sections on THE DREAMING OF THE BONES (14a), THE RESURRECTION (28), THE HERNE'S EGG (39), AOI NO UE (see BK22), KAKITSUBATA (see BK23), and Zeami's TAISAN BUKAN. Based on chapter 3 of 147.

150. Londraville, Richard John. 'To Asia for a Stage Convention: W. B. Yeats and the Noh'. PhD thesis, State University of New York at Albany, 1970. Abstract in *DAI* 31/6: 2925A-26A.

Argues that 'without the agency of the *Noh*, Yeats's disparate . . . dramatic ideas might never have coalesced', and that 'once he had discovered this form and a tradition congenial to his ideas of drama, his manipulation of the form showed a steadily increasing sophistication and strength'.

151. Jochum, Klaus Peter. *Die dramatische Struktur der Spiele von W. B. Yeats*.

Frankfurt: Athenäum, 1971.

Jochum's play-by-play analysis of Yeats's drama divides the plays into three 'groups', including those that are 'immediate reactions to the Japanese *nô*' (*Four Plays for Dancers* [17] and *THE CAT AND THE MOON* [24a]) and the 'last plays', which 'still depend on *nô* conventions but . . . do not flourish them'. A chapter on the influence of the *nô* identifies 'nine major aspects' in Yeats's understanding of the form, outlined in an English summary of the book (p. 256) as 'the insistence on the difference between life and art, the idea of indirect, symbolic and aristocratic art, the practice of literary and mythological allusion, the importance of the audience's imagination, the theatre of beauty and poetry as distinct from the realistic theater, the existence of a stylized action ending in a climactic dance, the use of masks, the use of a chorus, and recurrent imagery'. Originally a DPhil thesis, University of Frankfurt, 1968.

152. Donoghue, Denis. 'His Theatre'. In *William Butler Yeats*. New York: Viking, 1971.

Reprint, New York: Ecco, 1988.

Has aims larger than examination of the meaning of the *nô* for Yeats, but is nonetheless among the most thoughtful and economical presentations of the thesis that 'the sense of life and . . . of drama' that the *nô* 'stimulated' in Yeats 'were already active' in his earlier work, but were 'waiting to find appropriate form'.

153. Moore, John Rees. 'Plays for Dancers'. In *Masks of Love and Death: Yeats as*

Dramatist. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1971.

Like many earlier works, this chapter of Moore's study argues that the conventions of the *nô* appealed to Yeats primarily 'because they gave reinforcement to [his] old ambitions' of 'creating a theater of opposite tendencies from that of Ibsen and Shaw'.

154. Gutierrez, Donald. 'Ghosts Benefic and Malign: The Influence of the "Noh" Theatre on the Three Dance Plays of Yeats'. *Forum* (Houston) 9/2 (1971): 42-48.

A general treatment that ignores or is unaware of scholarship after 1960, and much of it before, about both the *nô* and Yeats's adaptations of it. Reprinted as 'Yeats and the Noh Theatre' in *The Maze in the Mind and the World* (Troy, N.Y.: Whitston, 1985).

155. Oshima, Shôtârô. 'Yeats and Michio Itô'. *Yeats Society of Japan Annual Report* 6 (1971): 15-20.

Outlines the circumstances surrounding Yeats's meeting with Itô and the importance of Itô's dancing to Yeats's conception of, especially, *AT THE HAWK'S WELL* (12).

156. Taylor, Richard. "The Resurrected Christ": A Modern Nô Drama'. *Ariel* 2/2 (1971): 95-104.

In introductory notes about Ôtsuka Fumio's translation of the modern nô of the title, Taylor notes the 'difficulties standing in the way of assessing Yeats's assimilation' of nô, and suggests as a preliminary step the need for 'independent studies . . . of both the condition and development of anti-realistic verse drama in Europe . . . [and] the literary background and stage tradition of Nô'. Incorporated into 180.

157. Kim, Myung Whan. 'Zenchiku's Philosophy of Wheels and the Yeatsian Parallel'. *Literature East & West* 15/4-16/1-2 (1971-72): 647-61.

Finds in the 'philosophy of wheels' of the nô dramatist Zenchiku a 'prototype' for Yeats's philosophical artifice in *A Vision* (38), but does not suggest actual influence. Based on chapter 2 of 147.

158. Kim, Myung Whan. 'Dance and Rhythm: Their Meaning in Yeats and the Noh'. *Modern Drama* 15/2 (1972): 195-208.

Argues at length and with considerable convolution that 'strangeness and tranquillity in Yeats and the Noh is primarily derived from the ambience of dance'. Based on chapter 5 of 147.

159. Naitô, Shirô. 'Yeats and Zen Buddhism'. *Eastern Buddhist* NS 5/2 (1972): 171-78.

Primarily a reading of THE STATUES (43) in Zen terms, though includes as well notes about three letters of interest here. The first, to Naitô from Yano (see 76), notes that when Yano met Yeats in Ireland in 1927 he gave him a copy of the first series of Suzuki's *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, and thereafter until Yeats's death sent Yeats 'every issue' of the *Eastern Buddhist*; a second letter, from Suzuki himself to Bandô Shôjun, notes that the 'Buddha's emptiness' of THE STATUES perhaps comes from one of Suzuki's books that he had sent to Yeats; finally, Naitô has 'ascertained' from Ishibashi Hiro (see 131) that among books in Yeats's library was Suzuki's *Zen Buddhism and Its Influence on Japanese Culture*. According to O'Shea (228) pages of all but one of the copies of *The Eastern Buddhist* in Yeats's library remained uncut; Yano's own account of his meeting with Yeats appears in 67. Naitô's essay is largely incorporated in 224. For notes about Suzuki's works see D28, and see also 113 and 196.

160. Oshima, Shôtarô. 'Yeats and the Noh'. *Yeats Society of Japan Annual Report* 7 (1972): 9-18.

Focuses particularly on similarities between Japanese and Celtic ideas of the souls of the dead returning to earth to relive their obsessions, and how these are

manifest in nô and in Yeatsian drama based on it, particularly THE DREAMING OF THE BONES (14a).

161. Yun, Chang Sik. 'The Tragic Theatre: The Nô and Yeats's Dance Plays'. PhD thesis, Princeton University, 1972. Abstract in *DAI* 33/7: 3608A-09A.

Largely a study of nô aesthetics themselves, but includes sections on Pound's recreations of Fenollosa's manuscripts and Yeats's adaptations, focusing particularly on the 'unity of image' both Pound and Yeats found in the nô, and on its manifestation in AT THE HAWK'S WELL (12) and THE DREAMING OF THE BONES (14a).

162. Arcais, Gisella. 'W. B. Yeats e il teatro No'. *Annali della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia dell'Università di Cagliari* 36 (1973): 437-53.

Offers an overview of Yeats's interest in the nô, focusing particularly on the possibilities mûgen nô provided Yeats for dramatising the supernatural, and suggests similarities between THE ONLY JEALOUSY OF EMER (14b) and both HAGOROMO (BK13d) and MATSUKAZE (see BK24d).

163. Islam, Shamsul. 'The Influence of Eastern Philosophy on Yeats's Later Poetry'. *Twentieth Century Literature* 19/4 (1973): 283-90.

A thoughtful study of Yeats's Indian interests that includes passing reference to a period after publication of the first edition of *A Vision* in 1925 when Yeats had a 'passion' for Zen Buddhism. Yeats's meeting in 1931 with Shri Purohit Swami, Islam suggests, led to a refocusing of Yeats's Asian interests and a particular interest in the Vedantist tradition, though for evidence that the latter did not altogether replace the former see 49.

164. Ramaswamy, S. 'AT THE HAWK'S WELL [12] and the Noh'. In *Literary Studies: Homage to Dr. A. Sivaramasubramonia Aiyer*, edited by K. Menon, P. K. Manuel, and K. Ayyappa Paniker. Trivandrum: St. Joseph, 1973.

Relies on outdated sources and fragmentary knowledge of the nô to find that AT THE HAWK'S WELL has 'the essential structure' of the form.

165. Sharoni, Edna G. 'AT THE HAWK'S WELL [12]: Yeats's Unresolved Conflict between Language and Silence'. *Comparative Drama* 7 (1973): 150-73.

Provocative argument that AT THE HAWK'S WELL closely follows nô convention but fails because 'Yeats's attempts to articulate the inner world of silence were weakened . . . by a fundamental indecision about the primacy of the word versus the primacy of the dance'. Includes discussion of Yeats's interest in Zen and Cuchulain's failure to grasp Zen precepts: 'He is lured away from the Zen ideal of unity of being to join the restless throngs of romantic heroes who cling to the notion that one's destiny must be "sought." The frustrations of Western energy

could scarcely find convincing embodiment in the aesthetics of Eastern passivity.'

166. †Naitô, Shirô. 'From Cubism to Zen—Yeats on the Eve of Fascism' (in Japanese).

And Matsuyama, Akio. 'Yeats and Noh—On His THE DREAMING OF THE BONES' (14a) (in Japanese). *Nippon Yeats kyôkai kaihô* 8 (Dec 1973): 8-12; 19-22.

Cited in Jochum (189, CA161); not available at the National Diet Library of Japan or through library loan services in Japan, the U. K., or the U. S.

167. Qamber, Akhtar. *Yeats and the Noh: With Two Plays for Dancers by Yeats and Two Noh Plays*. New York: Weatherhill, 1974.

Includes in six chapters discussions of symbolism, the Irish theatre, the nô, *Four Plays for Dancers* (17), Irish legend, and Yeats's attributes as a dramatist, but adds neither new information nor new insight to any of these, and concludes, remarkably, that both Yeats's dance plays and the nô are 'brilliant spots of eccentricity in theatre' that 'are meant for an eccentric minority taste'. See Taylor below for a concise listing of the work's 'outright misinformation'. Based on 'Certain Noble Plays for Dancers by Yeats', MA thesis, Columbia University, 1950.

a. Reviews: N. M. Beerbohm (*Literary Criterion* 12/4 [1977]: 85-87) credits Qamber with 'unusual understanding' of the nô and 'rare critical insight' about Yeats's 'motivation and achievement' in adapting it; Hiro Ishibashi (*Monumenta Nipponica* 30 [1975]: 345-46) finds the work 'helpful' for 'students of drama and art . . . who have never seen noh' if not particularly so for students of Yeats. Beyond this reviewers were not enthusiastic. Richard Taylor (*Literature East & West* 18 [1974]: 390-91), already preparing his own account of the subject (see 180), notes a surplus of 'irrelevant information', enumerates instances of 'outright misinformation', and concludes that Qamber's work 'does not tell us anything new about either the dance plays or the Japanese classical drama'; James Flannery (*Educational Theatre Journal* 28 [1976]: 276-78) writes that Qamber 'illustrates what is wrong with much orthodox literary scholarship', and that her book 'amounts to no more than a superficial compendium of odd facts and theories that are, or should be, already well known to any serious student of Yeats and the Noh'; Anthony Thwaite ('Help from Japan', *TLS*, 25 July 1975, p. 837) finds Qamber's enthusiasm and restraint admirable, but 'her book . . . so rudimentary in its information and . . . naive in its judgements that it is little more than a trip round the bay, charting territory that has already been mapped out'; and Roy Teele (*Journal of Asian Studies* 35 [1976]: 697-99) concludes simply that Qamber does not understand either Yeats or the nô. Qamber's work was also reviewed by Masoodi Hasan (†*Aligarh Journal of English Studies* 1/1 [1976]: 148-51), F. S. L. Lyons

(†‘Keeping Up with Yeats Studies’, *Irish Times*, 19 August 1975, p. 8), and Derek Mahon (see 173).

168. Skene, Reg. *The Cuchulain Plays of W. B. Yeats*. London: Macmillan, 1974.

Includes numerous passing remarks about Yeats’s understanding of the *nô* (see index), and a brief argument (pp. 120ff.) that discovery of the form ‘brought a new asceticism to Yeats’ stage craft’.

169. †Ōkubo, Naoki. ‘Yōkyoku NISHIKIGI (BK8) to Yeats’ (NISHIKIGI and Yeats). *Kōza hikaku bungaku* 1 (1974): 287-316.

Cited by Lee (see D17), but no journal of this title is held at the National Diet Library of Japan or identifiable in standard bibliographic references.

170. McDonald, Keiko Iwai. ‘In Search of the Orient: W. B. Yeats and Japanese

Tradition’. PhD thesis, University of Oregon, 1974. Abstract in *DAI* 35/6: 3753A.

Examines Yeats’s enthusiasm for the *nô* from 1916 to 1919 and his ‘preoccupations with Zen’ from 1922 to 1935, concluding that the former was ‘not more than superficial’ but the ‘indebtedness to Zen was considerable’. Includes discussion of the meaning to Yeats of Sato’s sword (see notes at 21 and 48k), and the uses to which he put the image of it in his work.

171. Rowe, Gabrielle. ‘Mask in the Drama of W. B. Yeats’. In ‘Structural and Dramatic Functions of the Face Mask in the Development of Modern Drama’. PhD thesis, University of Michigan, 1974. Abstract in *DAI* 35/11: 7325A-26A.

Examines the relationship between the use of mask in *nô* and in Yeats’s adaptations of it; includes discussion of Craig’s dramatic theories.

172. Jeffares, A. Norman, and A. S. Knowland. *A Commentary on the Collected Plays of W. B. Yeats*. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1975.

Commentaries on AT THE HAWK’S WELL (12), THE DREAMING OF THE BONES (14a), THE ONLY JEALOUSY OF EMER (14b), THE CAT AND THE MOON (24a), and THE DEATH OF CUCHULAIN (44a) mention Yeats’s use of principles derived from *nô*.

173. Mahon, Derek. ‘A Few Images’. Review of *Yeats and the Noh* (167), by Qamber, and *Victory in Limbo* (A51), by Harmer. *New Statesman* NS 89 (1975): 758-59.

Offers the curious suggestion that Yeats’s ‘instincts . . . ran counter to everything the Noh represents’ and that his interest in the form was ‘superficial’.

174. Ōkubo, Naoki. ‘Yeats no shi to *nô* no fūjyō: Coole no shi o megutte’ (Yeats’s poetry and the flavour of the *nô*: the Coole poems). *Hikakubungaku kenkyū* 35 (1975): 53-73.

Ōkubo finds a similarity between a sense of ‘mysterious beauty’ (*yūgen*) in the *nô* and in the poems Yeats wrote at Coole. Includes discussion of the ‘rhythm of

metaphor' Yeats found in the nô and passing notes about AT THE HAWK'S WELL (12) and THE DREAMING OF THE BONES (14a).

175. Rees, Thomas R. 'Ezra Pound and the Modernization of W. B. Yeats'. *Journal of Modern Literature* 4 (1975): 574-92.

A section on the effects in Yeats's work of Pound's work with the nô is riddled with errors of fact: nô actors do not remove their masks on stage; Fenollosa was not a professor of Chinese at Harvard; the Japanese government did not send a warship to England for his body (see BK103); Itô had not acted in the nô and was not a woman.

176. Taylor, Richard. 'Assimilation and Accomplishment: Nô Drama and an Unpublished Source for AT THE HAWK'S WELL' (12). In *Yeats and the Theatre*, edited by Robert O'Driscoll and Lorna Reynolds. Niagara Falls, N.Y.: Maclean-Hunter, 1975.

Includes the text of YÔRÔ (see BK75), transcribed by Dorothy Pound in 1960 from Fenollosa's notebooks (see BK132), and asserts that the play is 'obviously the model from which Yeats constructed AT THE HAWK'S WELL'. Taylor's argumentation, as always, is careful, yet a direct link between YÔRÔ and Yeats's play is not as obvious as he believes. Proceeds to analysis of 'the exact measure of . . . influence' in Yeats's 'assimilation' of the nô form, finding that Yeats gained from the nô 'a substitute for worn-out and meaningless stage conventions, [and] a valid means of objectifying the life of the spirit and restoring ritual drama to the theatre'. Incorporated into 180.

177. †Hanna, Nashed Girgis. 'Oriental Influence on the Poetry of W. B. Yeats'. PhD thesis, University College Galway, 1975.

According to Jochum (189) includes a chapter on Japan.

178. Carruthers, Ian, trans. 'A Translation of Fifteen Pages of Itô Michio's Autobiography, *Utsukushiku naru kyôshitsu*'. *Canadian Journal of Irish Studies* 2 (1976): 32-43.

Includes only those sections of Itô's reminiscences (93 and 94) that are directly relevant to his relationship with Yeats and Pound. 'Sugano Nijuichi' is a misreading of the characters for Kayano Nijûichi.

179. Flannery, James. *W. B. Yeats and the Idea of a Theatre: The Early Abbey Theatre in Theory and Practice*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1976.

Includes a brief but perceptive account of Yeats's adaptation of the nô, which concludes that the form helped him confront and dramatise 'the power of the individual to will his own tragic fate'.

180. Taylor, Richard. *The Drama of W. B. Yeats: Irish Myth and the Japanese Nô*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1976.

An effort to 'ascertain exactly what ideas [Yeats] borrowed from Nô tradition, how accurately those ideas had been transmitted, and what effects they had on the already established course of Yeats's theatrical innovations'. Arrives at the 'overriding contention . . . that Yeats was primarily influenced by the general plot organization of actual Nô plays and their concentration on a single image or symbolic design and that it was his own adaptation of that basic form in recreating his perennial themes that enabled him to break through the impasse of traditional dramatic conceptions'. Includes chapters on the early plays, Fenollosa and Pound as 'agents of transmission' of the nô, the nô itself, the 'plays for dancers', and 'later assimilation' of the form. Finds a 'Japanese original' for each of the plays for dancers, and that the later plays are 'extensions and elaborations of these achievements'. A valuable work, even if flawed by attention to technical similarities at the expense of philosophical and spiritual affinities. In review of the work (see below) Yeats specialists tend to find the work strong on the nô and weak on Yeats, nô specialists the opposite.

a. Reviews: The work was widely reviewed. Most found it an advance on earlier writing on the subject, but several reviewers express reservations nonetheless.

1. In the most generally favourable reviews, P. G. O'Neill (*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 40 [1977]: 452) notes that study of Yeats and the nô 'must have been the subject of more graduation theses than any other single topic' and finds Taylor's work 'outstanding in the field'; A. G. Stock (*Irish University Review* 7 [1977]: 131-33) writes that Yeats scholars have known too little of the nô and suggests that Taylor 'fills the gap with what appears to be thorough master[y] of Nô theory and practice'; Roy E. Teele (*Literature East & West* 19 [1975 (1976)]: 267-69) has quibbles about details but finds the study 'by far the best to date' and 'likely to be a standard reference work for many years'; George-Denis Zimmermann (*English Studies* 60 [1979]: 526-28) writes that Taylor's 'exhaustive account' 'fill[s] a gap in Yeatsian scholarship'; and Christopher Fitz-Simon ('The Foundation Laid', *Drama* 125 [1977]: 74-75) notes particularly the help the work might offer those few directors who want to 'give a genuine-Japanese construction' to the *Plays for Dancers* (17).

2. Richard Finneran (*Journal of Modern Literature* 6 [1977]: 738-43), Philip Marcus (*Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 76 [1977]: 265-68), Andrew Parkin (*Nineteenth Century Theatre Research* 6 [1978]: 119-20), Ronald Schleifer (*Georgia Review* 31 [1977]: 736-39), and Gary Davenport ('Yeats in the Theater', *Sewanee Review* 85 [1977]: 671-74), however, express doubts about Taylor's treatment of Yeats. Finneran believes that Taylor is 'a perceptive critic' and that

his study 'contains . . . interesting readings of certain plays', but also that he 'seems uncertain about the importance of the Noh to Yeats' and that his lack of appreciation for Yeats as a dramatist is a 'prejudice . . . not absent from [his] analyses'; Marcus finds that while the work 'avoid[s] excessive claims' and is 'restrained and judicious in . . . estimates of the degree of influence', it is ultimately 'unsatisfactory' because of 'value judgments and assertions' about Yeats's plays that are 'usually subjective', 'extremely difficult to substantiate', and 'ought to be presented with . . . caution'; Parkin notes that the work includes 'a number of . . . perceptive comments and a careful, enthusiastic account of Nô', but finds also that it 'suffers from the tendency to see Yeats as most successful when nearest to Nô, and to undervalue other important elements, particularly in the early plays'; Schleifer, while praising the 'concise and useful history of the Nô and . . . outline of its primary features', believes Taylor's 'reading [of] Yeats against the Japanese theatre . . . is recurrently prescriptive . . . without offering the Yeatsian and dramatic contexts'; and Davenport finds, simply, that the work is 'much better on the Nô than on Yeats'.

3. Other critics express doubts about either Taylor's treatment of the nô itself or its effects on Yeats's work. William Gordon (*Dalhousie Review* 57 [1977]: 393-95) notes the need for such a book, and believes the work goes a long way toward filling a gap in scholarship, but finds that it does not offer enough guidance about what the nô meant for Yeats, or whether 'Pound and Fenollosa knew what they were talking about'; Reiko Tsukimura (*Arcadia* 13 [1978]: 211-15) finds the work 'worthy of consultation . . . by Yeats specialists', but is unconvinced by Taylor's understanding of the nô and his conclusions about its effects in particular plays; John Kwan-Terry (*World Literature Today* 51 [1977]: 508) notes Taylor's 'careful and perspicuous argument [and] intelligent and sensitive commentary', but believes he 'has not escaped certain ambiguities, if not misjudgments', particularly in lack of attention to the 'religious element' in nô and to what exactly in the form 'galvaniz[ed] the attention of Yeats and his contemporaries'; and René Fréchet (*Etudes anglaises* 32 [1979]: 490-91) finds the work successful in its tracing of the development of Yeats as a dramatist, but lacking in its failure to come to a general conclusion about the role of the nô in his work.

4. Other reservations include those of Eileen Katô (*Monumenta Nipponica* 32 [1977]: 397-99), who believes the work will help 'dispel . . . persistent misunderstandings' but laments among other things its 'ortho- or typographical errors', many of which are noted; and Kathleen Draycott (*Asian Affairs* OS 65/NS 9 [1978]: 216-18), argues that while Taylor 'has done a great deal of work', he 'does

not fully succeed in substantiating' his claim that Yeats's utilisation of the nô is among 'the most important developments' in English-speaking theatre between 1890 and 1940.

5. Finally, several critics find the work lacking in more serious ways.

Toshimitsu Hasegawa (*Studies in English Literature* 57 [English number, 1980]: 80-87), finds fault both with Taylor's understanding of the nô and his "overriding contention" that Yeats was primarily influenced by the general plot organization of Nô plays'; Elizabeth Mackenzie (*Notes and Queries* OS 225/NS 27 [1980]: 471-74) is generally dismissive in finding that 'interesting as the Nô material is, one is reminded forcibly by such a book that it is the force of the poet's transforming imagination rather than his raw material that is the literary critic's most urgent concern'; and Vincent Mahon (*Review of English Studies* 29 [1978]: 239-41) writes that Taylor's work is 'one of those well-researched uninspired productions', for 'having established his thesis that Yeats was influenced not by the details of actual Nô plays but by the[ir] general organization', Taylor 'plods on . . . with a judgement of Yeats that is greatly marred by the honorific status he confers on the term "modern"', and in the end 'his book, for all its learning, actually says very little'.

See also 186 and 191.

181. Hirschberg, Stuart. 'The Influence of the Japanese Noh Play, NISHIKIGI (BK8), on Yeats's "Crazy Jane" Poems' (33). *Notes on Contemporary Literature* 6/3 (1976): 2-3.

See 33. Incorporated in Hirschberg's *At the Top of the Tower: Yeats's Poetry Explored through 'A Vision'* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1979).

182. †Plowright, Poh Sim. 'Yeats, AT THE HAWK'S WELL [12], and the Myth of Nô as an Aristocratic Art'. In 'The Influence of Oriental Theatrical Tradition on the Theory and Practice of Western Drama'. PhD thesis, University of London, 1976.

183. Caldwell, Helen. *Michio Ito: The Dancer and his Dances*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1977.

The fullest biographical sketch of Itô in English includes notes about his relationship with Yeats and Pound, particularly in chapter 2, 'At the Hawk's Well', and offers throughout details related to this study (see index).

184. Finneran, Richard, George Mills Harper, and William M. Murphy, eds. *Letters to W. B. Yeats*, vol. 2. New York: Columbia UP, 1977.

Includes letters from Sato Junzô (see 21 and 48k) of 5 June 1920 and 23 April 1922, and from Yano Kazumi (Hôjin, see 76), of 25 October 1926 and 15 August 1927. Yano's 1926 letter refers to an enclosed letter of introduction from Noguchi;

the 1927 letter refers to the meeting between Yeats and Yano in Ireland (see 67), and offers advice about how Yeats should care for the sword Sato had given him (see especially 21).

185. Miller, Liam. *The Noble Drama of W. B. Yeats*. Dublin: Dolmen, 1977.

A work grown from an admitted quarter-century 'obsession' with Yeats's plays. Chapters 6 to 8, especially, focus on information related to Yeats's adaptation of the nô. Miller argues that Fenollosa's notebooks provided Yeats a 'manual' that offered the 'possibility of devising a form for his own theatrical work'. What Yeats found in the notebooks helped him 'accommodate' long-held beliefs about 'the continuing presence of myth and its relevance to history in the world', and in the last twenty-three years of his life he was able to 'elaborate variations' within this 'framework'. Includes discussion of the nô itself and all of Yeats's plays written after his introduction to it, along with lengthy and exacting notes about particular productions. Miller suggests but does not actually declare that the Peacock, a small stage Yeats commissioned in the twenties as part of the Abbey Theatre, was inspired by his understanding of the intimacy of the nô stage.

186. Cribb, T. J. Review of *The Drama of W. B. Yeats: Irish Myth and the Japanese Nô* (180), by Taylor. *Anglo-Irish Studies* 3 (1977): 123-25.

Using Taylor as a springboard, finds that 'the dialectical nature of Yeats's imagination . . . enabled him to take the form of the Noh and convert it so decisively from static to agonistic' that it was his 'gateway to Modernism as a dramatist'.

187. Oshima, Shôtarô. 'Between Shapes and Shadows'. In *Myth and Reality in Irish Literature*, edited by Joseph Ronsley. Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfred Laurier UP, 1977.

Asserts that both Zeami and Chikamatsu found 'the essence of art in the subtle boundary between the real and the unreal', and finds similarities in Yeatsian drama, concluding that 'we cannot but be impressed at discovering what a profound community of aesthetic sensibility there is between the Irish and the Japanese people'. Includes brief notes about Itô.

188. Wilson, Bruce Matthew. 'The Artifice of Eternity: Yeats and the Purgatorial Vision'. PhD thesis, University of Virginia, 1977. Abstract in *DAI* 38/9: 5470A.

Chapter 1, 'Yeats and the Japanese Noh of Ghosts', discusses the influence of nô on European playwrights and argues that Yeats found in the form a means of portraying his beliefs about the 'spirit world'; Chapter 2 argues that in THE

DREAMING OF THE BONES (14a) and PURGATORY (44b) Yeats adapted the nô form and its ghosts to 'portray the battle between warring halves of the self'.

189. Jochum, K. P. S. *W. B. Yeats: A Classified Bibliography of Criticism*. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1978. Enlarged ed., 1990.

Jochum's comprehensive and painstakingly indexed work is updated annually in *Yeats: An Annual of Critical and Textual Studies*. Unless otherwise noted references to the work throughout this bibliography are to the 1990 edition. See section ED (1990), 'Yeats and the Nô'; also, the 1978 edition lists Masters and Honours theses not listed in 1990, including fourteen concerned with Yeats's assimilation of the nô, by Lawrence E. Shaffer (1948, no. 3569), Akhtar Qamber (1950, no. 3494), N. N. Feltes (1957, no. 3554), Thomas Kurt Schwabacher (1958, no. 3495), Jeanne Wong (1959, no. 3576), Hisako Matsubara (1960, no. 3561), Martha Niemoeller (1961, no. 3566), Maria Theresa Tirapu (1962, no. 3572), Reiko Tsukimura (1962, no. 3573), Charlotte Ann York Irey (1965, no. 3490), Jerrold P. Bankert (1966, no. 3488), Niema Ash (1968, no. 3487), Jane Danielson Middlebrooks (1968, no. 3562), and K. Unruh (1968, no. 3574). To this list may be added Joyce Johnson Whitfield's 'The Later Plays of W. B. Yeats and the Noh', MA thesis, Indiana University, 1960.

190. Worth, Katharine. *The Irish Drama of Europe from Yeats to Beckett*. London: Athlone, 1978.

Chapter 2 includes discussion of the 'strong feeling for Japanese art and theatre' felt by many of Yeats's early associates, including Craig (see D17), E. W. Godwin (1833-86, Craig's father, architect and designer associated with the Aesthetic Movement and Victorian Japonisme), Charles Ricketts (1866-1931, artist and stage designer who had seen the nô in Japan and with companion Charles Shannon owned an extensive collection of Japanese art that is now in the British Museum), and Arthur Symons (1865-1945, poet, critic, and champion both of French Symbolism and Japonisme). Worth outlines features of the nô that these associations had prepared Yeats so willingly to value, the musical structure, dance, masks, and the 'complete self-sufficiency' of the form. Chapter 8 traces features of Yeatsian drama, including Yeats's interest in nô, through the work of other writers and artists, including Beckett (see also A39 and BL235 and 250), Britten (see BJ18, 19, and 21), and Eliot (see CA10).

191. Milner [Miner], Earl. 'The Need for Nô'. Review of *The Drama of W. B. Yeats: Irish Myth and the Japanese Nô (180)*, by Taylor. *TLS*, 25 August 1978, p. 948.

Miner is characteristically discerning and precise, and says more in this short review than many critics have managed in many pages about Yeats, Pound, and the

nô: 'An issue often raised concerns Yeats's or Pound's understanding of nô. The answer is that they didn't understand it very well, but well enough for their purposes. They were not in search of influence but of confirmation. Pound wanted critical justification for Vorticism and the unity of a seemingly disjointed modern epic. Yeats wanted authority for a symbolic and poetic Irish drama. . . . The need existed quite apart from nô'. Regarding Taylor's work itself, Miner finds it good in its account of the early plays and of Fenollosa and Pound as 'agents of transmission', but believes the treatment of the plays for dancers and later plays weak, and that the account of the nô itself 'suffers from lack of acquaintance with Japanese'.

192. Parkin, Andrew. 'The Eye of the Mind'. In *The Dramatic Imagination of W. B. Yeats*. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1978.

A study of *Four Plays for Dancers* (17) that includes well-understood discussion of their relationship to the nô. The uses Yeats made of nô 'can best be explained as the borrowing of useful conventions from an alien poetic drama to create an entirely new kind of western dance-drama which, without upsetting decorum, brilliantly extends the scope of the one-act play'.

193. Raz, Ya'acov. 'Will East and West Meet? Yeats's Experiences with the Japanese Nô Theatre' (in Hebrew). *Bamah* 79-80 (1978-79): 100-18.

The translation of the Hebrew title is from Jochum (189); the work discusses Pound's early definitions of Imagism and Vorticism, the Pound/Fenollosa versions of nô, and Yeats's assimilation of nô principles in his drama and in his philosophical system as outlined in *Per Amica Silentia Lunae* (13), 'Swedenborg, Mediums, and the Desolate Places' (15a), and *A Vision* (38).

194. †Bertha, Csilla. 'A Nô dráma Yeatsi válozata'. *Egri Ho Si Minh Tanárképző Főiskola Tudományos Közleményei* 15 (1979): 153-61.

Jochum (189) EE2: "Yeats's version of the Nô drama"; with an English summary'.

195. †Bertha, Csilla. 'Egy különös drámai kísérlet a század elején'. *Hevesi szemle* 7/4 (1979): 17-21.

Jochum (189) ED6: "An extraordinary dramatic experiment in the early 20th century"; i.e., Yeats's interest in the Nô'.

196. Doherty, Gerald. 'W. B. Yeats and Zen: A Reading of Two Poems'. *Young East* NS 5/2 (1979): 5-15.

Much of the writing about the influence of Zen on Yeats's writing finds the source of rather ordinary experience, in this case the 'aimless joy' of *DEMON AND BEAST* (16) and the consciousness of a 'world of illusion' in *LAPIS LAZULI* (40), in texts that at best Yeats knew in passing, when so many other sources—Herodotus,

Paracelsus, Swedenborg, and Blake among them, but especially the Vedas, Patanjali, and Shri Purohit Swami—are possible, and equally or more compelling. Yeats's very point in citing Zen when he does—and this is largely true of his references to the *nô* as well—is that what he understands of it exemplifies experience he takes to be universal, manifestations of the *Anima Mundi* (see 13); in his writing in the published record Zen is always an example and an effect, never a cause. Surely after 1927 he was moved by what he knew of Suzuki's Zen, and no doubt one may point to effects of this in his poetry, but tracing his late mysticism to Zen ignores more profound influences. Doherty does not argue direct influence here, but his reading says more about his own understanding of Suzuki's understanding of Zen than it does about Yeats's poems; in a later work (220) Doherty is more careful in his claims, and more illuminating. See also 113.

197. Hyakunari, Akira. 'Yeats to *nô*' (Yeats and the *nô*). *Komazawa daigaku gaikokugo ronshû* 9 (1979): 167-78.

Finds *THE DREAMING OF THE BONES* (14a) closer to the *mugen nô* than the other plays for dancers, and outlines in general terms similarities and dissimilarities between the play and the Japanese form.

198. Peyton, Ann. 'Yeats, Zen, and the Theatre of Enlightenment'. *South Asian Review* 3 (1979): 54-59.

See 196.

199. Brown, Richard P. 'Some Notes on Yeats and the Noh'. *Southern Theatre* 23/3 (1980): 15-21.

Argues that 'the Noh is not really a dramatic structure at all', but rather 'an elaborate lyric structure, theatrical in approach and conception, which provides a . . . setting for a representation of a lyric activity that is formally central to the work', and that in his *Four Plays for Dancers* (17) Yeats 'borrowed both the conception of staged lyricism and the devices which instrument that conception'.

The argument is brief, but might nonetheless serve as a starting point for a response to critics such as Tsukimura (138), who focus resolutely on the antithetical and 'Western' working out of a conflict in Yeats's dance plays.

200. Guha, Naresh. 'W. B. Yeats and Japan, A Select Bibliography'. *Jadavpur Journal of Comparative Literature* 18-19 (1980-81): 125-29.

Includes nothing not noted fifteen years earlier by Oshima (124h).

201. Hasegawa, Toshimitsu. 'Yeats and the Noh: The Supernatural in Drama'.

Eibungaku hyôron 42 (1980): 25-56.

Hasegawa's study of the transmission of the *nô* to Yeats and his assimilation of it focuses on the ways his understanding of the form as 'a whole theatre art with [a]

specific staging and acting system' led to a method for voicing ontological convictions on stage. While Pound approached the *nô* primarily as literary text, Hasegawa argues, Yeats found in it dramatic possibilities, made manifest in *Plays for Dancers* (17), that ended his six year 'silence' as a dramatist, even if the relationship between the dance plays and the *nô* is 'not direct and total'. Includes insightful analysis of the role of Craig's dramatic theories in this process (see also D17).

202. Matsuyama, Akio. 'Yeats buyôgeki to nôgaku' (Yeats's dance plays and the *nô*).

Eibungaku 53 (1980): 57-71.

Matsuyama outlines Yeats's occultist beliefs, particularly as set forth in 'Swedenborg, Mediums, and the Desolate Places' (15a), and calls attention to their similarity to the ontological underpinnings of the *mugen nô*; analysis of the effects of Yeats's intuitive understanding of the form focus particularly on the relationship between THE DREAMING OF THE BONES (14a) and Pound's version of NISHIKIGI (BK8).

203. Matsuyama, Akio. 'Yeats to kyôgen' (Yeats and *kyôgen*). *Nippon Yeats kyôkai*

kaihô 11 (1980): 49-58.

Calls attention to Yeats's comments about the *kyôgen* in his notes for THE CAT AND THE MOON (24a) and traces the ways this understanding of the form are manifest in the play.

204. Sakurai, Emiko. 'The Noh Plays of Kenneth Rexroth: A Study of the Classical Greek and Japanese Traditions'. In *For Rexroth*, edited by Geoffrey Gardner. New York: Ark, 1980.

A knowledgeable study of the relationship between Rexroth's *Beyond the Mountains* (CA13c) and its precursors in the *nô* and the 'dance plays' of Yeats. Finds that while Rexroth's work is 'significant in the history of American borrowing of Japanese literary traditions', and in parts bears a 'remarkable resemblance' to the *nô*, it is more indebted in subject, theme, and construction to Yeats's assimilations than to the classical Japanese drama itself.

205. Genet, Jacqueline, ed. *William Butler Yeats*. Paris: Editions de l'Herne, 1981.

a. 'Yeats et le *Nô*: Au puits de l'épervier'. Finds that the *nô* provided Yeats with a dramatic structure that allowed him to express 'the ineffable reality of the internal life'. Particularly concerned with AT THE HAWK'S WELL (12), but includes passing remarks about other plays.

b. 'Le Chat et la Lune: *Kyôgen* philosophique'. Outlines similarities between THE CAT AND THE MOON (24a) and *kyôgen*, and suggests that similarities to the Fenollosa translation of KIKAZUZATÔ (see 24a) are more than coincidental.

206. †Bertha, Csilla. 'Yeats nó drámái: Nemzeti gondolat és egyetemes jelentés'. *Hevesi szemle* 9/2 (1981): 45-50.

Jochum (189) EB12: "Yeats's Nô plays: The national idea and the general meaning".

207. Ōno, Mitsuko. "Daitokeitô no ô" kara "Sangatsu no mangetsu" e: Yeats ni okeru gekitekitôitsu to nô e no kaiki' (From THE KING OF THE GREAT CLOCK TOWER [36a and 37c] to A FULL MOON IN MARCH [37b]: A return to dramatic unity and the nô). *Nippon Yeats kyôkai kaihô* 12 (1981): 20-30.

Ōno recounts the rather complicated relationship between these plays and analyses them in terms of the types of *dramatis personae* in the nô, the *waki* (a priest or other traveller who appears at the beginning of the play), *shite* (principle character) and *tsure* (attendant or companion of the *shite*), finding that in the revision from the one to the other Yeats arrives at a drama more fully in harmony with the principles and structures of the nô.

208. Styan, John Louis. 'Symbolist Drama in English: Yeats and the Japanese Noh Drama'. In *Symbolism, Surrealism, and the Absurd*, vol. 2 of *Modern Drama in Theory and Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1981.

Places Yeats's post-1915 drama, particularly, AT THE HAWK'S WELL (12), in the context of his earlier interests in Symbolism, and argues finally that the influence from the nô is 'interesting chiefly as a novelty'.

209. Hobby, Diana Poteat. 'William Butler Yeats and Edmund Dulac [see 12], A Correspondence: 1916-1938'. PhD thesis, Rice University, 1981. Abstract in *DAI* 42/3: 1160A.

The first section of the collection of 116 letters concerns the production of Yeats's 'nô' plays.

210. Franchi, Florence. 'Ulick O'Connor, W. B. Yeats et le Nô Japonais'. *Cahiers du Centre d'Etudes Irlandaises* 7 (1982): 43-53.

Mainly a study of O'Connor's *Three Noh Plays* (Dublin: Wolfhound, 1980), which Franchi finds directly traceable to Yeats's adaptation of the nô. See also 218.

211. Wilson, Bruce M. "From Mirror after Mirror": Yeats and Eastern Thought'. *Comparative Literature* 34/1 (1982): 28-46.

A provocative attempt to 'substantiate Ishibashi's inviting, insistent conclusion' (in 131) that Yeats's later interest in the nô derived from his growing interest in Zen, and that his later poetry might be 're-examined in this light'. Wilson's understanding of Zen, like Yeats's, derives largely from Suzuki, but given the evidence presented it is nonetheless difficult to dispute the conclusion that Yeats sought in Zen and Hindu mysticism an escape from dualistic and Neoplatonic views

of human experience, and that this seeking may be traced through his later work.

Discusses among other works *THE DREAMING OF THE BONES* (14a), *THE ONLY JEALOUSY OF EMER* (14b), and *THE CAT AND THE MOON* (24a). See also 113.

212. Diggory, Terence. *Yeats and American Poetry: The Tradition of the Self*.

Princeton: Princeton UP, 1983.

A section on the relationship between Yeats and Pound offers passing comment about Yeats's assimilation of the *nô*, and chapter 5, 'Artificial Lives', though devoted to larger aims, constitutes the best general account available of the influence of Yeats's understanding of the *nô* on American verse drama, in work by Stevens, Eliot, and Jeffers (see CA7, 10, and 11).

213. Innes, Christopher. *Edward Gordon Craig*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1983.

A study of Craig's dramatic theories and productions that includes a well-summarised section about his debts to the *nô* (pp. 122-27), and reference throughout to his relationship with Yeats (see index). See also D17.

214. Knowland, A. S. *Yeats: Dramatist of Vision*. Gerrards Cross: Smythe, 1983.

A play-by-play reading of Yeats's drama. Particularly in a section titled 'The Central Achievement', covering plays from *AT THE HAWK'S WELL* (12) to *A FULL MOON IN MARCH* (37b), Knowland makes reference to the *nô*, and though his aims are larger than tracing influence, his comments are perceptive: Yeats found in the 'Pound-Fenollosa' *nô* 'features that confirmed and corroborated his own ideas about drama', and he 'took from Noh . . . what suited him', for the form, 'with its concentration, its fusion of language, music and movement, its stylization of character, its ritualization of action, its unity of imagery, helped him to hammer out the kind of drama that was appropriate to his concept of tragedy' (pp. 109-10).

215. Tishunina, N. V. 'Zhanrovoe svoeobrazie "teatra masok" U. B. Ietsa'. In *Problemy zhanra literatur stran Zapadnoi Evropy i SZhA*. Leningrad: Leningrad . . .

institut imeni A. I. Gertsena, 1983.

Jochum's translation of the title (in 189) is "The originality as genre of Yeats's theater of masks"; includes discussion of the influence of the *nô*.

216. Bradbrook, Muriel C. 'Yeats and the Noh Drama of Japan'. In *Aspects of Dramatic Form in the English and the Irish Renaissance*. Vol. 3 of *Collected Papers of Muriel C. Bradbrook*. Brighton: Harvester, 1983.

Finds that 'the contradiction between the stillness surrounding . . . "vivid words" and the dance is resolved in the most fully integrated form of total theatre, the Japanese Noh', and that Yeats discovered in it 'a form which he afterwards adapted and modified, but which led him to his later and more mature style'. Discusses *AT THE HAWK'S WELL* (12), *THE DREAMING OF THE BONES* (14a), *THE WORDS UPON*

THE WINDOW PANE (34), and PURGATORY (44b). Revised version of a lecture given at the Yeats Centenary Summer School, Sligo, 20 August 1965.

217. Bertha, Csilla. 'Spiritual Realities and National Concerns in Yeats's Noh Plays'.

Angol filológiai tanulmányok 16 (1983): 51-61.

Argues that because of 'great differences between Yeats's philosophy and attitude and those of the Japanese authors', he 'westernized' nô 'structure' in the *Plays for Dancers* (17) and 'made it suitable to express individual and national concerns alongside the universal', largely through the introduction of conflict. Includes analysis of each of the *Plays for Dancers* and suggests 'contrastive parallels' between AT THE HAWK'S WELL (12) and YÖRÖ (BK75) and THE DREAMING OF THE BONES (14a) and NISHIKIGI (BK8).

218. Franchi, Florence. 'L'influence des *Four Plays for Dancers* [17] de W. B. Yeats et le théâtre européen contemporain'. *Gaéliana* 5 (1983): 101-08.

Briefly traces elements in early Yeatsian drama that anticipate his incorporation of nô technique, summarises in general terms the technical devices he adapted from the nô, and argues that these in turn were utilised by other dramatists following Yeats, including Bottomley (see CA3), Bertholt Brecht (see 129), Paul Claudel (see 129), Moore (see CA9), and Ulick O'Connor (see 210). Based in part on 'Les *Four Plays for Dancers* de W. B. Yeats et l'influence du Nô Japonais', Doctorat de spécialité de 3ème cycle thesis, Université Paul Valéry, 1982.

219. Lee, Sang-Kyong. 'Versuche einer Nô-Adaptation durch William Butler Yeats. In *Nô und europäisches Theater*'. Frankfurt: Lang, 1983.

Drawing frequently on the best of related scholarship in both English and Japanese, Lee describes at length the circumstances leading to Yeats's introduction to the nô and the uses to which he put the form. Includes notes about Fenollosa, Pound's work with his manuscripts, Yeats's relationship with Craig (see D17), Dulac (see 12), and Itô, and Yeats's plays themselves, particularly AT THE HAWK'S WELL (12) and THE DREAMING OF THE BONES (14a). Incorporates notes about Yeats in 'Auswirkungen des Nô auf das europäische Theater', *Maske und Kothurn* 22/3-4 (1976): 269-96; 'Nô to yoroppa no jojiengeki' [Nô and European theatre], *Hôsei* 4 (1977): 28-33; and 'Beziehungen zwischen dem Nô und dem europäischen Theater', in *Proceedings of the Fourth Kyushu International Cultural Conference* (Fukuoka: Fukuoka UNESCO Association, 1977).

220. Doherty, Gerald. 'The World That Shines and Sounds: W. B. Yeats and Daisetz Suzuki'. *Irish Renaissance Annual* 4 (1983): 57-75.

Brings coherence to Yeats's reading of Suzuki and 'appropriation of Zen teaching', which Doherty shows was both 'selective' and 'exclusively indebted to Suzuki'.

Doherty's reading of individual poems, *A DIALOGUE OF SELF AND SOUL* (30a) and *LAPIS LAZULI* (40) among others, is not determinative in finding a source in Zen, but his generalities are more carefully presented here than in much of the writing about Yeats's understanding of Suzuki's presentation of Zen. See also 113 and 196.

2 2 1. Takahashi, Yasunari. 'Yeats to nô' (Yeats and the nô). *Sekai* 451 (1983): 247-61.

Takahashi traces the underpinnings of Yeats's interest in the nô to his occultism, and argues that his earlier drama had prepared him for what he found in the nô; includes passing discussion of Pound's work with the Fenollosa manuscripts and their importance to Yeats's development.

2 2 2. Dorn, Karen. *Players and Painted Stage: The Theatre of W. B. Yeats*. Brighton: Harvester, 1984.

Includes a chapter about Yeats's collaborations with Craig (see *D17*), and another that traces the influence of the nô in *Four Plays for Dancers* (17). Dorn finds that 'though Yeats greatly admired the element of presentation in the Noh theatre, he adapted the Noh form to what is fundamentally a different type of drama'. Based on 'Play, Set and Performance in the Theatre of W. B. Yeats', PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1973.

2 2 3. Komesu, Okifumi. *The Double Perspective of Yeats's Aesthetic*. Gerrards Cross: Smyth, 1984.

Chapter 5, 'The Flower or the Gyre', includes an outline of Zeami's aesthetics, and contrasts it with the 'didacticism' of European dramatic theories from Aristotle to Ibsen, concluding finally that Yeats's rejection of 'Western' theory and embracing of the nô can be seen as evidence of a 'double perspective' that was 'neither completely Eastern nor . . . completely Western'. Chapter 6, 'The Flower that Never Bloomed', traces discrepancies between nô aesthetics and Yeatsian drama, and takes particular exception to Wilson's claims (in *102*) of an influence from *HAGOROMO* (see *BK13d*) in *THE ONLY JEALOUSY OF EMER* (14b).

2 2 4. Naitô, Shirô. *Yeats and Zen: A Study of the Transformation of His Mask*. Kyoto: Yamaguchi, 1984.

See 196. Discusses the relationship between Yeats and Noguchi (see *D15*) and Yeats and Suzuki (see *D28*), and includes reproductions of letters from Yeats to Suzuki (22 May 1928; see 53) and to Yano Hôjin (18 November 1927, see 76). Poems read in the context of Suzuki's Zen include, among others, *AMONG SCHOOL CHILDREN* (29), *A DIALOGUE OF SELF AND SOUL* (30a), *BYZANTIUM* (32a), *LAPIS LAZULI* (40), and *THE STATUES* (43). Incorporates 146 and 159.

2 2 5. Smith, Susan Valeria Harris. *Masks in Modern Drama*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1984.

Includes frequent references to Yeats's use of the *nô*, and to principles other modern writers have derived from the *nô* and kabuki (see index). Based on a longer PhD thesis of the same title, Northwestern University, 1979.

226. Taylor, Richard. *A Reader's Guide to the Plays of W. B. Yeats*. New York: St. Martin's, 1984.

Includes notes about influence from the *nô* in AT THE HAWK'S WELL (12), THE DREAMING OF THE BONES (14a), THE ONLY JEALOUSY OF EMER (14b), and CALVARY (17a).

227. Londraville, Richard. 'I Have Longed for Such a Country: The Cuchulain Cycle as Peking Opera'. *Yeats: An Annual of Critical and Textual Studies* 2 (1984): 165-94.

During a year as visiting professor at Taipei, Londraville arranged for production of Yeats's Cuchulain plays, including AT THE HAWK'S WELL (12), THE ONLY JEALOUSY OF EMER (14b), and THE DEATH OF CUCHULAIN (44a), in the style of Chinese opera. His central aim here is to describe the rationale for and results of doing so, but along the way he offers an analysis of what the *nô* meant for Yeats that brings new language to the subject (see particularly 165-73). Yeats 'needed a drama in which he could show a spiritual rather than a temporal reality', but in twentieth-century Dublin and London found no 'body of myth' against which to work toward this end. It was in the *nô* that he finally discovered what he had been lacking, a dramatic form connected intimately with mythic tradition and the *Anima Mundi* (see 13), and this discovery changed his own dramatic work 'absolutely', in 'many variations . . . buil[t] on the Noh', in each play he wrote after 1916.

228. O'Shea, Edward. *A Descriptive Catalogue of W. B. Yeats's Library*. New York: Garland, 1985.

A bibliography of works that were in Yeats's private library. Those related to Japanese subjects demonstrate a lively if not voracious interest. They include a 1908 edition of Mitford's *Tales of Old Japan* (see D4); Porter's 1912 and 1914 translations of Ki no Tsurayuki's *Tosa nikki* and Kenkô's *Tsurezuregusa* (see D20); the 1913 edition of Binyon's *Painting in the Far East* (BC2); seven works by Noguchi's, six of them inscribed to Yeats from Noguchi, including the 1914 *Through the Torii*, 1915 *Spirit of Japanese Art*, and 1920 *Japanese Hokkus* (see D15e and e7); Masefield's 1915 *The Faithful* (CA5); Pound's 1916 'Noh' or *Accomplishment* (BK24); 1919 and 1920 editions of 'Asiatic' poems translated by Mathers (see D25); Waley's 1921 *Nô Plays of Japan*, 1928 *Pillow Book of Sei Shônagon*, and the four 1925-28 volumes of *Tale of Genji* (see D26 and D26b-c); and Suzuki's 1927 *Essays in Zen Buddhism* and 1938 *Zen Buddhism and its Influence*

on *Japanese Culture* (see *D28*). Interestingly, O'Shea notes that twelve of the thirteen 1921-27 numbers of *The Eastern Buddhist* (see *D28*) are 'almost wholly uncut'. See also entries 465, 719, 900, 1015, 1071, 1076, 1326, 1447, 1449, 1515-18, 2101, 2143-44, 2180-81, and the terminal note for 446. A related publication, O'Shea's 'The 1920's Catalogue of W. B. Yeats's Library' (*Yeats Annual* 4 [1986]: 279-90) includes citation of Aston's study of Shintô (see *D13*).

229. Loizeaux, Elizabeth Bergmann. *Yeats and the Visual Arts*. New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 1986.

Includes commentary allying Yeats's use of the nô with his theories about the visual arts (pp. 103-16). Argues that among Yeats's concepts of the theatre was that stage design could be 'sculptural', and that in the nô he 'immediately recognized' principles that 'liberated him from the constraints of the conventional theater . . . and invited the use of sculptural effects'.

230. Martin, Heather C. *W. B. Yeats: Metaphysician as Dramatist*. Gerrards Cross: Smythe, 1986.

Mainly concerned with the influence of Yeats's mystical studies on his drama, but includes discussion of the influence of the nô: Yeats's dance plays 'are strikingly similar . . . to the Japanese Noh', Martin believes, but this is 'almost completely coincidental'; he 'embraced the Japanese plays . . . because they provided him with an established tradition for his own dramatic experiments', but they influenced the development of his drama 'far less than is often supposed'.

231. †Ciuk, Andrzej. 'The Analysis of Application of the Noh Technique in W. B. Yeats's PURGATORY' (44b). *Zeszyty naukowe Wyzszej Szkoły Pedagogicznej im. Powstanców Śląskich w Opolu. Filologia angielska* 1 (1986): 87-94.

Jochum (189) EE457: about 'the indebtedness to the Nô and Yeats's view of history'.

232. Miller, Liam. 'The Eye of the Mind: Yeats and the Theatre of the Imagination'. *Temenos* 7 (1986): 29-69.

Miller has aims beyond the study of nô technique in Yeats's drama, but succeeds nonetheless in demonstrating that 'Yeats's quest for the kind of imaginative theatre which developed from his contact with the Noh drama can be traced to his beginnings as a dramatist'. Includes well-contextualised notes about Yeats's relationship with Craig (see *D17*).

233. Sekine, Masaru. 'Yeats and the Noh'. In *The Irish Writer and the Theatre*. Gerrards Cross: Smythe, 1986.

Sekine's knowledge of the nô is unassailable, and in evidence here. The work offers a cogent comparative analysis of the classical form and Yeats's drama indebted to it. The dismissal of the 'dance plays' on grounds that they do not achieve the

effects of their Japanese progenitors, however, misunderstands Yeats's intentions.

234. Van de Kamp, Peter. 'Yeats's Noh-Noh Drama'. Review of *Ze-ami and His Theories of Noh Drama*, by Masaru Sekine. *Irish Literary Supplement* 5/1 (1986): 16. Using Sekine's work as a starting point, Van de Kamp argues that 'Fenollosa . . . misrepresented Noh drama as ritual', and thereby 'may well be held responsible' for Yeats's interest in the form; Yeats, for his own part, though he showed 'instinctive understanding' of the nô, 'dressed Fenollosa's Noh to his own advantage, thus further distancing the Western interpretation . . . from the Japanese original', to the extent that to 'encompass both in a comparative study without unduly generalizing either' would be impossible. Includes also notes about Zen in *FERGUS AND THE DRUID* (see 26)

235. Takahashi, Yasunari. 'The Ghost Trio: Beckett, Yeats, and Noh'. *Cambridge Review* 107/2295 (1986): 172-76.

Aims to demonstrate a relationship between nô and Beckett via Yeats, but offers along the way insightful analysis of the importance of nô for Yeats: his earlier drama had incorporated much that would be reaffirmed in his encounter with the nô—masks, music, dance, stylised acting, a bare stage, minimal scenery, stories drawn from myth and tradition, poetic language, a small cultivated audience capable of understanding literary allusions—but his attempts at 'overcoming realism' and moving 'beyond the limitations of symbolism' remained unsatisfactory until he discovered in the nô a '*tout à coup* that had been lacking: a ghost!' Proceeds from this observation to brief but lucid examination of the spiritual underpinnings of the nô, the belief in the 'torments of the soul after death', 'the power of a prayer for its release', and how 'perfectly' this 'dovetailed into the system of Yeats's long-held occultism'. Reprinted in *The Empire of Signs: Semiotic Essays on Japanese Culture*, edited by Yoshihiko Ikegami (Philadelphia: Benjamins, 1991). Takahashi had earlier authored two other provocative works that trace the relationship between the nô and Beckett, 'The Theatre of Mind: Samuel Beckett & the Noh' (*Encounter*, April 1982, pp. 66-73) and 'Qu'est-ce qui arrive? Some Structural Comparisons of Beckett's Plays and Noh' (in *Samuel Beckett: Humanistic Perspectives*, edited by Morris Beja, S. E. Gontarski, and Pierre Astier [Columbus: Ohio State UP, 1983]). See also A39 and BL190 and 250.

236. Good, Maeve. 'The Landscape of Tragedy: Three Dance Plays'. In *W. B. Yeats and the Creation of a Tragic Universe*. London: Macmillan, 1987.

Good's attempt to define Yeats's understanding of tragedy includes discussion of his incorporation of nô techniques in *AT THE HAWK'S WELL* (12), *THE DREAMING OF THE BONES* (14a), and *THE ONLY JEALOUSY OF EMER* (14b), the middle of

which, after F. A. C. Wilson (102) and Clark (114), is compared to Pound's version of NISHIKIGI (BK8). Finds that in contrast to the nô 'Yeats's definition of tragedy and tragic joy rejects any idea of reconciliation of opposites'. See Bruce Wilson (211) for a counter argument based on Yeats's later work.

237. Bauzyte, Galina. 'Japonu teatras no ir V. B. Jeitso dramaturgija' (The nô and Yeats's drama). *Literatūra* 29/3 (1987): 35-41.

According to the English summary Bauzyte argues that Yeats's interest in the nô 'must be . . . regarded in the light of his philosophical and aesthetic theories', particularly his search for 'Unity of Being'.

238. Bushrui, Suheil Badi. 'Yeats, India, Arabia, and Japan: The Search for a Spiritual Philosophy'. In *Literary Interrelations: Ireland, England and the World*, vol. 2, edited by Wolfgang Zach and Heinz Kosok. Tübingen: Narr, 1987.

Focuses in more detail on Yeats's interests in Indian and Arabic sources than Japanese, and asserts that the latter, 'being a matter of form [derived from nô] alone, proved a brief, limited influence'.

239. Komesu, Okifumi. 'AT THE HAWK'S WELL [12] and *Taka No Izumi* in a "Creative Circle"'. *Yeats Annual* 5 (1987): 103-13.

Aims to demonstrate a 'circularity' of 'reception' and 'destruction' in culture and in creative activity, and finds Yeats's adaptation of the nô, and Yokomichi Mario's of Yeats, 'interesting case stud[ies]', since both 'reacted both receptively and destructively to the norms they confronted, be they foreign or native'. Ultimately, and refreshingly, Komesu is not concerned with the degree of Yeats's faithfulness to the nô, and his comments about 'severely limited' source and influence studies might serve as a caveat for future scholarship about Yeats and the nô: a study that focuses on the 'affirmative side' of Yeats's adaptation of the form 'fails to grasp the crucial significance of his radical deviation from the Noh aesthetic', for 'finding the shadow of the Noh on the map of Yeats's dramatic country does not go very far in uncovering the deepest strata that constitute the geology of the territory'; likewise, however, 'a completely negative treatment of Yeats's relationship to the Noh will lead one on an equally dangerous critical path' that 'obscures the significance of Yeats's Eastern schooling by forfeiting an important clue to the unravelling of the . . . mystery of [his] creative process', particularly his 'negative view' of the 'objective' nature of the West, and its culmination, as Yeats saw it, in an aesthetics of realism.

240. Prasad, B. N. 'Yeats and the Noh Plays of Japan'. In *Modern Studies and Other Essays in Honour of Dr. R. K. Sinha*, edited by R. C. Prasad and A. K. Sharma. New Delhi: Vikas, 1987.

Summarises Yeats's early interest in drama and, in general terms, the conventions of the *nô*, and finds that the form 'represented a culmination of [Yeats's] quest for a satisfying dramatic form'. Prasad is aware of some earlier writing about the subject—though unaccountably does not mention Ishibashi (131), Qamber (167), or Taylor (180)—and argues that critics such as Pronko (A39) and Sharp (101) represent 'a radical misunderstanding of Yeats's intentions', for he was not 'aiming' at a recreation of the *nô*, but rather a 'creative assimilation and transmission' of its traditions.

241. Jeffares, A. Norman. *W. B. Yeats: A New Biography*. London: Hutchinson, 1988.

Includes numerous references to Yeats's use of *nô* principles, and to his relationship with Pound and others important to this study (see index).

242. Hayley, Barbara. 'Lafcadio Hearn, W. B. Yeats and Japan'. In *Literature and the Art of Creation: Essays and Poems in Honour of A. Norman Jeffares*, edited by Robert Welch and Suheil Badi Bushrui. Gerrards Cross: Smythe, 1988.

Focuses much more on Hearn than Yeats, and of numerous similarities Hayley finds between the two, only one—that for each 'Japan offered a way out of a tired literary tradition'—particularly concerns Japanese interests. Includes passing reference to Yeats's interest in the *nô* and to Sato's sword (see 21 and 48k). Yeats himself apparently did not feel a sympathy for Hearn: for all his interest in Japan apparently none of Hearn's books were in his library (see 228), and only once in his published work does he mention him, that in passing (see 35b).

243. Vukmirovich, John. 'Politics of the Heart: W. B. Yeats' *THE DREAMING OF THE BONES* (14a) and *NISHIKIGI*' (BK8). *Journal of Irish Literature* 17/1 (1988): 45-54.

Suggests that of the 'much . . . said' earlier about the relationship between these plays, 'several aspects . . . have been missed', and Yeats's 'purpose' in adapting *NISHIKIGI* has been 'misunderstood', but what follows does not add significantly to several earlier studies, particularly analyses by Wilson (102) and Clark (114 and 121).

244. Chiba, Yoko. 'W. B. Yeats and Noh: From "Japonism" to Zen'. PhD thesis, University of Toronto, 1988. Identical abstracts in *DAI* 50/6: 1486A, and *DAI* 53/2: 502A.

A 'cross-cultural study of the influence of the Noh theatre on Yeats, in the context of Japonisme and the aesthetic of Zen Buddhism'. Includes examination of Craig's debts to Japanese theatre (see D17), Japonisme 'in the Yeats circle', and the Pound/Fenollosa versions of the *nô*. Part two establishes a relationship between the *nô* and Zen 'as a context for Yeats's ideas', and is 'largely derived from Japanese

sources for lack of English material'. Finds that 'Noh greatly helped to develop Yeats's symbolic theatre, which was further strengthened after his study of Zen'.

245. Leeming, Glenda. 'Later Yeats: The Noh Plays and After'. In *Poetic Drama*. London: Macmillan, 1989.

Begins with an obvious proposition, but one that some writers about the subject fail to grasp: Yeats was 'not . . . a Japanese scholar aiming for an authentic reconstruction or imitation of the Noh models'. What follows is a reading of the plays not hampered by discussion about what they do or do not have in common with 'real' nô, but that nonetheless responds to Yeats's selective incorporation of principles he found in the form, particularly the methods it afforded him for 'presenting the supernatural on stage'.

246. Londrville, Richard. 'The Dramatic Function of Yeats's Dreaming Back'. *Yeats: An Annual of Critical and Textual Studies* 7 (1989): 99-124.

While it is not Londrville's central aim, this work demonstrates that Yeats's dramatic use of the 'dreaming back' of the dead (see, especially, 13) is directly traceable to his understanding of the nô, the first dramatic form in which the concept is a central premise. Londrville's analysis of the ways Yeats puts the idea to use in *THE DREAMING OF THE BONES* (14a), *THE ONLY JEALOUSY OF EMER* (14b), *CALVARY* (17a), *THE WORDS UPON THE WINDOW PANE* (34), and *PURGATORY* (44b) is the best available, and particularly good about the ways Christian understanding and the Yeatsian model differ from the Buddhist concept that underlies the mugen nô, and how Yeats's departure from this informs his work.

247. Sekine, Masaru. 'Four Plays for Dancers: Japanese Aesthetics and a European Mind'. In *Yeats the European*, edited by A. Norman Jeffares. Gerrards Cross: Smythe, 1989.

Sekine remains preoccupied with how Yeatsian drama varies from the nô (see also *BK207*, *BL233*, *247*, *250*, and *258*). His thesis here is that 'the vagueness of [Yeats's] knowledge of the Noh was actually a great advantage . . . since he was, after all, a European who wanted to adopt the form . . . for his own plays without changing his ultimate beliefs, ideas, and ideals'.

248. Polinsky, Julia Alexandra. "'Thought Through my Eyes": Reading the Possible Worlds of Yeats's Plays'. PhD thesis, State University of New York at Stony Brook, 1989. Abstract in *DAI* 51/3: 0847A.

Argues that 'over the course of Yeats's career as a playwright, he changed what was a traditional, realistic treatment of both literary and performance texts to a semiotic representation based on the Japanese Noh of the Ghost'. Discusses *THE*

DREAMING OF THE BONES (14a), THE CAT AND THE MOON (24a), THE WORDS UPON THE WINDOW PANE (34), and PURGATORY (44b).

249. Naitô, Shirô. *Yeats's Epiphany: His Quest for the Last Masks*. Kyoto: Yamaguchi, 1990.

One thread of Yeats criticism in Japan, traceable as far back as Noguchi (see 61, for example), relies on assertions about a perceived homogeneity between Celtic and Japanese cultures, which, the claim goes, Yeats 'intuited'. At its best, as in Oshima (see especially 124d, 160, and 187), this starting point leads to informal essays that call attention to 'Japanese elements' in Yeats's work without making too much of the 'correspondences'. Naitô carries the point considerably further in two chapters here, 'Zen Buddhism and W. B. Yeats's Last Phase' and 'Yeats and the Ainu'. See also 196.

250. Sekine, Masaru, Christopher Murray, and Augustine Martin. *Yeats and the Noh: A Comparative Study*. Gerrards Cross: Smythe, 1990.

Supplements but does not supersede Taylor (180). The central section of the work grows from Sekine's assertions that three of Yeats's 'Plays for Dancers' are 'based on' particular works from the nô, AT THE HAWK'S WELL (12) on YÔRÔ (BK75), THE ONLY JEALOUSY OF EMER (14b) on AOI NO UE (BK22), THE DREAMING OF THE BONES (14a) on NISHIKIGI (BK8), and that the fourth, CALVARY (17a), while not derived from a particular play, has similarities both to SUMIDAGAWA (see D23) and MIWA. What follows is a mechanical series of comparisons between each play and its supposed progenitor, in terms of 'theme', then, in order, 'characterization', plot and function of musicians, 'concepts of masks', stage props, costumes, dancing, acting style, and poetry and imagery. Ultimately Sekine focuses more on what Yeats's did not understand of the nô than what he did, and so argues, for example, that though Yeats 'imitated the Noh form with a great deal of sincerity . . . he necessarily failed to make authentic Noh plays' (see Chiba at a below for comment). Plays written after the plays for dancers are discussed only in passing, presumably because 'they represent a pragmatic abandonment of the Japanese model'. Includes as introductory and appending essays other brief statements about 'Yeats's Noh' (Augustine Martin), Yokomichi Mario's TAKAHIME (Sekine and Murray), 'Acting in THE DREAMING OF THE BONES' (Colleen Hanrahan), the music for Yeats's dance plays (Peter Davidson), and the relationship between Yeats, Beckett, and the nô (Katharine Worth; see also A39, and BL190 and 235).

a. Reviews: Jacqueline Genet (*Etudes irlandaises* 15/2 [1990]: 242-44), Andrew Parkin (*Canadian Journal of Irish Studies* 18 [1992]: 227-29), and Dave Williams (*Notes and Queries* OS 236 / NS 38 [1991]: 408-09), despite quibbles, find the

work valuable. Genet believes it 'indispensable to all who are interested in Yeats's drama', Parkin that it will be 'central to further discussion of Yeats and Noh', and Williams that it is a 'useful supplement to Taylor's more theoretical writings on the same topic' (especially *180*). Yoko Chiba (*Yeats Annual* 10 [1993]: 298-301) disagrees: she cites examples of Sekine's repetitions, 'fragmentary' tendencies, 'confusing . . . comments', and errors of fact and interpretation, and suggests that when Japanese commentators such as Ishibashi (see *131*) and Sekine can free themselves of the idea that Yeats's adaptations of *nô* are based on a 'misunderstanding' of the form, 'our [own] understanding of Yeats's relationship to Noh can become more creative and appreciative'.

251. Tribble, Keith Owen. 'Claudel [see *129*], Yeats and the Noh'. In 'European Symbolist Theater: Conventions and Innovations', PhD thesis, University of Washington, 1990. Abstract in *DAI* 52/2: 532A.
Discusses the *nô* as a 'stylized theatrical model' for Yeats's 'symbolist' drama.
252. Putzel, Steven. 'Poetic Ritual and Audience Response: Yeats and the *Nô*'. In *Yeats and Postmodernism*, edited by Leonard Orr. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse UP, 1991. Brings new methods to the study of the relationship between Yeats's dance plays and the *nô* by focusing on how Yeats's 'fragmentary knowledge' of the form allowed him to posit a new relationship between his plays and an ideal audience. Makes intelligent use both of recent 'reception theories' and of Zeami's critical understanding of the nature of the interaction between performance and audience.
253. Blondé, Allan. 'The Japanese *Nô* Play in Plays of William Butler Yeats and in Benjamin Britten's *CURLEW RIVER*' (*BJ18*). *Kansai gakuin daigaku kenkyû ronshû* 51 (1991): 109-16.
Blondé is enthusiastic in reporting similarities between the *nô*, Yeatsian drama, and *CURLEW RIVER*, but seems unaware of earlier, more detailed studies of the subject, including, for example, Taylor (*180*) and Alexander (*BJ40*), or that William Plomer was the librettist for *CURLEW RIVER*.
254. De Gruchy, John. 'W. B. Yeats's Japan: More Myth than Reality'. MA thesis, McGill University, 1991. Abstract in *Master Abstracts International* 31/2: 574.
Analyses 'the development of Yeats's image of Japan' and surveys 'sources of information Yeats had on Japan'. Argues that Heian and Ashikaga culture and early nineteenth-century Japanese arts were as important to his view of the country as the *nô*, and that these combined 'to produce a composite, mythical vision of Japan'.
255. Chiba, Yoko. 'The Shamanistic Elements in Yeats and Noh'. *Yeats: An Annual of Critical and Textual Studies* 10 (1992): 89-114.

Argues that in spite of the many studies about Yeats and the nô certain 'fundamental' issues have not been addressed. Traces Yeats's interests in shamanistic practices before his discovery of the nô, shamanistic symbols and themes in Japanese tradition including the nô, and argues that Yeats's intuitive understanding of these accounts in part for his interest in and adaptation of the form. Proceeds to an insightful reading of AT THE HAWK'S WELL (12) based on these insights. Includes notes as well about the 'Zen aesthetic' in Yeats's work and in the nô.

256. Larrissy, Edward. 'Framing Ireland'. In *Yeats the Poet: The Measures of Difference*. London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1994.

Begins with a brief argument that Pound's work with Fenollosa's nô manuscripts 'allowed Yeats to link the themes of tradition, family, the spirit-world, desire and the possible void at the heart of existence', and that his use of the nô model 'was by no means merely . . . technical experimentation' but allowed him to incorporate principles of Zen into his work (see also 113). Larrissy's argument is acknowledged and essentially repeated in references to the nô in Terrence Brown's *Life of W. B. Yeats* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999).

257. Ellis, Sylvia C. 'Japan, Japonisme and Japoniserie'. In *The Plays of W. B. Yeats: Yeats and the Dancer*. London: Macmillan, 1995. Reprint 1999.

Ellis's knowledge of Japanese subjects is suspect, as when she credits Fenollosa with 'reinsitut[ing] Noh theatre into the . . . cultural life' of Japan, or does not realise that Lafcadio Hearn and Koizumi Yakumo are the same person, yet her work is valuable for its careful account of Yeats's pre-1913 knowledge of Japan, and its extensive chronicling of Japanese subjects before the public eye in Britain from 1860 to 1920, including Japanese exhibitions, books on Japan, theatre performances, and especially articles about Japan and Japanese subjects in the *Times*, more than forty of which are quoted, often at length. Ultimately one must agree with Ellis's thesis, suggested first by Miner (in A25) but demonstrated more convincingly here, that 'Yeats already knew something of Japanese culture and art . . . for some years before being made familiar with the Fenollosa writings'. Includes analysis of similarities and dissimilarities between Yeats's post-1916 drama and the nô, and well-understood accounts of the importance to this subject of Craig and Whistler.

258. Sekine, Masaru. 'Noh and Yeats: A Theoretical Analysis'. *Ariel* 26/4 (1995): 135-46.

Sekine's knowledge of nô theory is unassailable, but his fourth study of what Yeats did not understand of the form (see also BK207, BL233, 247, and 250) covers little

new ground. By 1995, and after the dozens of discussions of the subject, Leeming's starting point (in 245), Komesu's concerns (in 239), and Chiba's criticism (see 250a) are pertinent.

259. Morrow, Melinda. 'Ritual Strangeness: Elements of Noh in THE ONLY JEALOUSY OF EMER. *South Carolina Review* 32/1 (1999): 170-79.

Argues that in THE ONLY JEALOUSY OF EMER (BL14b) Yeats wanted 'to create an atmosphere of ritual and strangeness' and did so by turning to the nô. Relies on earlier studies by Albright (BL172), Ishibashi (BL131), and Sekine (BL258), and does not add to their understanding of Yeats's turn to the nô.

See also A8, 20-22, 25-27, 30-32, 34, 36, 37, 39, 42, 44-47, 49b, 50, 53, 58, 60, 64, 65, BC29, 43, BD12, BE27, BH22d, BK17b, 50, 51, 59, 76e, 87, 88, 92a, 98, 105, 109, 110, 113, 137, 144, 145, 152, 153-155, 161, 172, 174, 175, 179, 181, 183, 185, 187, 188, 191, 193, 195, 201, CA10, and CC2.

C. Other Materials

CA. Other Poets and Works

1. Works before 1900.

A search for references to Japan in the full-text poetry and verse drama databases published by Chadwyk-Healey ('Literature Online', see <http://lion.chadwyck.co.uk>) turns up 253 citations in English poetry to 1900, 83 in English verse drama to 1900, and 127 in American poetry to the early twentieth century, ranging from Samuel Butler's *TRADE*, 'For which Dutch Brethren, in Japan, / Renounce the Name of Christian', through several late seventeenth-century works by Richard Ames, at least passing reference in poems by Congreve, Pope, Cowper, Blake, Southey, Tennyson, and Swinburne, to the *Bab Ballads* of W. S. Gilbert, none of which has been discussed in a critical study of eighteenth- or nineteenth-century European response to Japan, literary or otherwise. The best study of that subject as it concerns Anglo-American literature remains the opening three chapters of Miner (A25), though Kodama's 'General Observations' (in A59) and 'Japan in American Literature' (in A69) offer insightful notes about particular nineteenth-century American poems that respond to the country. The most important works to consider as background to this study are Whitman's *A BROADWAY PAGEANT* (1860), Longfellow's *KERAMOS* (1877), Kipling's *BUDDHA AT KAMAKURA* (1892), Fenollosa's *EAST AND WEST* (1892), and works from and about Japan by Edwin Arnold (1891-95), all of which are discussed by Miner. Hugh Cortazzi and George Webb's *Kipling's Japan* (London: Athlone, 1988) collects Kipling's writing from and about Japan and provides valuable notes and commentary. See also commentary by Hartmann (A1), Seaver (A17), Gatenby (A20), Ennis (A22), Ashmead (A30), Storry (A53), and Wilson and Allen (A64).

2. Noyes, Alfred (1880-1958). Poems, 1902-41.

a. Early work. In *The Loom of Years* (1902), *The Flower of Old Japan* (1903), *The Forest of Wild Thyme* (1905), *The Flower of Old Japan and Other Poems* (1907), *The Enchanted Island* (1909), *The Lord of Misrule* (1915), *The New Morning* (1918), and *Songs of Shadow-of-a-Leaf* (1924), Noyes turns repeatedly to 'Old Japan' for images of a utopian land of 'brooks of dreams', 'pig-tailed sailors', and 'scents of opium'. Aside from the occasional proper noun, 'Fuji' or 'Miyako', these include virtually nothing recognisable about the actual Japan of the early twentieth or any other century. Typical is *NIPPON*, in which the speaker 'dream[s] of Nippon' on 'a cloud of white / Drifting before the sunset / On seas of opal light'.

This opening is followed by four like quatrains before Noyes achieves closure with lines that summarise his response to 'Old Japan': 'I saw that fairy mountain. . . / I watched it form and fade. / No doubt the gods were singing, / When Nippon isle was made'. More than twenty such poems, some in revised form, are collected in Noyes's *Collected Poems* (2 vols., 1910; enlarged and revised, 1927), though in editions of the *Collected Poems* published after the Second World War all trace of the fairyland called Nippon has disappeared.

b. JAPANESE DOVES. In *Shadows on the Down*. London: Stokes, 1941. The utopian representations that characterise Noyes's early verse about 'Old Japan' easily become their own opposites when confronted with experience of an other that has insisted on its own ability to define terms. Noyes's last poem about Japan responds to troubling world events in which the Japanese have intervened alarmingly in the European and American history being written about them, and is frankly racist. The Japanese are compared overtly to spoilt children and chimpanzees; the poem relies on images of Japanese men 'slapp[ing] white women', and 'smack[ing]', stripping, and imprisoning 'white men', so that they may 'keep [the] East all yellow', even while they 'kill John Chinaman'. The diction degenerates into pigeon English intended to parody Japanese speech: Hitler is 'the velly best fellow', the Japanese are 'solly' because they 'tink' their bombs have missed a humanitarian target, and are somewhat afraid of the 'Mellicans'. The work culminates in martial threats against 'Somebody [who] wanted to stamp like Prussia' but has 'grown too big for his boots'.

c. Critical response. Noyes's biographer, Walter Jerrold (in *Alfred Noyes*, 1931), believed that Noyes 'boldly passed through the magic portals of fairyland and brought thence much that is tender, joyous and deliciously thrilling' when he 'put himself in the Japanese position for a singing while', but as early as 1936 Gatenby (*A20*) noted that contrary to Noyes's assertions in the poem TWO [JAPANESE] PAINTERS (1909) 'in Japan people do not ride on milk-white mules, there are no eyes like holy violets, and cherries and peonies bloom in different seasons'. Miner, writing two decades later (*A25*), discusses several of Noyes's more blatant misrepresentations and adds of the same poem that the 'only excuse' for 'its demands upon the reader's credulity' is that 'the events occur in far distant Japan where anything may happen'. Margaret McDowell gives Noyes more credit than is perhaps his due when she writes that he 'shared the interest of some of his contemporaries in Japanese art and culture', though qualifies the proposition in noting that his interests were 'national rather than international' ('Alfred Noyes', *British Poets, 1914-1945, Dictionary of Literary Biography* 20, 1983).

3. Bottomley, Gordon (1874-1948). Verse drama and commentary, 1909-48.

Bottomley's plays in verse, numbering more than thirty, have become little more than a footnote in the literary history of the century, but for a time his powerful blank verse and fusion of costume, dance, music, lighting, and stage design placed him, along with Yeats, at the forefront of a movement to re-establish verse drama in Britain. Bottomley's plays were more successful and more playable than the verse drama of his friends Binyon (see especially *BC22*), Moore (see *CA9*), and Masefield (*CA5*), and like all the central figures in the movement—the poets themselves and Craig, the theorist most closely associated with their work for the stage—Bottomley turned to the *nô* both for inspiration and justification. Contemporary documents do not link his verse drama to the *nô* in the years before Yeats's experiments with the form, but in Bottomley's own retrospective of his career, *A Stage for Poetry: My Purposes with My Plays* (Kendal: Wilson, 1948), he notes that he was 'among the first experimenters with Yeats's development of the *Nô* form', and that by the time of Yeats's experiments he had 'been interested in the possibilities of the Japanese original for many years'. As early as 1909, seven years before the first performance of *AT THE HAWK'S WELL* (*BL12*), Bottomley's *LAODICE AND DANAE* (London: privately printed; reprint, Boston: Four Seas, 1916) was constructed around a central dance performed by masked players, and he recalls in *A Stage* that at a Cambridge performance of *THE RIDING TO LITHEND* (Flansham, Sussex: Pear Tree, 1909)—with its ritualised action, central dance, and *nô*-like chorus—his companion, a Japanese undergraduate at Trinity, wondered aloud why Bottomley inquired so frequently about the *nô*, because 'Much of it is like this' (compare to Japanese reactions to Masefield's *THE FAITHFUL* [*CA5*]). What is 'like' the *nô* in Bottomley's drama is the stylised recreation of legend, the lyricism, dance, masks, chorus, minimalist stage design, and symbolic use of properties. These are most apparent in the works collected in *Scenes and Plays* (London: Constable, 1929), *Lyric Plays* (Constable, 1932), and *Choric Plays and a Comedy* (Constable, 1939). Bottomley's connection to the *nô* and to Yeats's adaptations of the *nô* is discussed by Nicoll (*A21*), Miner (*A25* and *BL129*), Anniah Gowda (*A32*), and Franchi (*BL218*), but the best discussion of the subject remains Bottomley's own, in *A Stage*, which throughout demonstrates the degree to which he turned to the 'Japanese original' for theory and technique. *Poems and Plays* (London: The Bodley Head, 1953) includes a generous selection of Bottomley's drama and a poem *TO YONE NOGUCHI*. See also Bottomley's 'Note on Poetry and the Stage' (London: Religious Drama Society, 1950), and *BC29*, *34b*, *43*, *D15d*, and *15e9*.

4. Crapsey, Adelaide (1878-1914). Cinquains. In *Verse*. [Rochester, N. Y]: Manas,

1915. Enlarged ed., New York, Knopf, 1938.

Several critics have noted that Crapsey's series of 'Cinquains', each consisting of five brief imagistic lines, are indebted to Japanese poetics, sometimes to particular hokku or tanka as they appear in the translations of, especially, Porter (D20) and Revon (D21). The first draw the connection was Louis Untermeyer, in *Modern American Poetry* (New York: Harcourt, Bruce and Howe, 1919); the fullest study is Kawanami Hideo's 'Adelaide Crapsey to Michel Revon: Nippon bungaku to kanrenshite' (Crapsey and Revon in relation to Japanese literature, *Ōsaka shōgyō daigaku ronshū* 19-20 [1963]: 210-237), which traces particular poems to Revon's translations of Sakanoue no Korenori, Fujiwara no Koremoto, Buson, and Issa, and pages from Crapsey's poetry journal to Noguchi's *From the Eastern Sea* (15e1). See also Taketomo (A8), Snow (A12), Hall (A16), Seaver (A17), Kimura (A23), Miner (A25), Ōtake (A35), Lewin (A46), Durnell (A55), Kawano (A57), Kodama (A59 and 69), Fletcher (BH15), and de Chasca (BH29), and notes at D3, 15d, 20, and 21.

5. Masefield, John (1878-1967). *THE FAITHFUL*. London: Heinemann, 1915.

The future Poet Laureate's long adaptation of the *Chūshingura*, largely in prose but with verse passages, some of which incorporate Japanese syllabic counts of five and seven, is discussed by Gatenby (A20), Nicoll (A21), Ennis (A22), Miner (A25), and Ernst (A45), but more telling are the comments of two reviewers of a 1919 New York production, both writing in the *New Republic* (vol. 20, pp. 326-27). Elizabeth Coatsworth begins by noting that the program for the evening informs that Masefield 'has retained the original plot of the legend as it first came from the brain of the mysterious author who conceived it B.C. 1338'. After calling attention to the two millennia error Coatsfield adds that Masefield 'makes matters worse by a generous injection of Western religion and motivation' into the Japanese plot. She mentions a 'Japanese gentleman in the next seat', who 'had been clucking disconsolately' throughout the performance and who informed her at the end that 'Mr. Masefield has mixed things together', for 'in Japan there are ten acts, but it is—moving', while 'this is only queer'. Coatsfield suggests that the 'introduction of European customs such as hand-shaking and kissing might be forgiven', but 'it is [Masefield's] lack of understanding of the psychology of his characters that strikes the discord'. F. H. follows Coatsfield's review with a note that 'it is sadly clear that *The Faithful* is pseudo-Japanese'. Like Coatsworth, F. H. 'happened to be near some Japanese' during the performance, who 'in spite of their antique reticence . . . publicly made moan'. F. H. nonetheless recommends the play to those who are 'ignorant, blissfully', of its 'historical support', and notes that he 'felt no responsibility for its Japaneseness', but rather 'took it as an other', like a 'legend

from the mountains of the moon'. Gatenby notes that Masefield wrote to him that his sources were Mitford's *Tales* (see *D4*), two translations of the *Chūshingura*, and information provided by Japanese students in London. See *D3* and *D4* for notes about the translations to which Masefield almost certainly referred.

6. Sandburg, Carl (1878-1967). *Chicago Poems*. New York: Holt, 1916.

Hall (*A16*), Kimura (*A23*), and Kawano (*BI31*) call attention to the possible incorporation of haiku poetics in Sandburg's early work, and Durnell in her survey of *Japanese Cultural Influences on American Poetry and Drama* (*A53*) devotes nearly as many pages to Sandburg as to Pound, but the point more correctly is that Sandburg after 1913 incorporated into his work the principles of Imagism, and the influence is more Pound than Japan. Insofar as one can find a likeness to Japanese poetics in Sandburg's verse it is in the *Chicago Poems*, a few of which are brief, unrhymed, and culminate in a sharp visual image. Those most 'like' haiku had been published first in *Poetry* in 1914, the year after Pound's 'Imagisme', 'A Few Don'ts for an Imagiste', and IN A STATION OF THE METRO (*BK1-3*) had appeared in that journal. The search for Sandburg's sources for his 'haiku-like' poems, then, most profitably begins, and ends, in those and related works. See also *BI22a*.

7. Stevens, Wallace (1879-1955). *Poems and verse drama*, 1916-23.

Fletcher (*BH15*) was the first to assert an assimilation of Japanese technique in Stevens's work, but Miner (*A25* and *42*), Fukuda (*A31*), Ōtake (*A35*), Durnell (*A55*), and Kawano (*A57*) have followed, as have Henry W. Wells (*A34* and *Introduction to Wallace Stevens* [Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1964]), Robert Buttel (*Wallace Stevens: The Making of Harmonium* [Princeton: Princeton UP, 1967]), James Baird (*Introduction to The Dome and the Rock* [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1968]), Ricciardi Caterina ('Wallace Stevens e l'Oriente', in *L'esotismo nella letteratura angloamericana*, ed. Elémira Zolla [Florence: La Nuova, 1978]), and William W. Bevis (*Mind of Winter: Wallace Stevens, Meditation, and Literature* [Pittsburgh: U of Pittsburgh P, 1988]). The suggestions of influence focus particularly on four matters: the 'colour impressionism' of *Harmonium* (New York: Knopf, 1923) and its possible relationship to ukiyoe; similarities to hokku in several poems from that collection, particularly THIRTEEN WAYS OF LOOKING AT A BLACKBIRD; Steven's one direct reference to a Japanese subject in his poetry, in another *Harmonium* poem, an image derived from 'Utamaro's beauties' in the third stanza of LE MONOCLE DE MON ONCLE; and a possible link to the nō in Stevens's only play in verse, THREE TRAVELLERS WATCH A SUNRISE (*Poetry* 8 [July 1916]: 163-79). In spite of such critical interest, however, with the exception of the one image derived from Utamaro in 534 pages of Stevens's *Collected Poems*, proposals

about a direct link between his work and Japan, as Baird puts it, 'seem hazardous'. Notably, the fullest study of Stevens's work during the years in question, Joan Richardson's prodigious *Wallace Stevens: The Early Years, 1879-1923* (New York: Morrow, 1986), makes no claim for such a link. The *Letters of Wallace Stevens* (New York: Knopf, 1966) includes numerous passing references to Japanese subjects (see index), but on present evidence all that may be claimed with certainty is that in 1909 Stevens read Okakura (*D16*) and made reference to his work in journal entries and letters (see *Letters*, p. 137, Buttell, p. 70, and Richardson, p. 341), that during his days at Harvard he had a close association with Bynner and Ficke and shared their interests in East Asian art (see especially Richardson), that in 1950 he owned 'a half dozen volumes of Chinese and Japanese poetry' (see *Letters*, p. 291, n. 9), and that he claimed variously in his letters to have been 'influenced by Chinese and Japanese lyrics', to have 'never studied' haiku, to have only a 'casual' interest in Japanese art, and to 'hate orientalism' (see *Letters*, pp. 290, 291, n. 9, and 796). Surely some of the poems in *Harmonium* reflect the general interest in ukiyoe and haiku among poets in Cambridge and Boston in the years that Stevens, Bynner, and Ficke were at Harvard, but any claim beyond this, unless further evidence comes to light, remains speculation. See also *A60*, *70*, *BK3*, and *146*.

8. Damon, S. Foster (1893-1971). KIRI NO MEIJIYAMA: A NOH-DRAMA IN JAPANESE SYLLABICS. *Dial* 68 (February 1920): 205-213.

Damon's work is among the curiosities of this study, an original play with Japanese *dramatis personae*, written mainly in lines of five and seven syllables (like classical Japanese poetry), which self-consciously attempts to recreate the *nô* in English, complete with chorus, ghosts, and a closing prayer to Kannon for the redemption of souls 'bound to the wheel of anguish, / [and] caught in the nets of heaven, earth, and hell'. The result is a text that incorporates features of the *nô* that Pound had popularised in his adaptation of Fenollosa's manuscripts (see especially *BK24*), but that are curiously mixed with melodramatic goblins and headless bodies like those in Japanese tales popularised by Hearn. (Miner [A25] in passing reference to the play suggests that the plot is derived from 'Rokurokobi' in Hearn's *Kwaidan* [see *D9a*]). However much Damon believed he was writing a 'Noh-Drama', the work is remarkably unlike the *nô*. Kabuki and bunraku rely on melodrama and the chronological unfolding of a plot. The *nô* does not. Alice Hall Perry writing of Damon in *American Poets, 1880-1945* (1st ser., *Dictionary of Literary Biography* 45, 1986) suggests that the work was a 'literary hoax' and 'identified by Arthur Waley as an authentic Japanese *Nô* drama of the sixteenth century', but this is unlikely. In the *Dial* publication the work is clearly

identified as Damon's, and by 1920 Waley knew the Japanese form well enough to recognise the work as the odd hybrid that it is (see 26 and 26b). The title might be translated in several of ways, but the most obvious reading would be Kiri (family name) of shining-peace mountain.

9. Moore, Sturge (1870-1944). MEDEA. In *Tragic Mothers*. London: Richards, 1920.

Moore's most successful play includes a note after the list of characters that allies the work to Yeats's adaptations of the *nô*: 'My friend Mr. W. B. Yeats asked me to try my hand, having himself achieved brilliant success, in this new form of drama, independent of stage and scenery and suitable for chamber presentation. The idea had come to him while reading about the Japanese Noh plays'. Like AT THE HAWK'S WELL (BL12), THE DREAMING OF THE BONES (14a), THE ONLY JEALOUSY OF EMER (14b), and THE RESURRECTION (BL28), MEDEA employs 'curtain bearers' who function as a chorus, and whose unfolding and folding of a cloth, or 'curtain' here, demarcates the opening and closing of the ritual space and action. Also, like THE DREAMING OF THE BONES the action revolves around the meeting of a central character with the spirits of the dead, in this case Medea and the ghosts of Mermeros and Pheres, the sons she had murdered. As is often true of the *nô* itself the play rises to its climax with the dancing of the passions of the central character, though here the dancer is Medea, seeking pardon for her crime, and not the ghosts seeking release from the passions that condemn them to the earth. Perhaps not too much should be made of these similarities, but as in the best of Yeats's plays, the treatment of tragedy has been mitigated by the classical Japanese form, and thereby achieves effects unknown on the European stage until this 'idea' from the 'Japanese Noh plays' had passed from the authors of the *nô* through the generations to Umewaka Minoru, from Umewaka to Hirata and Fenollosa to Pound, and from Pound to Yeats. Moore's work is among the more successful manifestations of this passage of classical Japanese understandings and techniques to the English stage. Later Moore plays adopt techniques from Yeatsian 'nô', but none so much as this work, and none are related so closely in mood to the Japanese progenitor. Moore's biographer, Frederick Gwynn (*Sturge Moore and the Life of Art* [Lawrence: U of Kansas P, 1951]), noting Moore's 'idealism', suggests that 'even [Moore's] exotic Noh plays teach lessons in Occidental morals', and refers to a late play, PSYCHE IN HADES (in *Mystery and Tragedy*, 1930), as 'a wordy Noh play', a phrase that Miner (A25), perhaps not altogether fairly, suggests describes MEDEA as well. See also A32, BC29, 32b, 43, BL47, 129, and 218.

10. Eliot, T. S. (1888-1965). Verse drama, 1926-50.

Several studies trace Asian motifs in Eliot's work, but critics rightly have been cautious in positing an influence from Japan. Such attempts as have been made focus largely on Eliot's drama and its relationship either to the *nô* or to Yeats's adaptations of the *nô*. Eliot was among those in attendance at the first performance of *AT THE HAWK'S WELL* (*BL12*), and thereafter thought of Yeats 'rather as a more ^eminent contemporary than as an elder' (see *BL72*), and he expressed interest in the 'unity of image' Pound discovered in the *nô*, and recognised that such a device had been theretofore absent on the European stage (see *BK92b*, and for the most compelling analysis of the effects of this in Eliot's work, Bush, *BK161*). Finally, however, the traceable effect of Japanese forms in Eliot's work is minimal. The only direct connection is related to the fragment *SWEENEY AGONISTES*, first printed as 'Fragments of a Prologue' and 'Fragment of an Agon' in *New Criterion* (October 1926 and January 1927; reprinted as *Sweeney Agonistes: Fragments of an Aristophanic Melodrama* [London: Faber & Faber, 1932], and this is not in the text itself, which is ironic and comedic and therefore unlike the *nô*. Eliot's 1933 letter to Hallie Flanagan, however, who was preparing the first production of the work, indicates that in considering the way it should be played he had the *nô* in mind, at least as it had been filtered through Pound and Yeats: 'The action should be stylized as in the Noh drama—see Ezra Pound's book [*BK24*] and Yeats' preface and notes to *The Hawk's Well* [*BL12a*]', Eliot wrote, and 'characters ought to wear masks' (quoted in Carol H. Smith, *T. S. Eliot's Dramatic Theory and Practice* [Princeton: Princeton UP, 1963]). Beyond this, Durnell's efforts (in *A55*) to find *nô* principles at work in *MURDER IN THE CATHEDRAL* (Faber & Faber, 1935) are strained. The work avoids the methods of realism, relies on a spiritual theme, and incorporates a chorus that comments on the action, but the antecedents to these are many and the effects of the work are neo-Elizabethan and not classical Japanese. Tsuneari Fukuda ('God Present Though Absent', in *T. S. Eliot: A Tribute from Japan* [Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1966]) discusses *THE COCKTAIL PARTY* (Faber & Faber, 1950) in terms of the *nô* and other Japanese principles, but does not claim influence, or that Eliot wrote with these in mind. Other critics make passing reference to Japanese techniques in Eliot's work (see *A46*, *70*, *BL190*, and *212*), but finally one must agree with Miner (in *A25*), writing in 1958 of Pound's hand in *THE WASTE LAND* (1922) but nonetheless offering a fair summary of the relationship between Eliot's work and Japan: 'whatever of . . . "Japanese" techniques Eliot found useful are so covered with traditional Western modes and forms that the Japanese element is all but completely submerged'. Surely Eliot's drama was written with an awareness of the *nô* as it had been filtered through Pound and Yeats. Like Yeats's

work it relies on an aesthetics self-consciously opposed to the realistic methods of Ibsen and Shaw, but unlike Yeatsian drama neither aims for nor achieves effects related in more than passing ways to the *nô* itself.

11. Jeffers, Robinson (1887-1962). Verse drama, 1929-41.

Jeffers's *DEAR JUDAS* (New York: Liveright, 1929; reprint 1977) has escaped notice in studies of Japanese influence in Anglo-American poetry and verse drama, but is the most compelling pre-1950 extension of Yeats's experiments with the *nô*. The ghosts of Judas, Jesus, and Mary, 'Still haunt the garden [of Gethsemane] / . . . / Re-dreaming under the moon [their] passions' (p. 9). The language is from Yeats and his working through of the idea of the 'dreaming back of the dead' (see especially *BL13*), and the most immediate antecedent is Yeats's *CALVARY* (*BL17a*), but the ontology and dramatic conception is of the *mugen nô*, even if, as in *CALVARY* and unlike the most powerful manifestations of the *nô*, the spirits are not released from their 'unendurable memory' (p. 27) and in the end remain caught in the 'net' from which no man ever has 'cut himself loose' (pp. 12, 36). As Robert J. Brophy notes in his afterword in the 1977 edition, the work may be divided into three parts, Judas's dream (pp. 10-28), Jesus's dream (pp. 29-39), and Mary's dream (pp. 39-49), each of which relies on the associational time of the *nô* instead of the chronology of the European stage. That Jeffers had the *nô* in mind during composition is clear enough from the text, but thrice in his later writing he makes the point explicit, in a note to his bibliographer, S. S. Alberts, (see *A Bibliography of the Works of Robinson Jeffers* [New York: Franklin, 1933], p. 57), a 'Preface to "Judas"' that preceded the first production of the play in 1947 (*New York Times*, 5 October, sec. 2, p. 3), and in a letter to Eva Hesse (see *Selected Letters of Robinson Jeffers, 1897-1962*, ed. Ann N. Ridgeway [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1968], p. 369). 'DEAR JUDAS was written in 1928, with the thought of presenting the only divine figure still living in the minds of people of our race, as the hero of a tragedy', Jeffers wrote to Alberts. 'The Japanese *Nô* plays, in which the action is performed by ghosts revisiting the scenes of their passions, no doubt influenced my conception'. Notes about the connection of the play to the *nô* may be found in Brophy's afterword and in *Diggory* (*BL212*). A later Jeffers play in verse, *THE BOWL OF BLOOD* (in *Be Angry at the Sun* [New York: Random House, 1941]), is related to the *nô* through its fluid conception of time and sense of ritual, and to Yeatsian drama influenced by the *nô* in its use of 'maskers' functioning both as chorus and as *dramatis personae* and its central reliance on a *séance* (see especially *BL34*), but lacks the close psychological relationship to the *nô* of *DEAR JUDAS*.

1 2. Goodman, Paul (1911-72). *Stop-Light: 5 Dance Poems and an Essay on the Noh*.

Harrington Park, N.J.: 5x8 Press, 1941.

Goodman's provocative opening essay, 'The Drama of Awareness', establishes the thesis that the 'deepest distinction' between the *nô* and western drama is that the former 'imitates a State, of the soul or nature', while the latter imitates 'an Action'. Thus the 'movement of drama' in the *nô* is not 'the working out of will', but rather 'a coming to awareness'. In his 'dance poems' that follow, Goodman explains, he has 'tried to borrow from' the *nô* the 'technique for producing this effect in a play'. DUSK, THE BIRTHDAY, THE THREE DISCIPLINES, THE CYCLIST, and THE STOP LIGHT are set in identified locations in modern-day New Jersey and New York, but each includes the *dramatis personae* of the *nô*, a recognisable *waki* and *shite* (see *BL207*), and a chorus, and each works toward a central lyrical passage accompanied by the dance of the *shite*. By adopting these conventions, the dramatised intervention of a *shite* into the consciousness of a *waki*, Goodman succeeds in locating the 'movement of [the] drama' in states of awareness rather than in 'the working out of will', and this in itself is a notable achievement. If the poems fail as drama it is because the nature of the 'awakening' or 'revelation' of the *waki* is not clearly established. Goodman's attempt to enliven English verse with particular *nô* conventions, however, remains among the more interesting and knowledgeable in the record. See also *A25*.

1 3. Rexroth, Kenneth (1905-82). *Poems and verse drama, 1944-49*.

Rexroth is a transitional figure in this study. His most engaging confrontation with Japanese subjects and techniques takes place after 1950 (see *14* and *14d*), and may be associated with the so-called San Francisco Renaissance and the link established in the post-war years between the west coast of the United States and Kyoto, by Ruth Fuller Sasaki (1893-1967, founder of the First Zen Institute of Kyoto, at Ryôsen-in inside the Daitokuji complex), the poets Gary Snyder (see *14e*), Cid Corman (see *14a*), Philip Whalen (see especially *Scenes of Life at the Capital* [1970; enlarged ed, Bolinas, Cal.: Grey Fox, 1971]), Rexroth himself, and others. Rexroth precedes and anticipates much of this, however, in several early works. See also *A29*, *43*, *48*, *49*, *BK194*, and *BL100*.

a. THE PHOENIX AND THE TORTOISE. In *The Phoenix and the Tortoise* (and other poems). Norfolk, Conn.: New Directions, 1944. This meditative forty-one page work is the first English poem to weave into the fabric of the verse particular poems from Japanese tradition. The text does not call attention to this, but Rexroth acknowledges the fact years later in *Excerpts of a Life* (ed. Ekbert Faas, Santa Barbara: Conjunctions, 1981), noting that though the poem is 'based ultimately on

the Mahayana Buddhist Sutra, the *Kegon Kyo*, it is 'strung on quotations from the *Hyakunin-isshu*'. Both Kodama (in A59) and Morgan Gibson (in *Revolutionary Rexroth: Poet of East-West Wisdom* [Hamden, Conn.: Shoe String, 1986]) identify translations of tanka 'half concealed' in the verse, and at least seven of these appear as discrete poems identified as translation in Rexroth's later *One Hundred Poems from the Japanese* (New York: New Directions, 1955).

b. *The Signature of All Things*. New York: New Directions, 1949. Rexroth's incorporation of Japanese materials is more straightforward in this lyrical and widely influential work than in THE PHOENIX AND THE TORTOISE. In introduction he suggests that the religious stance in the poems owes something to Suzuki, and acknowledges among stylistic influences the Japanese folksong, to which might be added the syllabic counts of Japanese verse. Two poems rely explicitly on Japanese materials for their subject matter. YUGAO describes a speaker's thoughts of himself and his sleeping lover as he walks outside at night, and reverberates throughout with images of the demonic possession and death of the character Yūgao in the fourth chapter of *Genji monogatari* and the nô YUGAO; and HŌJŌKI, like its twelfth-century predecessor of the same title by Kamo no Chōmei, relies on the Buddhist understanding of the transience of life and takes as its subject the seasons and the natural landscape around the poet's 'ten foot square hut'.

c. *Beyond the Mountains*. New York: New Directions, 1951. Rexroth's plays in verse appeared first in journals between 1946 and 1949. PHAEDRA, IPHIGENIA, HERMAOIS, and BERENIKE are 'dance plays' in the tradition of Yeats's adaptations of the nô, and borrow freely from Yeats's experiments, the nô itself, and classical Greek convention. Like the nô, these works rely on a setting in the distant past, moral and religious themes derived from Buddhism, a bare stage, masks and musicians, and are rich with allusions to classical poetry, in this case the Greek. Rexroth's chorus is closer to the Japanese progenitor than Yeats's 'cloth bearers' (see especially BL12), and as in the nô does not take a part in the action but engages in dialogue with, and sometimes speaks for, the principle characters. Rexroth's plays are not as well known as those of Yeats, but no account of the ways the nô has been adapted to the western stage should overlook them. The fullest study is Sakurai's 'The Noh Plays of Kenneth Rexroth' (BL204), which emphasises their derivation as much from Yeats as from the Japanese form itself.

14. Works after 1950.

In the 1950s the cultural and literary interaction between Japan and the United States and Europe changed. This was propelled by the end of the war, the Occupation, and the new generation of intermediaries these events made possible.

Those most notable in the context of this study are the translators Donald Keene, Edward Seidensticker, and Ivan Morris. In Anglo-American poetry the most important manifestations of this change are apparent in the work of writers who themselves were among the new intermediaries, poets who lived and worked in Japan and in several cases, unlike poets noted elsewhere in this study, learned the culture and the language, sometimes deeply and well, and incorporated this experience into their work. None of this has been properly described or evaluated in a critical study. Such a study would most profitably begin in the work of five poets: Cid Corman, D. J. Enright, James Kirkup, Kenneth Rexroth (see also 13), and Gary Snyder. See also A38, 42, 43, 49a-b, 59, 60, 71, 72, and BK146, and Iketani Toshitada, 'Robert Bly to haiku' (Bly and haiku, *Kinjô gakuin daigaku ronshû* 70 [1976]: 91-108), Niikura Toshikazu, 'A Romantic Reassertion: Bly and Haiku' (in *Dentô to handentô—gendai Amerika bungaku ronshû*, edited by Kenzaburo Ôhashi [Tokyo: American Literature Society of Japan, 1980]), Naoko Fuwa Thornton, 'Robert Bly's Poetry and the Haiku' (*Comparative Literature Studies* 20 [1983]: 1-13), and David Ewick, 'From ZEN: THE ROCKS OF SESSHU to *Triumph of the Sparrow*: The Japanese Sources of Lucien Stryk's Early Poems' (in *Zen, Poetry, the Art of Lucien Stryk*, edited by Susan Porterfield [Athens, Ohio: Ohio UP, 1993]).

a. Corman (b. 1924) and *Origin*. See especially *Descent from Daimonji*, *Cool Gong*, and *Cool Melon* (Ashland, Mass.: Origin, 1959), and poems and translations from the Japanese by Corman and others in his journal *Origin*, particularly series 2-4, published in Kyoto, 1961-83. None of dozens of books by Corman published after 1959 are untouched by his understanding and incorporation of Japanese poetics. See also Corman's essays in *Word for Word* (Santa Barbara: Black Sparrow, 1977) and *At Their Word* (Black Sparrow, 1978), and A49b. Much of Corman's post-1960 poetry is collected in *Of* (2 vols., Venice, Ca.: Lapis, 1990).

b. Enright (b. 1920). See especially *The World of Dew: Aspects of Living in Japan* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1955), *Bread Rather than Blossoms* (Secker & Warburg, 1956), *The Year of the Monkey* (Kobe: Kônan University, 1956), *Some Men are Brothers* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1960), *Instant Chronicles: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1985), Philip Gardner, 'D. J. Enright Under the Cherry Tree' (*Wisconsin Studies in Contemporary Literature* 9 [1968]: 100-111), Russell Greenwood, 'Enright's Japan' (in *Life By Other Means: Essays on D. J. Enright*, ed. Jacqueline Simms [Oxford: Oxford UP, 1990]), and A28, 73, BD121, 123, 128, and BJ41.

c. Kirkup (b. 1918). See especially *The Prodigal Son* (London: Oxford UP, 1959), *Refusal to Conform* (Oxford UP, 1963), *Paper Windows: Poems from Japan*

(London: Dent, 1968), *White Shadows, Black Shadows* (Dent, 1970), *The Body Servant: Poems of Exile* (Dent, 1971), and *An Actor's Revenge* (adaptation of kabuki, libretto by Kirkup, music by Minoru Miki [London: Faber, 1979]). Many of Kirkup's poems from Japan are collected in three 1996 editions from the University of Salzburg, *Omens of Disaster: Selected Shorter Poems*, vol. 1, *Once and For All: Selected Shorter Poems*, vol. 2, and *An Extended Breath: Collected Longer Poems and Sequences*. No detailed study has been made of Kirkup's considerable debts to Japan, though several works focus on an influence from haiku, the first of which, A. W. Sadler's 'James Kirkup as Haiku Poet' (*Literature East and West* 9 [1965]: 238-45), is the most perceptive. See also A28, 73, and BJ41.

d. Rexroth. In addition to work noted at 13, see especially *The Heart's Garden / The Garden's Heart* (Cambridge, Mass.: Pym-Randall, 1967), *On Flower Wreath Hill* (Burnaby, B.C.: Blackfish, 1976, reprinted as *Flower Wreath Hill: Later Poems* [New York: New Directions, 1991]), *The Silver Swan: Poems Written in Kyoto* (Port Townsend, Wash.: Copper Canyon, 1976), *One Hundred More Poems from the Japanese* (New Directions, 1976), *The Love Poems of Marichiko* (Santa Barbara: Christopher's, 1978), *The Morning Star* (New Directions, 1979), Morgan Gibson, *Kenneth Rexroth* (New York: Twayne, 1972), Emiko Sakurai, 'Oriental Tradition in the Poetry of Kenneth Rexroth' (PhD thesis, University of Alabama, 1973), Taguchi Tetsuya, 'Kenneth Rexroth to Nippon' (Kenneth Rexroth and Japan, *Dôshisha daigaku eigo eibungaku kenkyû* 60-61 [1993]: 73-87), Kodama (A59), and Sadria (A72).

e. Snyder (b. 1930). See especially *Riprap* (Kyoto: Origin, 1959, reprinted in *Riprap & Cold Mountain Poems* [1965, Berkeley: North Point, 1990]), *Myths & Texts* (1960, reprint, New York: New Directions, 1978), *Six Sections from Mountains and Rivers Without End* (1965, enlarged as *Mountains and Rivers Without End* [Washington, D.C.: Counterpoint, 1997]), *The Back Country* (London: Fulcrum, 1967, enlarged, New Directions, 1968), *Regarding Wave* (1969, enlarged, New Directions, 1970), *Earth House Hold* (New Directions, 1969), *Turtle Island* (New Directions, 1974), *The Real Work* (ed. William Scott McLean, New Directions, 1980), *Axe Handles* (San Francisco: North Point, 1983), *Left Out in the Rain* (North Point, 1986), *No Nature* (New York: Pantheon, 1992), Katsunori Yamazato, 'Seeking a Fulcrum: Gary Snyder and Japan (1956-1975)' (PhD thesis, University of California, Davis, 1988), and A42, 49a-b, 59, 61, 71, and BK146.

CB. Archives

In addition to archives related to particular poets noted in section B (BA20, BB20, BC34, BD171, BE22, BF22, BG16, BH23, BI22, BJ28, BK90, and BL59), the following hold materials of relevance to this study.

1. †Ernest Fenollosa Papers.

a. Houghton Library, Harvard. Most of Fenollosa's manuscripts archived here, including voluminous material about Japanese art, religion, philosophy, and literature, have been edited by Akiko Murakata and published in *The Ernest F. Fenollosa Papers, The Houghton Library, Harvard University / Harvard daigaku Houghton Library, Ernest Fenollosa shiryô*, 3 vols. (Tokyo: Museum, 1984, 1987), which include as well Murakata's introductions and notes to the material, mainly in Japanese, translation of much of the material into Japanese, and, in volume 3, 'Ernest F. Fenollosa's "Notes for a History of the Influence of China upon the Western World": A Link Between the Houghton and Beinecke Library Manuscripts', reprinted from *Review of English Literature* 47 (1982), which examines the relationship between the two largest collections of Fenollosa materials.

b. Beinecke Library, Yale. Many of the Fenollosa papers from which Pound worked (see especially *BK15*, *24*, and *32*) are held in the Pound archive here (see *BK90*). A 'Tentative Catalogue' of the Fenollosa materials appears as an appendix to Murakata's *Ernest F. Fenollosa Papers*, vol. 3 (see *a*); of Fenollosa's papers relating to the *nô*, most of those from which Pound worked are transcribed and copiously noted in Miyake, Kodama, and Teele's *A Guide to Ezra Pound and Ernest Fenollosa's Classic Noh Theatre of Japan (BK201)*. These papers were not available to scholars until after 1975, and so before that year critical treatments of the ways Pound edited and adapted the material are either guesswork or, in the case of studies and transcriptions by Taylor (*BK132* and *144*), based on Dorothy Pound's transcriptions of several of the *nô* translations (see *c*). Japanese scholarship, particularly that of Furukawa and Yamaguchi (see *BL109* and *D10d*), has shown that the translations of the *nô* in these manuscripts are in fact more the work of Hirata Kiichi than of Fenollosa himself.

c. Albemarle Library, University of Virginia. Holdings include Dorothy Pound's transcriptions of manuscripts of the Fenollosa/Hirata *nô* translations that are now at Yale (see *b*). Until sometime after 1975 the Yale manuscripts were not available for consultation, and so these transcriptions were the only source for scholars wishing to describe and evaluate the ways Pound handled the material.

Johnson (*BK153*) suggests that the originals of ‘a few’ of the manuscripts in this collection are not held at Yale, and indeed if Murakata’s ‘Tentative Catalogue’ of Fenollosa papers in the Pound Archive at the Beinecke Library is correct, the original from which Dorothy Pound transcribed the version of YŌRŌ in this archive is not among the papers at Yale.

See also *BK90b*.

2. †Sadakichi Hartmann Papers.

If Hartmann’s early hokku and tanka in English are to be found, or information about the date of his earliest meeting with Pound (see *D12*), the most likely source will be papers held in the largest Hartmann archive, at the Library of the University of California, Riverside. A guide to the collection, *The Sadakichi Hartmann Papers: A Descriptive Inventory of the Collection in the University of California, Riverside, Library*, compiled by John Batchelor and edited by Clifford Wurfel (Riverside: University of California, Riverside, 1970) lists five letters to Hartmann from Craig and twelve from Pound. The Hartmann Papers at Dartmouth College include 128 items, among them at least one ‘note’ from Pound.

3. †Earl Miner Correspondence. Department of Special Collections, Library of the University of California, Los Angeles.

Includes responses to Miner’s inquiries written while preparing *The Japanese Tradition in British and American Literature* (*A25*) and related studies (*A41*, *42*, and *47*), from among others Aiken (see p. 65 and *BA18* above), Aldington (see *BB2*, *3*, *9a*, and *14*), Fletcher (*BH22c-d*), Plomer (*BJ23*), and Stevens (see *CA7*).

4. †Yone Noguchi Papers.

What has been traced of Noguchi’s correspondence with poets and others of importance to this study has been published (see *D15e9*). If other pertinent materials are to be located they will most likely be found in the largest Noguchi archives, at the Mita Bungakubu Library at Keio University, Tokyo, and the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley.

5. Kenneth Rexroth Library. Kanda University of International Studies, Chiba, Japan.

Rexroth’s library had become so large in his later years that it occupied its own San Francisco apartment. After his death in 1982 the books were sold, and roughly half eventually ended up at Kanda University of International Studies on the eastern outskirts of Tokyo, where they are now held at the Rexroth Memorial Library. The collection includes many English-language works on Japan, many of these copiously annotated in Rexroth’s hand. Among hundreds of holdings in Japanese literature, religion, and history are perhaps half the works noted here in section D, ‘Sources of Influence and Transmission’.

CC. The Larger Context

1. Schwartz, William Leonard. *The Imaginative Interpretation of the Far East in Modern French Literature, 1800-1925*. Paris: Champion, 1927. Reprint, Chicago: University of Chicago Library, 1989. Microfilm.

The reliance on French materials for the Japanese interests of Anglo-American writers in the early years of the century has been insufficiently explored.

Schwartz's work, as the title suggests, does not concern itself directly with Anglo-American literature, but is nonetheless important to this study for its presentation and informed analysis of the Japanese interests of Edmond and Jules de Goncourt (see *D7*), Paul-Louis Couchoud (see *D19*), Michel Revon (see *D21*), José Maria de Hérédia (1842-1905), Judith Gautier (1846-1917), and others whose representations of Japan often are the sources of the Japanese influences under study here. Based on 'The Imaginative Interpretation of the Far East in Post-Classical French Literature', PhD thesis, Stanford University, 1926. See also Miner's 'From Japonisme to Impressionism' (in *A25*), and notes at *D1* and *D25*.

2. Lancaster, Clay. *The Japanese Influence in America*. New York: Rawls, 1963. Reprint, New York: Abbeville, 1983.

A landmark study of American Japonisme and the larger allure of Japan in the United States from Perry's arrival at Uruga through the first half of the twentieth century. Lancaster's focus is the fine arts, gardens, and particularly architecture, but the work nonetheless succeeds in defining a broad American interest in Japan and the effects of this in American art and culture in the years under study. Includes more than 200 illustrations, opening chapters that place the influence in historical context, and passing discussion of several writers of interest here, including Amy and Percival Lowell (see *D6*), Hearn (*D9*), Fenollosa (*D10*), Noguchi (*D15*), Okakura (*D16*), and Pound (see index). See also *11*.

3. Steadman, John M. *The Myth of Asia: A Refutation of Western Stereotypes of Asian Religion, Philosophy, Art and Politics*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1969.

Steadman's study of both the 'popular fallacies' and the 'more learned misconceptions' about Asia in Europe and the United States is contentious and well-argued, and provides a context for better understanding both the use and misuse of Japanese materials by poets under study here. The primary aim of the work is to dislodge the European and American misconception that 'Asia' is 'a single entity' (the famous starting point—'Asia is one'—of Okakura's *Ideals of the East* [see *D16*]), but along the way Steadman discusses the ways the traditions of Asia have been misconstrued, popularised, and fixed in the Western imagination.

Includes discussion of Binyon, Hearn (see *D9*), Fenollosa (*D10*), Okakura, and Suzuki (*D28*), and frequent reference to Japanese poetry, art, and religion (see index). See also *12*.

4. Lehmann, Jean-Pierre. *The Image of Japan: From Feudal Isolation to World Power, 1850-1905*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1978.

Lehmann's study remains the most satisfying available of the profound shift in popular images of Japan in the United States and particularly Britain from the years immediately preceding Perry's arrival at Uraga through the Russo-Japanese War. The aim is to determine the attitudes toward Japan of the 'educated general reader' of the period in Europe and America, and the conceptions and misconceptions Lehmann identifies provide useful contextualisation for the work under study here. Materials surveyed include accounts of Japan that appeared in publications such as *Edinburgh Review*, *Blackwood's Magazine*, *MacMillan's*, and *Revue des Deux Mondes*, and Lehmann makes particularly frequent and perceptive use of the *London Times*. Includes reference throughout to writers of interest here, including Kipling (see *CA1*) and Edwin Arnold (*CA1*), Chamberlain (*D5*), Percival Lowell (*D6*), Hearn (*D9*), and Aston (*D13*). The work is usefully supplemented but not superseded by Yokoyama (*7*) and Littlewood (*10*). See also *12*.

5. Wichmann, Siegfried. *Japonisme: The Japanese Influence on Western Art in the 19th and 20th Centuries*. 1981. Reprint, New York: Park Lane, 1985. Originally published as *Japonismus: Ostasien und Europa. Begegnungen in der Kunst des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*. Herrsching: Schuler, 1980.

Wichmann's work has been criticised for its tendency to draw tenuous and untheorised connections between the arts of Japan and of Europe and the United States but remains a useful resource particularly for its more than 1,000 illustrations, by far the most generous selection available in a single volume devoted to Japonisme. The work is organised thematically and provides a readable overview of the historical development of Japonisme, though other studies, most particularly that by Berger (*9*), are more careful and perceptive in analysis both of particular works and the ways Japonisme informed and extended the development of modern art in Europe and the United States. See also *11*.

6. Ashmead, John. *The Idea of Japan 1853-1895: Japan as Described by American and Other Travellers from the West*. New York: Garland, 1987.

Though Ashmead's study was originally presented as a PhD thesis at Harvard in 1950, it remains the fullest survey of nineteenth-century European and American travellers in Japan and their writing of the country. Includes discussion of, among many others, Kipling (see *CA1*), Edwin Arnold (*CA1*), Mitford (*D4*), Chamberlain

(D5), Percival Lowell (D6), Hearn (D9), Fenollosa (D10), Brinkley (D14), John La Farge, Pierre Loti, and Edward Morse.

7. Yokoyama, Toshio. *Japan in the Victorian Mind: A Study of Stereotyped Images of a Nation, 1850-80*. London: Macmillan, 1987.

Yokoyama's richly-detailed account supplements the earlier work by Lehmann (4) and like that study provides a careful account of conceptions and misconceptions of Japan that persisted into the twentieth century. Lehmann's focus had been the shaping and shifting of attitudes in response to Japan's rapid and unexpected modernisation, but Yokoyama is more often interested in the misrepresentation of Japan and Japanese culture in Britain in the years under study, in the popular and performing arts, public exhibitions, books, newspapers, and reviews and magazines of national circulation and influence, particularly *Edinburgh Review*, *Cornhill Magazine* and *Blackwood's Magazine*. Includes reference throughout to intermediaries and others whose work is of importance here, including Dickins (D3), Mitford (D4), Chamberlain (D5), and Aston (D13). See also 12.

8. Cortazzi, Hugh, and Gordon Daniels, eds. *Britain and Japan 1859-1991: Themes and Personalities*. London: Routledge, 1991.

A well-conceived collection about important intermediaries in the history of Anglo-Japanese relations. Several of the contributions are the fullest treatments of their subject available. Of particular relevance to this study are Richard Bowring's 'An Amused Guest in All: Basil Hall Chamberlain' (see D5), P. F. Kornicki's 'William George Aston' (see D13), Gordon Daniels' 'Sir George Sansom: Historian and Diplomat' (see D22), Carmen Blacker's 'Marie Stopes and Japan' (see D23), Phillip Harries's 'Arthur Waley: Poet and Translator' (see D26), and Louis Allen's 'William Plomer and Japan' (BJ41).

9. Berger, Klaus. *Japonisme in Western Painting from Whistler to Matisse*. Translated by David Britt. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992. Originally published as *Japonismus in der westlichen Malerei 1860-1920*. Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1980.

Berger's scrupulous scholarship, attention to detail, and careful analyses combine to make this the fullest and most rewarding study of Japonisme available. The work demonstrates that the European and American turn to Japanese models in the years following 1850 'was not a passive process of reception but the active operation of a triggering factor', which lead first to 'the imitation of individual motifs' and then to 'stylistic assimilation' and finally to 'creative transformation' in the work of many of the most important European and American painters of the time. 'The response to the Japanese vision modified the relationship between content and

form in Western art', Berger writes in an Afterword (in Britt's translation).

'Wherever the dead hand of academicism or naturalistic platitude threatened to paralyse the imagination, a Japanese inspiration intervened', and this led ultimately to 'the unfolding of new modes of formal creation'. The work is richly illustrated, and includes in the first of two appendices a detailed chronology of important events in the historical development of the subject. See also 11.

10. Littlewood, Ian. *The Idea of Japan: Western Images, Western Myths*. London: Secker & Warburg, 1996.

Littlewood's is the most ambitious and readable of several books on this subject (see also 4, 7, and 12) and as perceptive as any. Traces persistent European 'myths' about Japan through the centuries, drawing on material ranging from sixteenth-century travelogues to recent advertising campaigns for beer and automobiles and the 'ninja blockbusters' of Eric Lustbader. The thesis is partly that the images have not changed notably through the years. Behind the 'primary image of an essential, unchanging Japan' are four others that have persisted from the beginning, and which provide the thematic organisation of the work in sections called 'Aliens', 'Aesthetes', 'Butterflies', and 'Samurai'. Ultimately Littlewood's aim is didactic, for the 'Japan we must live with at the end of the twentieth century has grown too important to be left to the mercy of clichés'. Includes discussion of Kipling (see CA1), Edwin Arnold (CA1), Mitford (D4), Chamberlain (D5), Percival Lowell (D6), Hearn (D9), Pierre Loti, and Ernest Satow, and passing reference to Noyes (CA2) and Plomer.

11. Japonisme

In addition to Kodama (A69), Lancaster (2), Wichmann (5), and Berger (9) other useful accounts of Japonisme include Gabriel P. Weisberg et al., *Japonisme: Japanese Influence on French Art, 1854-1910* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1975); Frank Whitford, *Japanese Prints and Western Painters* (London: Studio Vista, 1977); Chisaburô Yamada, ed., *Japonisme in Art* (Tokyo: Committee for the Year 2001, 1980); Phillip Dennis Cate, ed., *Perspectives on Japonisme: The Japanese Influence on America* (New Brunswick, N.J.: International Center for Japonisme, Rutgers University, 1989); Tomoko Sato and Toshio Watanabe, eds., *Japan and Britain: An Aesthetic Dialogue, 1859-1930* (London: Humphries, 1991); Toshio Watanabe, *High Victorian Japonisme* (Bern: Lang, 1991); and Linda Gertner Zatlín, *Beardsley, Japonisme, and the Perversion of the Victorian Ideal* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997). See also Gabriel P. and Yvonne M. L. Weisberg, *Japonisme: An Annotated Bibliography* (New York: Garland, 1990).

12. Popular images of Japan in Britain and the United States

The fullest and most satisfying accounts of the emergence and effects of popular Western images of Japan before the Second World War are Lehmann (4), Yokoyama (7), and Littlewood (10). The most useful of other studies that turn to the subject or extend it to include the years after the war (as does Littlewood) are Akira Iriye, 'Japan as a Competitor, 1895-1917', in *Mutual Images: Essays in American-Japanese Relations* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1975); Sheila K. Johnson, *The Japanese Through American Eyes* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1988); and Charles Wordell, *Japan's Image in America: Popular Writing About Japan, 1800-1941* (Tokyo: Yamaguchi, 1998). John Dower's *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (New York: Pantheon, 1986) and *Japan in War and Peace* (New York: New Press, 1993) include analysis of the nature and effects of the imagery of racism in American representations of Japan. A recent collection of essays edited by Phil Hammond, *Cultural Difference, Media Memories: Anglo-American Images of Japan* (London: Cassell, 1997), is over-reliant on secondary sources and includes numerous errors of fact, and so must be used with caution.

D. Sources of Influence and Transmission

1. French histories and Japan. 1729-1834.

Pound has been demonstrated to have relied on three early French works for material about Japanese history that finds its way into *The Cantos*.

a. Kaempfer, Engelbert. *Histoire naturelle, civile, et ecclesiastique de l'empire du Japon*. 2 vols. The Hague: Grosse & Neaulme, 1729. According to Nolde (BK166), Pound's notebooks reveal that while he was composing the 'Chinese History Cantos' (BK52) he consulted a French translation of Kaempfer's *History of Japan*, which would be this work. Though Nolde goes on to demonstrate that the major sources for Japanese material in these Cantos are de Mailla and Klaproth's edition of Titsingh (see below), and no study has been made of the degree to which Pound relies on Kaempfer, the work includes material that might be linked to treatments in the Chinese History Cantos and others. The *Histoire* was translated from J. G. Scheuchzer's 1727 *History of Japan*, itself a translation from Kaempfer's manuscript in German, first published two years after Scheuchzer's English version. A 1758 edition of *Histoire* identifies the French translator as Pierre Desmaizeaux.

b. Mailla, Joseph Anne Marie Moyriac de, trans. *Histoire générale de la Chine, ou annales de cet empire*. 13 vols. Paris: Pierres, 1777-85. This translation of a Manchu version of the *T'ung-chien kang-mu* (Outline and digest of the comprehensive mirror), a history of China compiled by Confucian scholars in the twelfth century, is the primary source for Pound's Chinese History Cantos, including their references to Mongol expeditions to Japan of 1274 and 1281, Japanese pirate attacks against the Ming empire in the sixteenth century, the Japanese invasion of Korea in 1592, the establishment of the Tokugawa Shogunate, and the subsequent persecution of Christians in Japan. See Nolde (BK166) for careful analysis of Pound's use of the work.

c. Titsingh, Izaak, trans. *Nippon o dai itsi ran [Nippon odai ichiran], ou, annales des empereurs du Japon*. Edited by Julius Heinrich Klaproth. Paris: n.p., 1834. Pound wrote to Kitasono in 1939 (BK82b4) that he had a copy of this work, but that 'as far as [he had] time to read' it seemed a 'mere chronicle'. Several critics have noted, however, that he relied on it for a long passage about the Japanese emperors in Canto LVIII (BK52c), and Kimpel and Eaves (BK162) demonstrate as well that it is a source for Canto LVI (BK52a).

2. Perry, Matthew Calbraith. *Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to*

the China Seas and Japan. Edited by Francis Hawks. 3 vols. Washington: United States Senate, 1856.

Perry's original notes and journals kept during the journey to 'open' Japan are an acknowledged source for Lowell's GUNS AS KEYS (*BI7*).

3. Dickins, F. V. Translations 1866-1906.

Dickins's *Hyak nin is'shiu, or, Stanzas by a Century of Poets, Being Japanese Lyrical Odes* (London: Smith, Elder, 1866) is the earliest complete English version of the *Hyakunin isshu*, and so must be considered a possible source for much of the work noted here that is related to that collection (though see also *20*), including that by Aldington (*BB15f*), Binyon (*BC20i*), Crapsey (see *CA4*), and Lowell (*BI4e*, *5*, *8v*). Dickins's later *Primitive and Mediaeval Japanese Texts* (2 vols., Oxford: Clarendon, 1906) was widely read and includes selections from the *Manyôshû*, *Kokinshû*, *Hyakunin isshu*, and the *nô*—including a second English-language version of TAKASAGO (see also *BK88d* and *D11*)—and is among the works on the *nô* Pound cites in introducing his own (*BK13a*, though see *BK59b*). Dickins's *Chûshingura, or the Loyal League, a Japanese Romance* (Yokohama: Japan Gazette, 1875; New York: Putnam, 1876) seems not to have been as widely known as his other translations, but along with Mitford's later version (see *4*) must be considered a possible source for Masefield's English adaptation of the tale (*CA5*). Blunden (*BD47*) mentions Dickins's translations in passing, and their importance in helping shape the Anglo-American literary understanding of Japan is discussed by Hall (*A16*), Schwartz (*A18*), and Teele (*A24*). See also *CC7*.

4. Mitford, Algernon Bertram. Works 1871-92.

Only Hearn's accounts of Japanese folklore and social customs (see *9a*) have been more widely read than those in Mitford's classic collection, *Tales of Old Japan* (2 vols., London: Macmillan, 1871), which has remained in print since it was published. OCLC lists thirteen editions between 1871 and 1920, several others both before and after the Second World War, and the Tuttle paperback remains a staple in the Japan sections of bookstores around the world. The work includes the first published account in English of a *nô* performance, and probably Mitford and his companion, the Duke of Edinburgh, were the first from Europe to have been honoured with an invitation, in 1868, even if it was arranged 'with difficulty' and Mitford, like Aston a few years later, was not impressed with what he saw. The eyewitness account of a *seppuku* (ritual suicide) is likewise the first in English, and appears, unacknowledged, in full detail if not full emotive power, in Lowell's GUNS AS KEYS (see *BI7a11*). A 1908 edition of *Tales* was in Yeats's library (see *BL228*), and the work is acknowledged both by Binyon (*BC14*) and Blunden

(BD149). Hall (A16), Storry (A53), Wilson and Allen (A64), and Ashmead (CC6) discuss its importance in shaping Anglo-American attitudes toward Japan in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Mitford's later retelling of the *Chūshingura, The Tale of Forty Seven Ronins* (Tokyo: Jiujiya, 1892) improves upon Dickins (see 3) and is the more likely source for Masefield's version (CA5). Hugh Cortazzi's *Mitford's Japan: The Memoirs and Recollections, 1866-1906* (London: Athlone, 1985) offers biographical notes and collects most of Mitford's related writing. See also CC7, 10, D12b.

5. Chamberlain, Basil Hall. Works 1880-1911.

a. Translations. Chamberlain's *The Classical Poetry of the Japanese* (London: Trübner, 1880) was the first knowledgeable study of Japanese poetry in a Western language, and together with *Bashō and the Japanese Poetical Epigram (Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan. 1st ser., 1902)* made Chamberlain the most widely-respected European translator of Japanese literature before Waley. The combined and enlarged edition of the works, the 1910 *Japanese Poetry* (London: Murray), kept the translations in print, and through the First World War they were the versions to which any serious Western student turned. Both *Classical Poetry* and *Japanese Poetry* include description of and translation from the *nō*—called here the 'lyric drama'—and *Bashō* includes the first European account of *renga* (linked verse). Harmer (A51) offers compelling evidence that Chamberlain was among Pound's chief sources of information about the 'hokku', and suggests that Chamberlain's work had been recommended to Pound by Fletcher; and although Pound does not list Chamberlain among the earlier translators of the *nō* to whom he turned for guidance in preparing his own versions of the plays (see BK13a), he would have been aware of Chamberlain's work, since it is cited by Stopes (see D23), among the sources about the *nō* that both Pound and Yeats acknowledge. Chamberlain's equation of the 'lyric drama' of Japan with the drama of classical Greece is echoed two decades later in the more famous elaboration of the point by Fenollosa, who acknowledges Chamberlain's work (see 10b and BK13b). Chamberlain's translations are discussed in honorific terms by Binyon (BC9), Blunden (BD47, 73, 117, 138), Bynner (BE8), Fletcher (BH15, 22c), and Plomer (BJ10d), though insulted by Lowell for their conventional forms (BI19). According to Harmer, the origin of Couchoud's interest in Japanese poetry (see 19) was Chamberlain's *Bashō*; the effect of Chamberlain's translations on twentieth-century Anglo-American poetry is discussed by Harmer, Hall (A16), Seaver (A17), and Schwartz (A18). Among Chamberlain's several other translations from the Japanese is the first English version of the *Kojiki* (Tokyo: Meiklejohn, 1882), and

Women and Wisdom of Japan (selections from *Onna daigaku*), by Kaibara Ekiken (Wisdom of the East Series, London: Murray, 1905). See also A12, 16-18, 24, 30, 51, 53, BH15, CC4, 6, 7, 8, and 10.

b. Other works. While it is primarily Chamberlain's translations that secured his reputation, his many other works about Japan have been widely read, and their importance in shaping the early twentieth-century Anglo-American image of the country was profound. The most important titles are the alphabetical compendium of folklore and culture, *Things Japanese*, first published in 1890 (London: Paul, Trench, Trübner), and the *Handbook for Travellers in Japan*, written with W. B. Mason (London: Murray, 1890), both of which went through many editions over five decades, the former of which remains both in print and useful. *Things Japanese* is discussed and quoted by Plomer (BJ3a, 4b), and the *Handbook* would surely be the guide to which Bynner refers (BE20b) in discussing his travels in Japan with Ficke. Selections from Chamberlain's many publications in *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* are reprinted in *Early Japanology* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1998), vols. 3 and 4.

c. Related materials. The fullest treatment in English of Chamberlain's relationship with Japan is Richard Bowring, 'An Amused Guest in All: Basil Hall Chamberlain', in Cortazzi and Daniels (CC8), though Hirakawa Sukehiro, *Yabureta yûjô: Hearn to Chamberlain no Nippon rikai* (A friendship torn apart: Hearn and Chamberlain's understanding of Japan [Tokyo: Shinchôsha, 1987]) is more detailed. See also two volumes of Chamberlain's letters to Hearn, edited by Hearn's son Kazuo Koizumi, *Letters from Basil Hall Chamberlain to Lafcadio Hearn and More Letters from Basil Hall Chamberlain to Lafcadio Hearn* (Tokyo: Hokuseido, 1936). Hearn's letters to Chamberlain are collected in *The Japanese Letters of Lafcadio Hearn* (see 9c).

6. Lowell, Percival. Works 1888-94.

Lowell's years in Japan lead in unexpected ways to repercussions in Anglo-American poetry. His *Soul of the Far East* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1888) so stirred Hearn's imagination that he set off to experience the mysteries for himself (see Stevenson, p. 313, and Bisland, p. 460, both noted at D9c), and so the great flowering of *japonaiserie* that may be traced to Hearn may itself be traced to a seed planted by Lowell. More direct reverberations from Lowell's writing from Japan enter twentieth-century English poetry through their effects on Lowell's younger sister, Amy. Her friend Florence Ayscough recalls that from the time of Percival's visit to the United States from Japan in 1883, 'Japanese prints and wood carvings [were] an integral part of Amy Lowell's entourage, and books on Japan [were]

always . . . upon her table' (BI28). Lowell herself traces her fascination with Japan to Percival's letters, books, and gifts from the country (BI15a, 20b, and see also 21a, 28, and 32), and the effects of this are apparent in her poetry—and in that of those who imitated her *japonaiserie*—from her first volume in 1912 (BI1) to her posthumously-published works of 1925 and 1927 (BI12 and 13). *The Soul of the Far East* may seem patronising from the perspective of the late-twentieth century, but together with *Notô, an Unexplored Corner of Japan* (Houghton Mifflin, 1891) and *Occult Japan* (Houghton Mifflin, 1894), the latter of which provided Yeats with his understanding of the relationship between Shintô and demonic possession (see BL15c), Lowell's writing from Japan shaped a significant part of the Anglo-American discourse about the country in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. See also Abbot Lawrence Lowell, *Biography of Percival Lowell* (New York: Macmillan, 1935), Miyazaki Masaaki, *Shirarezaru Japanologist: Lowell no shôgai* (A study of the Japanologist Lowell. Tokyo: Maruzen, 1995), and A18, 56, BI1a, 7a10, 27, 29, 32, 39, CC2, 4, 6, and 10.

7. Goncourt, Edmond de. Works 1891-96.

Goncourt's studies of Japanese artists were particularly influential in shaping European understanding of the Japanese visual arts in the last decade of the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth. Both *Outamaro* (Paris: Bibliotheque-Charpentier, 1891) and *Hokousai* (Paris: Flammarion, 1896) are unacknowledged sources for Lowell's *japonaiserie*, particularly in *Pictures of the Floating World* (BI8, especially aa), LACQUER PRINTS (BI4, see especially f) and GUNS AS KEYS (BI7, especially a8). See Schwartz (A18, BI28, and CCI) for analysis of Goncourt's role in the fashioning of the European imagination about the Orient.

8. Ōwada Tateki. Works 1892-1908.

Ōwada's *Yōkyoku tsūkai* (Complete annotated edition of the nō plays, 8 vols., 1892; rev. ed., Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1896), the most important Japanese collection of the nō at the turn of the century, is the primary text from which Hirata and Fenollosa worked in preparing the translations that eventually found their way to Pound (see, especially, BK24). According to Miyake (BK191) the Fenollosa papers at Yale (CB1b) demonstrate that Hirata and Fenollosa also worked from Ōwada's *Utai to nō* (Nō chanting and plays, 1900) along with other earlier works on the nō, including *Gunsho ruiju* (Books collected and classified, 1779-1839) and *Shiseki shuran* (Collections of historical documents, 1881-85). Some critics have speculated that Ōwada's later multi-volume editions of the nō used by Waley (see 26b), *Nō no shiori* (1903) and *Yōkyoku hyōshaku* (1907-08), were also sources for Fenollosa, but the papers that ended up with Pound were prepared before 1901. Ōwada, in

Hirata and Fenollosa's translation, is quoted at length in Pound's 'Classical Stage of Japan' (BK17).

9. Hearn, Lafcadio. Works 1894-1915.

Hearn's writing from Japan more than any other to this day has shaped Western perception of the country, taking on such a life in the early years of the century that it returned to Japan by way of the looking glass of the West and became determinative in shaping even Japanese perceptions of Japan. This said, Hearn's influence in Anglo-American poetry has come more from the general aura of the exotic than from specific textual or intertextual forces. Surely hundreds of English-language poems of 'old Japan' have found their beginning in Hearn's tales of the country's quaint ways, but surprisingly little of his writing finds its way into the work of the poets under study here. Miner (A25) is convincing about Hearn's Impressionism and points to manifestations of similar technique in the *japonaiserie* of early-century Anglo-American verse, but these are more often traceable to ukiyoe than to Hearn. Likewise, Hearn along with Noguchi (see especially D15e6) may be credited with bringing free verse to the English translation of Japanese poetry, but it took Pound and Waley to confirm the transformation and to carry its lessons to the mainstream of English-language verse, and no evidence exists that either looked to Hearn for guidance. Pound for all his interest in Japan does not mention Hearn in print. Finally, Hearn's Buddhism, compelling in its own regard, is ignored by the poets here who turn to Japanese religion for direction. They look instead to Okakura (see 16), Fenollosa (see 10c), and Waley (see 26) until the thirties, and to Suzuki (28) and his student R. H. Blyth afterwards. Not until Rexroth's 1977 introduction to *The Buddhist Writings of Lafcadio Hearn* (Santa Barbara: Ross-Erikson) is the subject so much as mentioned by a prominent English-language poet. Still, few European or American writers who turned to Japan in the first half of the century discussed the country in print without reference to Hearn, and this is as true of the poets studied here as any. Aiken (see the BA headnote, p. 65), Aldington (see the BB headnote, p. 73), Bynner (BE14), Fletcher (BH22c), and Plomer (BJ10a) explicitly trace their early interest in Japan to Hearn. Aiken derives a verse passage from his work (BA9a), and Bynner authors a poem (BE3a) and a more moving letter (BE20b) about a 1917 'pilgrimage' to the Hearn home in Matsue (and see also BE8 and 20b). Aldington turns to Hearn in letters to a Japanese friend, Megata (15b, i), who later writes that he believes Aldington's image of Japan throughout his life remained that fixed by Hearn early in the century (BB21). Fletcher discusses in general terms personal and general debts to Hearn (BH1, 15), Lowell once acknowledges and once

does not her reliance on Hearn's work (*BI19* and *4k*), and Yeats finds in Hearn's writing from Japan 'empirical evidence' for the 're-birth of the soul' (*BL35b*). Finally, Blunden and Plomer, like many later foreign writers in Tokyo, struggle with mixed feelings, admiring Hearn's love of the Japanese and sometimes his prose, but finding it difficult to maintain identity among Japanese friends as the 'first Edmund Blunden' and the 'first William Plomer' rather than the 'second Lafcadio Hearn'. For Blunden's response to Hearn see *BD8*, *20*, *27*, *32*, *36*, *42a*, *71c*, *78*, *89*, *123*, *133*, *149*, *152*, and *156*; for Plomer's see *BJ3a*, *3i*, and *27a2*; and for related material see also *A4*, *9*, *16-18*, *20*, *30*, *31*, *46*, *48*, *49a-b*, *53*, *55*, *56*, *60*, *64*, *65*, *68*, *73*, *BL242*, *CC2*, *3*, *4*, *6*, and *10*.

a. Tales, appreciations, and studies. Hearn's reputation rests largely on eleven books about Japan published between 1894 and 1904, the year of his death in Tokyo. The range of the work is wider than generally is supposed, but its significance here is collective. The books in order of publication are *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan* (2 vols., Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1894), *Out of the East* (Houghton Mifflin, 1895), *Kokoro* (Houghton Mifflin, 1896), *Gleanings in Buddha Fields* (Houghton Mifflin, 1897), *Exotics and Retrospectives* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1898), *In Ghostly Japan* (Little, Brown, 1899), *Shadowings* (Little, Brown, 1900), *A Japanese Miscellany* (Little, Brown, 1901), *Kotto* (New York: Macmillan, 1902), *Kwaidan* (Houghton Mifflin, 1904), and the posthumous *Japan, An Attempt at Interpretation* (Macmillan, 1904). The last of these was written in preparation for a series of lectures to be presented at Columbia University, though Hearn's sudden death cut short plans for the much-anticipated and much longed-for reunion with the United States.

b. Translations. Contrary to general belief, Hearn's work published during his lifetime did not include a collection of translations from Japanese poetry, and so when writers discuss his verse translations they refer either to discrete poems scattered through the pages of the works noted above or to the posthumous *Japanese Lyrics* (Houghton Mifflin, 1915), which collects these. A publisher's note in that collection suggests that inclusion of the work in Houghton Mifflin's New Poetry Series is 'peculiarly appropriate', since the Japanese poets, in their 'utmost vividness and . . . sternest economy of words', are 'strangely akin to the Imagists'. What neither the note nor any critic records is that Hearn's versions, most of them done before the turn of the century, are the first in English to render the Japanese in free verse, a practice followed by Hartmann (see *12* and *12e*) and Noguchi (see *15* and *15e*) and confirmed by Pound (see especially *BK15*) and Waley (see *26* and *26a*). Henderson's 1915 review of *Japanese Lyrics* (*A4*) suggests that English-

language poets have much to learn from the Japanese, but Weaver, writing in 1920 (A9), disagrees, finding that Hearn's translations 'degenerated . . . into a prose caricature of *vers libre*', missing the point that the work precedes by years the most inflammatory of the Anglo-American debate about *vers libre*, and is therefore a precursor and not a caricature.

c. Related materials. Biographies and critical studies of Hearn make up their own sub-genre. Elizabeth Bisland portrays Hearn as a 'man of genius' in *The Life and Letters of Lafcadio Hearn* (2 vols., Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1906). George Gould, at one time a friend of Hearn, attempts to dismantle his reputation in *Concerning Lafcadio Hearn* (London: Unwin, 1908), arguing that Hearn was 'deprived by nature, by the necessities of his life, or by conscious intention, of religion, morality, scholarship, magnanimity, loyalty, character, benevolence, and other constituents of personal greatness'. Noguchi's *Lafcadio Hearn in Japan* (London: Mathews, 1910) is an 'appreciation' and 'defence' and essentially a response to Gould (see also Noguchi's 'Lafcadio Hearn: A Dreamer' [*Current Literature* 38 (1905)], and 'At the Funeral of Lafcadio Hearn' [*Atheneum*, 29 April 1911]). The most balanced study remains Elizabeth Stevenson's *Lafcadio Hearn* (New York: Macmillan, 1961), though this work may be usefully supplemented by Beongcheon Yu's *An Ape of the Gods: The Art and Thought of Lafcadio Hearn* (Detroit: Wayne State UP, 1964), Sukehiro Hirakawa's lucid defence of Hearn in 'Who Was the Great Japan Interpreter, Chamberlain [D5] or Hearn?' (in Cate's *Perspectives on Japonisme: The Japanese Influence on America* [see CC11]), Jonathan Cott's *Wandering Ghost: The Odyssey of Lafcadio Hearn* (New York: Knopf, 1991), and Carl Dawson's *Lafcadio Hearn and the Vision of Japan* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1992), the latter of which largely succeeds in its stated aim of demonstrating that Hearn 'created Japan for audiences in Europe and America'. The fullest Hearn bibliography remains P. D. and Ione Perkins, *Lafcadio Hearn: A Bibliography of His Writings* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1934; reprint, 1968). See also *The Japanese Letters of Lafcadio Hearn* (Houghton Mifflin, 1910) and *Letters* (2 vols., New York: AMS, 1975).

10. Fenollosa, Ernest. Works 1896-1911.

Fenollosa's importance to this study cannot be overstated. His manuscripts (see CBI) provide the material not only for Pound's interest in and work with the *nô* (see especially BK24), but also Yeats's (see especially BL11), along with *Cathay* (BK15), the ideogramic method (see especially BK32), and other material incorporated into *The Cantos* (BK31, 43, 72a). The reverberations from these have altered the course of poetry in English. In addition, Fenollosa's studies of

Japanese art have shaped Western understanding of the subject from his day to our own, overshadowing in influence even the work of Binyon, who himself relies instrumentally on Fenollosa. Certainly no Western poet drawing on Japanese art for subject, theme, or accoutrement in the years under study has been unaffected by the works noted below. Fenollosa's general influence is discussed by Aiken (see the *BA* headnote, p. 65), Binyon (*BC21* and see below), Blunden (*BD152*), Ficke (*BG5*), Fletcher (*BH4*, 5, 13, 15, and see below), Lowell (*BI16*), Yeats (*BL11*, 15a), and of course Pound (*BK9*, 13, 13a, b, 17, 17a, b, 28, 40, 50, 51, 53, 54, 55, 59, 59a, c, e, g, h, 67, 68, 69, 71, 76b, c, e, 77e, 86, 87, 88a); for related discussion see also *A18*, 25, 27, 36, 46, 51, 54-56, 59, 60, 65, 70, 71, *BC41*, 43, *BE5*, *BH25g*, 29, *BI10*, *BK22*, 66, 89, 93a, d, g, 96, 102-06, 108, 110, 112, 114, 122, 126, 128, 131-33, 137, 139, 143-45, 150, 151, 153, 154, 160, 163, 165, 167, 169, 171, 173-75, 176a, 177, 178, 181, 187, 188, 191-93, 195, 201, 207, 209, *BL85*, 89, 92, 93, 95, 109, 116, 140, 161, 180, 180a3, 185, 191, 193, 205b, 214, 219, 234, 244, 256, *CA9*, *CC2-3*, 6, and *D8*.

a. *The Masters of Ukiyoye*. New York: Knickerbocker, 1896. Fenollosa's catalogue for an ukiyoe exhibition in New York traces the historical development of the 'genre school' and far surpasses any study of the subject available in the West until Binyon's *Japanese Colour Prints* (*BC17*) appeared twenty-seven years later. Hatcher (*BL42*) calls the work Fenollosa's 'masterpiece' and notes that it is 'that unlikeliest of literary genres, an exhibition catalogue that contrives to be a work of literature'. Binyon acknowledges the work in *Colour Prints* and elsewhere (*BC6* and 14). Fenollosa's later *Outline History of Ukiyo-Ye* (Tokyo: Kobayashi, 1901) is based on the catalogue.

b. 'Notes on the Japanese Lyric Drama'. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 22 (1901): 129-37. Fenollosa's only work about the *nô* published in his lifetime surpasses in sympathy, authority, and completeness anything then available about the form in a European language, and establishes the central theses presented two years later in the manuscript that would become the source for Pound's 'Fenollosa on the Noh' (*BK13b*). Fenollosa begins here by noting that the subject has been 'touched upon briefly' by Aston (see 13) and Chamberlain (see 5). Reprinted in *BK201*.

c. *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art*. 2 vols. New York: Stokes, 1911. Rev. ed., 1912. Fenollosa's survey of the Chinese and Japanese art was prepared from his notes by his widow, Mary Fenollosa, who according to Hatcher had editorial help with the manuscript from Binyon. Fenollosa follows his student Okakura (see 16) in emphasising the importance of Zen Buddhism in Japanese art, and his account

here becomes the acknowledged source of Fletcher's understanding of the subject and the first attempt to incorporate Zen principles into Anglo-American poetics (see *BH4*, *BH4a-b*).

d. Related materials. The fullest treatments in English of Fenollosa's importance are Van Wyck Brooks, *Fenollosa and His Circle* (New York: Dutton, 1962) and Lawrence Chisolm, *Fenollosa: The Far East and American Culture* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1963), but the definitive work is Yamaguchi Seiichi, *Fenollosa: Nippon bunka no senyô ni sasageta isshô* (Fenollosa: A life devoted to the advocacy of Japanese culture, 2 vols., Tokyo: Sanseido, 1982). For evidence that Hirata was more responsible for the nô translations than has been noted in English, see also Furukawa Hisashi, 'Fenollosa's Letters' (*Comparative Studies of Culture* 2 [Tokyo] [1956]: 99-110; 3 [1957]: 165-72).

1 1. Florenz, Karl. Works 1896-1906.

Fletcher twice recalls reading Japanese poetry in German translation in the early years of the century (see *BH17* and *22c*), and Lowell acknowledges an English translation by Ficke of a German translation from Japanese verse (see *BI4a*). The likelihood in both cases is that the source would have been Florenz's anthology *Geschichte der japanischen Literatur* (Leipzig: Amelang, 1906). Japan via Leipzig may not have been as compelling as Japan via Paris (see especially *CC1*, *D1*, 7, 19, 21, and 25), but the Imagists and others in the early years of the century took their Japanese verse where they could find it, and Florenz's work, which includes translations of the nô FUNA BENKEI and TAKASAGO (see 3 and *BK88d*) that are more accurate and better contextualised than contemporary translations available in English, was by far the most accomplished and well-known of the works in German. Before 1906 Florenz had published in Tokyo translations from classical Japanese literature in English, French, and German, and a detailed German-language study of Japanese mythology. His other work from Amelang includes *Dichtergrüße aus dem Osten, Japanische Dichtungen, übertragen* (1896, translations from the classical poetry) and *Japanische dramen* (2 vols., 1901), which includes selections from Chikamatsu.

1 2. Hartmann, Sadakichi. Works 1898?-1916.

Years before Pound and the Imagists incorporated Japanese models into their verse, Hartmann was defining and helping to shape a Japanese influence both in Western art and English-language poetry, but he has been strangely passed over in previous studies of the subject. Pound himself, at Pisa, counts 'our friend / Mr Hartmann, / Sadakichi' among the 'lost legion', and laments that 'the texts of his early stuff are probably lost / with the loss of fly-by-night periodicals' (*BK56e*).

Sadly, Pound was right. Rexroth without qualification (in *A49b*) names Hartmann the first to write haiku and tanka in English, beginning the ‘tradition’ that led to Noguchi (see especially *15e7*) and Hearn (see especially *9b*), and George Knox and Harry Lawton, in introduction to *White Chrysanthemums* (New York: Herder & Herder, 1971), a collection of Hartmann’s ‘literary fragments and pronouncements’, place Hartmann’s ‘writing [of] haiku and tanka [in English] as early as 1898’. The earliest such work traceable through ordinary channels, however, is from 1915 (see *e* below), some years after rather than before the similar experiments of those who called themselves Imagists (see especially *A3*). Still, related work by Hartmann is traceable, and demonstrates that Knox and Lawton understate the case when they write that he ‘may well have had some effect on literary currents after the turn of the century’. In 1902 and 1903 Hartmann published the first detailed studies of the influence of Japanese art in the West (see *a* below, and *A1*); in 1904 his study of Japanese poetics outlined the history and methods of the haiku and tanka, and linked these, eleven years before Flint (in *A3*), with *vers libre* (see *b*); and by June of 1912, sixteen months before Pound met Mary Fenollosa, Hartmann had published an account of the *nô* (see *d*) that anticipates in striking ways the language both Pound and Yeats would use in their own later discussions of the form. The question of when Pound met Hartmann, then, is of more than passing interest, but the information is perhaps lost. Rexroth states flatly that Hartmann was the source for many of Pound’s ideas (*A49b*), and by 1938 Pound’s affection for Hartmann was considerable: ‘if one hadn’t been oneself’, he writes in *Guide to Kulchur* (*BK45*), ‘it wd. have been worth while to have been Sadakichi’. The earliest record of their friendship traceable in the published record, however, points to an acquaintance already established, in late 1924, in a letter mentioned in passing by Wilhelm (*BK188*, and see *e* below). The likelihood is that Pound knew of Hartmann’s considerable reputation early in the century, and that they met in London before 1915, but if the information is ascertainable it will come from archival sources, the most promising of which would be the Pound and Hartmann papers at Riverside (*BK90d* and *CB2*). Other than Pound, of poets under study here only Rexroth mentions Hartmann in print. The Rexroth Library at Chiba (*CB5*) includes *White Chrysanthemums*, photographs of Hartmann, and manuscript notes about him in Rexroth’s hand. See also *A25* and *BK59*.

a. *A History of American Art*. 2 vols. Boston: Page, 1902. Scattered through pages 165-275 of vol. 2 are notes that taken together amount to the first extended discussion of the influence of Japanese art, design, and, especially,

'suggestiveness' on American and European artists. Includes discussion of Whistler and reference to Fenollosa's collection of Japanese prints at the Boston Museum. Knox and Lawton note that for many years the work was 'a standard textbook' for students of American art.

b. *Japanese Art*. Boston: Page, 1903. Reprinted as *The Illustrated Guidebook of Japanese Painting*. Albuquerque: American Classical College Press, 1978.

Hartmann overstates the case somewhat in claiming in the preface that this is 'the first history of Japanese Art that attempts to popularize the subject' in the West. Nonetheless, his tracing of the history of the subject from the seventh century to the modern period is more accurate than not, though the value of the work is greater as a historical document than a dependable source, and some of the errors (the preface refers to the 'glorious epoch of the Fukugawa Shogunate', for example) surely raised eyebrows even in 1903. A bibliography lists thirty-eight works about Japan in English or French, including Mitford's *Tales* (see 4), Chamberlain's *Things Japanese* (see 5b), and Hearn's *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan* (see 9a). Hartmann claimed later that the work was written in seventeen days, but it remained in print for a quarter century. Includes 'The Influence of Japanese Art on Western Civilization' (A 1).

c. 'The Japanese Conception of Poetry'. *Reader Magazine* 3 (1904): 185-91. As usual Hartmann is both well ahead of his time and slightly wrong in this work, but in interesting and probably influential ways. He compares Japanese poetry to English and other European verse, and finds that the Japanese forms are 'really nothing but a primitive application of the *vers libre*'. Discusses haikai and tanka, and refers as well to other forms, including the *nagauta* (long poem) of the *Manyōshū*.

d. 'Japanese Drama'. *Forum* 47 (June 1912): 724-34. Of critics who have discussed the question of influence as it relates to this study, only Rexroth, in general terms, posits Hartmann as a direct influence on Pound (see above). No critic has suggested Hartmann as a source for Pound's work with the *nō*, never mind Yeats's, but this work, published before Pound met Mary Fenollosa, raises compelling questions. Either by accident or intent Hartmann's language here is echoed both in Pound's 'Classical Drama of Japan' (BK13) and Yeats's introduction to *Certain Noble Plays of Japan* (BL11). To take but one example, compare those works with Hartmann's description of the 'semi-ritual plays' that 'appealed solely to the aristocracy'—the 'Court of the Shoguns' and the 'samurai class'—and were met by the 'general public' only with 'tolerance', because 'the ordinary mind failed to comprehend their complicated symbolism'. Hartmann's study is not without errors

of understanding (nô musicians do not ‘improvise’), but in 1912, a year before Stopes’s *Plays of Old Japan* (see D23), only Fenollosa (10b), Brinkley (14), and Sheiko Tsubouchi (see 17a3) had written more knowledgeably in English of the form. The work describes the nô ‘orchestra’, the use of masks, the ‘association’ of poetry, music, dance, and ‘pantomime’, the ‘lyricism of the highest order’ that ‘would stand comparison with the best efforts of the Provençal poets’, and the kyôgen. Includes discussion of the mûgen nô, other Japanese dramatic forms, and the importance of Chikamatsu.

e. *Tanka and Haikai: 14 Japanese Rhythms*. New York: Bruno, 1915. Enlarged ed., *Japanese Rhythms: Tanka, Haikai, and Dodoitsu Form, Translated, Adapted, or Imitated by Sadakichi Hartmann*. N.p.: n.p., 1926. The first of what was by 1950 dozens and by 2000 thousands of monographs devoted to English-language haiku or tanka. If Rexroth and Knox and Lawton are correct, at least some of these poems were written before the turn of the century, but if earlier versions exist they are in archives or the lost ‘fly-by-night periodicals’ mentioned by Pound (see above). The 1926 edition, limited to 100 copies, consists of mimeographed sheets of Hartmann’s rhymed versions of 11 tanka, 12 ‘haikai’, and 3 ‘dodoitsu’, with brief notes about each form. The copy at the Lilly Library at Indiana University is signed by Hartmann and inscribed in his hand, ‘To Ezra Pound. Greetings!’ Among the ‘haikai’ included is ‘Butterflies a-wing / Are you flowers returning / To your branch in spring?’ (see BK12).

f. Related materials. Insofar as Hartmann is remembered at all it is primarily for his art criticism, the focus of Jane Calhoun Weaver’s *Sadakichi Hartmann: Critical Modernist* (Berkeley: University of California, 1991) and the exhibition catalogue *The Life and Times of Sadakichi Hartmann* (Riverside: Library of the University of California at Riverside, 1970). The only works that focus on his relationship to modern poetry are Knox and Lawton’s introduction to *White Chrysanthemums* and Marshall Van Deusen’s ‘Sadakichi Hartmann’, in *American Poets, 1880-1945*, 3rd ser., pt. 2, *Dictionary of Literary Biography* 54 (Detroit: Gale, 1987). Knox and Lawton were at work on a book-length biography in the mid 1970s, but it has not appeared.

13. Aston, W. G. Works 1899-1905.

Aston’s *History of Japanese Literature* (London: Heinemann, 1899), the first and for seventy years the only history of Japanese literature in English, would have been known to all poets under study here. It was in Lowell’s library (see BI35) and heavily annotated in Rexroth’s (see CB5), and may be shown to have been consulted by Binyon (see BC14), Blunden (see BD47, 145, and 156), and Pound (see BK77d).

The work is a possible source for Pound's knowledge of Moritake's 'The fallen blossom' (see especially *BK12*), and is among the earliest English-language accounts of haiku and the *nô*, though Aston's treatment of the former is patronising and of the latter uncomprehending. The *nô*, he suggests, is 'deficient in lucidity, method, coherence, and good taste'. In spite of this judgement, the *History* includes the first English translation of TAKASAGO (see *BK88d*). According to O'Shea (*BL228*), Aston's *Shintô: The Way of the Gods* (London: Longmans, Green, 1905) was in Yeats's library in the twenties, though Yeats's passing interest in Shintô (see *BL15c*) is more directly traceable to Percival Lowell (see 6). *The Collected Works of William George Aston* have recently been reissued in six volumes by Oxford UP in Tokyo (1997), and Aston's publications in *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* are reprinted in *Early Japanology* (see 5*b*), vol. 1. See also P. F. Kornicki, 'William George Aston', in Cortazzi and Daniels (*CC8*), and *A17*, 24, *CC4*, 7.

14. Brinkley, Frank. *Japan: Its History, Arts, and Literature*. 8 vols. Boston: Millet, 1901-02.

The first detailed English-language survey of Japanese history and culture was in the first quarter of the century the definitive source in a European language. Volume 3 is of particular interest here, for its account of the *nô* and *kyôgen*, which in language taken over both by Pound and Yeats emphasises the 'solemn and stately' nature of the former, and provides a translation for the word '*nô*' not included in Fenollosa but nonetheless made famous by Pound in his versions of Fenollosa's work: 'accomplishment' (see *BK24*). Pound acknowledges Brinkley's work with the *nô* in 'The Classical Drama of Japan' (*BK13a*) and Brinkley's account of 'listening to incense' in two other works (*BK17b* and *77g*, and see also *45a* and *119*). Longenbach (*BK183*) believes that Brinkley's account of the *nô* 'helped to shape Pound's translation[s]'. Pound read the work while he was with Yeats at Stone Cottage, Nadel (*BK198*) suggests in December 1913. The work also is an acknowledged source of information about Japan for Binyon (see *BC2*, 14) and Blunden (*BD20*, 21). See also *A24*, 53, *CC6*.

15. Noguchi, Yone. Works 1903-21.

The names that most readily come to mind in considering the writers most responsible for an incorporation of Japanese subjects in modern Anglo-American poetry are those of two early travellers to Japan and two major poets: Hearn for the general shaping of a Western discourse that became manifest in the *japonaiserie* of dozens of minor and several prominent poets, Fenollosa both for the general significance of his studies of Japanese art and the specific importance of his *nô* manuscripts, and Pound and Yeats, for their remarkable work that grew from these.

Yet if we rely on the evidence of the poets under study themselves we must add Noguchi to the list of writers centrally important in fashioning an influence. His popularisations of Japanese literary forms, visual arts, and culture were widely read and admired. Of the 'poets central to the study' as defined here, only Empson, Ficke, and Pound do not acknowledge Hearn, but only Aiken and Empson have no direct connection with Noguchi. Eunice Tietjens, poet and translator from the Chinese, writing of Noguchi in *Poetry* in 1919, both illustrates and summarises the point: Noguchi's writing was for the West 'a first breath from the living Orient' and 'directly . . . forecast the modern movement'. Tietjens believes that Noguchi has 'grown to be the most important link between the poetry of America and the poetry of Japan'. Even though his own poems are 'subtle, delicate lyrics, full of that strange blend of old Japan and the [contemporary] West', his 'chief service to English and American poetry' is 'interpreting to us the spirit of his own land' in works such as *Japanese Poetry* (see *D15e6* below) that offer 'a door into the Japanese mind . . . through which a Western reader can take his first step towards understanding, and therefore loving, the sharply condensed, almost aching beauty of classical Japanese poetry'. Both Atsumi (*A50*) and Hakutani (*BK195*) demonstrate that Noguchi's influence in British and American poetry was greater than is commonly allowed. Seaver (*A17*), Schwartz (*A18*), Lewin (*A46*), and Rexroth (*A48*, *A49b*) discuss the influence in favourable terms; Weaver (*A9*), Fujita (*A15*), Miner (*A25*), and Meredith (*A26*) acknowledge the influence but lament it. See also Hakutani, 'Yone Noguchi's Poetry: From Whitman to Zen' (*Comparative Literature Studies* 22 [1985]: 67-79), and *A24*, *BH27*, *BK113*, *BL249*, *CA3*, and *CC2*.

a. Noguchi and Pound. The earliest connection between Pound and Noguchi dates to 1911 when Noguchi sent Pound two volumes of his poetry, one of which was *The Pilgrimage* (*D15e4* below). Pound wrote to Dorothy Shakespear that he found the work 'rather beautiful' (*BK77a*), and a correspondence between the poets ensued, though little of it remains (see *A50*, *BK82a*, *BK82a1*). Pound eventually grew sceptical of Noguchi's talent (see *BK82e1* and *88a*), but there can be no doubt that between 1911 and 1913 Noguchi was a primary source for Pound's knowledge both of Japan and Japanese poetics. Iwahara (*BK190*) argues that it was Noguchi who first stirred Pound's interest in Japan; Chiba (*BK175*) suggests plausibly that Noguchi's mutual friendship with Pound and Mary Fenollosa played a role in Fenollosa's decision to entrust Pound with her late husband's manuscripts; and Hakutani (*BK195*) traces compelling links between Noguchi's work and Imagist poetics in general and Pound's in particular (see also *D15e5* and *D15e6* below). What no critic has noted is that Noguchi must also be seen as a source for Pound's

work with the *nô*. Several studies—and Pound’s own words—demonstrate that in the winter of 1913 as he began working with Fenollosa’s *nô* manuscripts Pound felt uneasy about his lack of knowledge of the *nô*, and turned for help to any source of information he could find. He made inquiries with Stopes (see *D23*) and learned what he could from Kume (see *BK59h*, *82a4*, *82c2*, *89a*, and *174*) and Itô (see especially *BL93-94*), and it is inconceivable that he did not turn also to Noguchi. Noguchi had for years been acquainted with Mary Fenollosa, Binyon, and Yeats (each of whom along with Thomas Hardy and Arthur Symons [see *BL190*] were after 1906 members of Noguchi’s *Ayame kai*, an international poet’s club that had produced two English anthologies), and by the time Noguchi visited Pound and Yeats that winter of 1913 at Stone Cottage he had published a prose translation of HAGOROMO (e2, 1906; see also *BK13d*) and translations from the *kyôgen* (see e, 1907), and would have been preparing his series of lectures on Japanese poetics for Magdalen College, Oxford and his chapter on the *nô* that appeared in March 1914 in *The Spirit of Japanese Poetry* (see e6). See also Noguchi’s ‘Comment on AOI NO UE by Ezra Pound’ (*BK91*) and related material listed at *BK13d*, *82b13*, *160*, and *184b*.

b. Noguchi and Yeats. The only traceable letter from Yeats to Noguchi, a warm acknowledgement of the gift of *Hiroshige* (*D15e8*) and discussion of Japanese art that demonstrates friendship of some time standing, is from 1921 (see *BL52d*), but the acquaintance began in 1903 (see Noguchi’s letter to Leonie Gilmore, p. 106 in Atsumi [*D15e9*]), and by 1906 Yeats’s work was appearing in Tokyo in the anthologies of Noguchi’s *Ayame kai*. As with Pound, Noguchi must be seen as an early source for Yeats’s knowledge of the *nô* and the *kyôgen*, given both the long acquaintance and Noguchi’s visit to Stone Cottage in the winter of 1913 (see *D15a*). Noguchi visited Yeats again in New York in 1919, where they discussed the possibility of Yeats accepting a teaching appointment in Japan, an idea that Yeats took seriously (see *BL48i-j* and *56*) and that Noguchi worked enthusiastically to realise (see *BL124a1*). Noguchi’s *Japanese Hokkus* (*D15e7*) is dedicated to Yeats, and O’Shea (*BL228*) lists seven books by Noguchi in Yeats’s library: *Hiroshige*, *Japanese Hokkus*, *The Pilgrimage (D15e4) Seen and Unseen* (San Francisco: Burgess & Garnett, 1897), *The Spirit of Japanese Art, Through the Torii*, and *The Ukiyoe Primitives* (see *D15e* below). See also Noguchi’s ‘A Japanese Poet on W. B. Yeats’ (*BL61*), ‘Yeats and the *Nô*’ (*BL65*), and related material listed at *BL31*, *48o*, *124*, *124a1*, *184*, and *224*.

c. Noguchi and other ‘poets central to the study’. Aldington apparently never met Noguchi, but did correspond with him in 1921 (see *BB18*), thanking him for

the gift of a book, probably *Hiroshige* (*D15e8*). Binyon's three traceable letters to Noguchi (see *BC32*) are from early 1903 and express first an interest in the 'little book' Noguchi had sent (see *D15e1*) and then a developing friendship (see also *BC43*); Binyon was a member of Noguchi's *Ayame kai*, and cites *Hiroshige* in his 1923 *Japanese Colour Prints* (*BC17*). Blunden, often a champion of English-language poetry by Japanese writers, twice cites Noguchi as a praiseworthy example (*BD89*, *BD127*), and among Blunden's many occasional poems is one praising a Noguchi painting (*BD160p*). Bynner was not above satirising Noguchi (see *BE4*) but read his translations of Japanese poetry (see *BE8*), and in his only letter to Noguchi in the published record, written in 1921, reveals an affectionate friendship of some years standing (*BE16*) not only between Bynner himself and Noguchi, but also between Noguchi and Ficke. Fletcher frankly acknowledges debts to Noguchi in letters to Noguchi himself (*BH18*), to Miner (*BH22c*), and in a lengthy essay tracing the effects of the 'orient' on twentieth-century poetry in English (*BH15*). Lowell pointedly mentions neither Noguchi nor Waley in her 1920 inquiry to Fletcher about translations of Japanese poetry (*BI19*)—she would have by that year equated both men with the despised Pound—but *The Spirit of Japanese Poetry* (*D15e6*) was in her library (see *BI35*). And finally, unlikely as it seems, Noguchi was the young Plomer's neighbour in 1927 in a quiet Tokyo suburb, and many years later, during the war, Plomer recalls (in *BJ10c*) the 'lean and sardonic-looking' figure and his poems and monographs on Japanese artists (see *D15e* and *D15e8*).

d. Noguchi and others. Noguchi was acquainted with most of the luminaries of literary London and New York in the first quarter of the century, in some cases because he cultivated friendships with the famous and well-connected, but in others because his work and personality engendered genuine interest and respect. His association in the 1890s with the American poet Joaquin Miller and his circle is of little relevance to this study, but in 1903 the success of Noguchi's first book published in London, *From the Eastern Sea* (*D15e1*), provided entry into the literary establishment. He published the work in January, sent copies to journals, poets, artists, and their patrons, and within the month favourable reviews had appeared around the city and Noguchi had letters of praise and appreciation from William Archer, Alfred Austin, Binyon, Austin Dobson, Richard Garrett, Thomas Hardy, Laurence Housman, Andrew Lang, George Meredith, Lewis Morris, Max Nordau, W. M. Rossetti, Leslie Stephens, Arthur Symons, the Duchess of Sutherland, the Duke of Argyll, and the Princess of Wales, among others (many of these are collected in *D15e9*). Favourable response to Noguchi's work continued in

Britain and America through the twenties, and no account of an influence from Japan in the English poetry of the day may responsibly ignore his contributions. In addition to the figures noted above (*D15a-c*) Noguchi counted among his friends Koizumi Setsuko and Kazuo (Hearn's wife and son, see the works noted at *D9c*), Mary Fenollosa (see *D15a* and *BK175*), Bottomley (see *CA3* and *D15e9*), Craig (see *D17*), Harriet Monroe, and Sherard Vines (see *D15e9*), who was Noguchi's colleague at Keio University in Tokyo. Noguchi published in the most influential British and American journals of his day, and from 1917 to 1936 included in all editions of Monroe's anthology *The New Poetry* (see *A6*), and his portrait was among those on display in the 'poets gallery' at the Chicago offices of *Poetry*. In addition to his direct influence on poets noted above, Noguchi's work has been shown to have been a direct source for Crapsey (see *CA4*), and was at least consulted by Waley in preparation for his translations from the *nô* (see *D26b*).

e. Works. Listed here are only those works of most direct relevance to this study. Noguchi, like Hearn, wrote much that had a cumulative and general effect on British and American understanding of Japanese subjects. Other than the works noted below the most important in this regard are *The Story of Yone Noguchi Told by Himself* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1914), *Through the Torii* (Boston: Four Seas, 1914), *The Spirit of Japanese Art* (Wisdom of the East Series, London: Murray, 1915), 'The Everlasting Sorrow: A Japanese Noh Play' (*Egoist* 4 [1917]: 141-42), 'The Japanese Noh Play' (*Egoist* 5 [1918]: 99), *Selected Poems* (London: Mathews, 1921), and a series of studies from Mathews about Japanese artists, following on the success of *Hiroshige* (*e8*): *Kôrin* (1922), *Utamaro* (1923), *Hokusai* (1924), and *Harunobu* (1927). Several of these works are reprinted or excerpted in Hakutani (*D15e10*), and that work includes as well full bibliographic details of Noguchi's other monographs in English. See also *A10*, *BK91*, *BL61*, *BL65*, and *D9c*.

1. *From the Eastern Sea*. London: Unicorn, 1903. The work that established Noguchi's reputation in London. He published the first edition of 180 copies himself, on his fifty-third day in the city, 12 January 1903, and posted 50 to literary journals and the London elite. The results must have startled even Noguchi (see *D15d* above). The enlarged Unicorn edition, 'Dedicated to the Spirits of Fuji Mountain', was hastily arranged and sold briskly. The free verse has no apparent connection to Japanese poetics, but a number of the poems address Japanese subjects, including O CHO SAN, ADDRESS TO A SOYOKAZE, THE MYOTO, HOMEKOTOBA, O HANA SAN, EVENING, O HARU, TSUNE, and LINES FROM BASHŌ. Excerpted in *D15e10*.

2. HAGOROMO. In *The Summer Cloud*. Tokyo: Shunyodo, 1906. A brief prose version of the nô play that was among the first Pound translated from Fenollosa's notes. See *BK13d*. Reprinted in *D15e10*.

3. *Ten Kiogen in English*. Tokyo: Tôzaisha, 1907. Noguchi's translation from the kyôgen includes the Japanese on facing pages and was an apparent source for Waley, though his bibliography in *Nô Plays of Japan* (26b) lists Noguchi's work as *Twelve Kyôgen*, 1911, a title that does not appear in bibliographic databases or any other published reference.

4. *The Pilgrimage*. 2 vols. London: Mathews, 1908. The work that Pound found 'rather beautiful' in 1911 (see *D15a* above) and that Fletcher frankly acknowledged as an influence (see *D15c*) includes a six-page section of 'Hokku', a form Noguchi describes in a note as 'a tiny star . . . carrying the whole sky on its back'. Beyond this section Noguchi's free verse does not rely ~~on~~ consciously on Japanese forms, though many of the poems take their subjects from Japan, including BY THE ENGAJUJI TEMPLE: MOON NIGHT, THE VIOLET, BY THE DAIBUTSU AT KAMAKURA, AT THE YUIGAHAMA SHORE BY KAMAKURA, THE TEMPLE BELL, THE LADY OF UTAMARO'S ART, IN THE INLAND SEA, O YOSHI SAN, KYOTO, THE NIGHT KOTO PLAYER, 'SHINNEN OMEDETO', LET US MARCH TOWARDS MANCHURIA, THE LOTUS WORSHIPPERS, THE EASTERN SEA, THE SONG OF SONGS, WHICH IS THE MIKADO'S, TO A TEMPLE GARDEN, O AKI SAN, O YEN SAN, OUT OF A KINGDOM'S FIRE, THE JAPANESE NIGHT, THE HEIKE SINGER, IN JAPAN BEYOND, TO O SUZU CHAN THE PUSS, JAPAN IN JULY, THE JAPANESE GIRL, and HAUTA. Several of these and a selection of the 'hokku' are reprinted in *D15e10*.

5. 'What is a Hokku Poem?' *Rhythm* 11 (January 1913): 354-59. In his definition of the hokku Noguchi suggests that where English poetry relies on 'suggestiveness' the hokku turns to images that are 'distinctly clear-cut'. Hakutani (*BK195*) argues convincingly that the work would have been a source for Pound's understanding of the 'hokku' in his famous 'Vorticism' essay of 1914 (*BK12*). See also *D15e6*, and for notes about other articles Noguchi contributed to *Rhythm* (published in London by John Murray [see *D18*]), see Hakutani (*D15e10*, vol. 2., p. 99), where this work is reprinted.

6. *The Spirit of Japanese Poetry*. Wisdom of the East Series. London: Murray, 1914. Like 'What is a Hokku Poem' (*D15e5*) this work precedes Pound's 'Vorticism' essay (*BK12*), by six months in this case, and must be seen as a probable source for it (see *D15a*), though Hakutani's suggestion (in *BK195*) that the work was a source for Pound's knowledge of Moritake's 'Fallen blossom' probably is not correct. Pound's IN A STATION OF THE METRO (*BK3*), which he claimed was

derived from an understanding brought about by the Moritake poem, first appeared in *Poetry* in April 1913, eleven months before Noguchi's book. Includes 'Japanese Poetry', 'The Japanese Hokku Poetry', 'Nô: The Japanese Play of Silence', 'The Earliest Japanese Poetry', 'The Poets of Present Japan', and 'Some Specimens'. Fletcher from the perspective of 1945 (in *BH15*) writes that of the 'many attempts . . . to justify . . . Japanese poetry' this work is 'the best'. It was in the libraries of both Lowell (see *BI35*) and Yeats (see *BL228*). See also Henderson's review in *Poetry* (*A4*). Selections are reprinted in *D15e10*.

7. *Japanese Hokkus*. Boston: Four Seas, 1920. Noguchi's is the second of what by 1998 are thousands of monographs devoted to English-language haiku (see *D12* and *D12e* for notes about the first). The work includes a lengthy descriptive preface that ascribes rather otherworldly attributes to the form and takes exception with the translations of Aston (see *D13*) and Chamberlain (*D5a*). Of eighty-four English 'hokkus' presented, most are original. These are a curious mix of images derived from classical Japanese verse and an expansive Whitmanesque 'I' that ultimately, in the deliberate intervening of an ego aware of itself, sets the poems quite apart in both tone and stance from the classical Japanese form. The occasional translation among the poems occasionally fails to distinguish between the 'hokku' and the tanka. The work is dedicated to Yeats. The preface and poems are reprinted in *D15e10*.

8. *Hiroshige*. London: Mathews, 1921. The first of several studies of Japanese artists that Noguchi published with Mathews (see *D15b* above) is noted by poets under study here more often than the others. See *BB18*, *BC17*, *BE16*, and *BL52d*.

9. *Yone Noguchi: Collected English Letters*. Edited by Ikuko Atsumi. Tokyo: Yone Noguchi Society, 1975. Collects letters in English written by and to Noguchi, including those from Aldington (*BB18*), Binyon (*BC32*), Bottomley, Bynner (*BE16*), Craig, Fletcher (*BH18*), Harriet Monroe, Pound (see *BK82a1*), and Yeats (see *BL52d*). Atsumi's introduction discusses Noguchi's influence on Pound and the Imagists and Yeats (see *A50*). Details of the discovery of many of the letters and notes about Noguchi's years in the United States may be found in Atsumi's 'The Newly Discovered Letters of Yone Noguchi During His Stay in America' (*KBS Bulletin on Japanese Culture*, April 1971, pp. 1-10).

10. *Selected English Writings of Yone Noguchi: An East-West Literary Assimilation*. Edited by Yoshinobu Hakutani. London: Associated University Presses, vol. 1, Poetry, 1990; vol. 2, Prose, 1992. Collects most of Noguchi's work pertinent to this study and includes careful bibliographic and critical notes. Reprints 'What is a Hokku Poem', HAGOROMO, and generous excerpts from *From*

the Eastern Sea, The Pilgrimage, The Spirit of Japanese Poetry, Japanese Hokkus, Hiroshige, and other Noguchi monographs related to Japanese subjects. Hakutani's introduction to volume 1 offers a biographical overview, and the introduction to volume 2 incorporates *BK195* and adds a study of Noguchi's relationship with Yeats.

16. Okakura, Kakuzô. Works 1903-06.

Okakura's *Ideals of the East, with Special Reference to the Art of Japan* (London: Murray, 1903) and *The Book of Tea* (London: Putnam, 1906) have been among the most widely-read English works about Japan, and their influence in shaping Western understanding of the internal consistencies and strengths of East Asian aesthetic traditions has been profound. Several points might be raised about reverberations from Okakura's work in later English-language writing, but perhaps the most important in the context of this study is that *Ideals* and *The Book of Tea* taken either together or separately provide the earliest lucid English-language account of Zen Buddhism and its relationship to the arts, a subject developed, largely in the terms Okakura establishes, by Binyon in *Japanese Art* (*BC6*, 1909), Okakura's teacher Fenollosa in *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art* (*10c*, 1911), Waley in *Zen Buddhism and Its Relation to Art* (see *26*, 1922), and even in the later definitions of Western understanding of Zen by Suzuki (see *D28*). Binyon's earliest publication about a Japanese subject (*BC1*, 1903) is in review of *Ideals*, which he finds of 'extraordinary interest'. He acknowledges the work as a source for *Painting in the Far East* (*BC2*), *The Book of Tea* as a source for *Flight of the Dragon* (*BC9*), and as late as 1935 begins the second of his Charles Eliot Norton lectures at Harvard (see *BC27*) with Okakura's opening assertion in *Ideals*, that 'Asia is one', and moves on in the third to a discussion of Zen that has its roots in Okakura's writing. Ficke acknowledges Okakura as a source for his *Chats on Japanese Prints* (*BG5*), Fletcher for his 'Secret of Far Eastern Painting' (*BH5*), and Stevens, who read *Ideals* in 1909, refers to the work in a letter and diary entries that identify it with ukiyoe and his own early experiments with colour imagery (see *CA7*). The importance of Okakura's writing as a source of Western understanding of Japan is discussed by Hall (*A16*), Ennis (*A22*), and Walsh (*BK176a*). *Ideals*, *The Book of Tea*, and *The Awakening of Japan* (Murray, 1904) are collected in Okakura's *Collected English Writings*, edited by Sunao Nakamura (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1985). See also Yasuko Horioka, *The Life of Kakuzô, Author of The Book of Tea* (Tokyo: Hokuseido, 1963), Satoko Fujita Tachiki, *Okakura Kakuzô and Boston Brahmins* (PhD thesis, University of Michigan, 1986; abstract in *DAI* 47/3: 1026A), and *BK177a*, *CC2*, 3, and *D10c*.

17. Craig, Edward Gordon and *The Mask*. 1905-29.

Craig's conceptions of a 'total' theatre incorporating all the arts, with emphasis on symbolist set designs, masks, verse, and dance, are often related both by Craig himself and by others ^{to} with principles derived from the classical theatre of Japan, particularly the nô. Craig outlined his theories in *On the Art of the Theatre* (London: Foulis, 1905) and later monographs, but his most important contributions in print come by way of his journal *The Mask*, which from its first year of publication in 1908 through 1926 (the last issue appeared in 1929) often turned directly to principles from Japan and the Japanese theatre. By the time the journal began Craig was the most influential theorist of the theatre in Europe, and the scriptures and dictates that appeared in its pages confirmed and extended his pre-eminence, most importantly in the context of this study as a defining force in the development of Yeats's 'anti-theatre'. After 1901 Yeats rarely writes of his own dramatic theories without invoking Craig, occasionally alongside discussion of the nô (see *BL11* and *BL58*). Craig designed sets for productions of Yeats's plays, virtually every issue of *The Mask* was in Yeats's library (see *BL228*), and Yeats published in the journal himself, in one instance in 1910, three years before Pound brought Fenollosa to Stone Cottage, in an issue illustrated with drawings of characters and situations from the nô (see *BL8*). Critics have speculated at length about Yeats's sources of information about Japan and Japanese drama before 1913, and several have pointed cautiously to Craig (see *A37*, *A45*, *BL106*, *201*, *213*, *244*, and *257*), but beyond the occasional note about the occasional article none have surveyed *The Mask* for what it has to say of Japan (see a below). The most detailed studies of Craig are Edward Carrick's *Gordon Craig: The Story of His Life* (London: Gollancz, 1968) and Innes's *Edward Gordon Craig* (*BL213*); the fullest account of the relationship between Craig's theories and the nô is Sang-Kyong Lee's 'Edward Gordon Craig und das japanische Theater' (*Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 55/2 [1981]: 216-37). See *BC16* and *BC43* for notes about Craig's relationship with Binyon, *BK17b* for Pound's equation of Craig's theories with the nô (and see also *BK88*), and *CB2* and *D15e9* for Craig's letters to Hartmann and Noguchi. See also Lorelei Guidry's introduction and index, *The Mask Edited by Edward Gordon Craig* (London: Blom, 1968); Ifan Kyrle Fletcher and Arnold Rood's *Edward Gordon Craig: A Bibliography* (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1967); and *A33*, *BL5*, *8*, *9*, *48*, *59*, *107*, *171*, *190*, *208*, *219*, *222*, and *232*.

a. Japanese subjects in *The Mask*, March 1908-January 1914. Works in later issues of the journal address Japanese subjects, including the nô, but those noted

here precede, in most cases by years and at the least by several months, the earliest publication of material from Fenollosa's *nô* manuscripts, and must all therefore be considered a part of the complex of knowledge about Japan and Japanese drama from which both Pound and Yeats worked. In addition to the texts noted several issues of the journal are illustrated with works of art representing the drama and dance of classical Japan.

1. Vol. 1 (1908). P. 21: a brief essay about the 'subordinat[ion of] word to gesture' in Japanese drama.
2. Vol. 3 (1910-11). Pp. 77-81: Yeats's 'Tragic Theatre' (*BL8*); pp. 90-91: review of a study of Japanese dance that includes discussion of the *nô*, its 'marked affinity' with Greek drama (see also *BK61* and *D10b*), 'beautiful monotony', 'freedom from violent passion', and 'simplicity, symbolism and suggestion'; pp. 96-97: notes about the role of women and the traditional avoidance of imitative acting techniques on the Japanese stage; pp. 138: review that takes issue with the 'hackneyed figures' used for translation from Japanese verse in the *Wisdom of the East* series (see *D18*).
3. Vol. 4 (1911-12). Pp. 37-40: a brief passage from Hearn about the importance of silence in Japan, followed by an editorial by Craig calling for appreciation of silence on the European stage; pp. 58-59: review of Noguchi's study of Hearn (see *D9c*); p. 64: review of *History of Japanese Colour Prints*, by W. von Seidlitz; p. 65: review of Binyon's *Japanese Art* (*BC6*); pp. 108-09: notes taken from Hearn about the discipline of the 'apprenticeship' system in Japan and an editorial by Craig, under the pseudonym John Semar, calling for such discipline on the European stage; pp. 203-13: Masanobu Otani's 'A Japanese Pupil', a loving memory of Hearn by his 'literary assistant', preceded by an editorial note calling for such dedicated discipleship in the West, followed by passages from Hearn about 'Japanese Drama and the "Religion of Loyalty"'; pp. 309-20: Sheiko Tsubouchi's 'The Drama in Japan', largely a summary of *nô* technique that reads as if Yeats wrote it four years later (see especially *BL11*); Tsubouchi emphasises the lack of 'imitation', the bare stage, masks, the climactic dance, the orchestra (with its 'flute player') and chorus, 'ghosts or lost souls' as protagonists, and includes notes about the 'sacred' origins of the form and the 'symbolic beauty' that the 'vulgar' were forbidden to see.
4. Vol. 6 (1913-14). Pp. 89-91: discussion and ultimately criticism of Japanese artists imitating European conventions and European artists imitating Japan; pp. 217-20: 'Puppets in Japan: Some Notes by a Japanese', knowledgeable notes about the *bunraku*, which again emphasise Japanese dramatic techniques that

Yeats later echoes, including the ‘impersonal’ acting of puppets and their manipulators, who ‘efface themselves so that their faces are masks’, ‘obliterate all traces of personality’, and ‘vanquish the common desire of actors, in whatever part of the world they are to be found, to allow their own personality to dominate and to project themselves into the character they assume’ (compare to Yeats’s discussion of his problems with actors and their personalities in his 1916 ‘The Poet and the Actress’ [BL58], letters about rehearsals for AT THE HAWK’S WELL [in BL48], and his 1917 ‘Note on AT THE HAWK’S WELL’ [BL12a]); pp. 238-44: editorial comment by Craig about a Japanese actress performing in England, providing occasion for notes about the ‘swindle’ of dramatic realism (compare Yeats’s earlier ‘Abbey Theatre—Its Aims and Works’ [BL7] and his 1916 Introduction to *Certain Noble Plays of Japan* [BL11]); pp. 263-65, review of Stopes’s *Plays of Old Japan* (see D23) that more than two years before the first performance of AT THE HAWK’S WELL (BL12) turns to ways the modern European theatre might adapt the nô: ‘We have nothing to gain, as some would claim, by a mere imitation of this or any other ancient form of drama, of its masks, its symbolism, its conventions, its costumes: it is rather in tracing the spirit of which these outward forms and accessories were the expression that we may find something of value, either as warning or encouragement, to aid us in shaping the masks, the symbols, and the laws of our own Theatre which is to be’.

18. Wisdom of the East Series. 1905-57.

From the first number in 1900 through the century John Murray’s Wisdom of the East Series has provided hundreds of titles from and about the ‘orient’, and especially before the Second World War was responsible for much of what was known of East Asia in Europe and the United States, the latter via Murray’s partnership with the New York publisher E. P. Dutton. Aldington mentions the series in regard to his wish for an ‘organised set of translations’ of Asian ‘classics’ (BB15d), but writing from Paris complains that the works are ‘difficult to obtain’. The fact is, however, that Murray’s titles have been on book shop shelves in the metropolises of the English-speaking world throughout the century, and more than any ‘organised set’ of works have shaped and reflected the Anglo-American discourse about both Asia in general and Japan in particular. In addition to Chamberlain’s translation from Kaibara Ekiken (1905, see D5a), Binyon’s *Flight of the Dragon* (1911, BC9), Noguchi’s *Spirit of Japanese Poetry* and *Spirit of Japanese Art* (1914 and 1915, see D15e and D15e6), works about Japanese subjects in the series in the first half of the century include, along with sections in numerous studies of Buddhism, Clara Walsh’s *Master Singers of Japan* (1910,

translations from Japanese poetry), Ken Hoshino's *The Way of Contentment* (1913, translations from Kaibara Ekiken), E. V. Gatenby's *The Cloud-Men of Yamato* (1929, a study of mysticism in Japanese literature), Nobuko Kobayashi's *The Sketch Book of the Lady Sei Shônagon* (1930, translation from *Makura no sôshi*), Ryûkichi Kurata's *The Harvest of Leisure* (1931, translation of Kenkô's *Tsurezuregusa*), S. Yamabe and L. Adams Beck's *Buddhist Psalms* (1931, translations from Shinran [1173-1263] founder of Jôdoshinshû Buddhism), Beatrice Lane Suzuki's *Nôgaku* (1932, translation and study of the nô), and Alan Watts's *The Spirit of Zen* (1936). In the years following the Second World War the series continued with two works that played a significant role in the post-war re-emergence of literary interest in Japan, Donald Keene's seminal *Japanese Literature: An Introduction for Western Readers* (1953) and D. J. Enright and Takamichi Ninomiya's anthology, *The Poetry of Living Japan* (1957).

19. Couchoud, Paul-Louis. 'Haikai: Les épigram^mes poétique du Japon'. *Les lettres*, April 1906, pp. 189-98. Enlarged in *Sages et poètes d'Asie*. Paris: Calmann-Levy, 1916.

Couchoud's study of haiku with translations helped shaped early Imagist understanding of the form. The rendering^s here of Buson and of Moritake's 'fallen blossom' are the probable source for Flint's translations (in A2), which in turn are the probable source for Pound's knowledge of the Moritake poem in the famous derivation of the form of super-position from it (in BK12; though see also D13 and D15e6). In addition, Harmer (A51, p. 30) suggests that Hulme's poems (see A3) 'suggest, in rhythm or phrase, possible affinities with' Couchoud. Miner credits Couchoud with 'originating haiku in French' (A25, p. 75). See also BB3a, CC1, and D21.

20. Porter, William N. Translations 1909-14.

Porter's translation of the *Hyakunin isshu*, *A Hundred Verses from Old Japan* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1909) includes romanised Japanese on pages facing the rhymed and metered English versions, which would have had the unintentional effect of demonstrating unambiguously to readers inclined toward free verse that the Japanese originals relied on techniques quite different from those of translators such as Dickins (D3), Chamberlain (D5a), Aston (D13), and Porter himself, who rendered them in conventional English forms. The practice had been called into question indirectly in the free verse translations of Hearn (D9b), Hartmann (see D12 and 12e), and Noguchi (D15e1-7), but it would take Pound to render the style anachronistic in an instant, with the publication of *Cathay* (BK15). Mathers (D25) and Miyamori (D27) carried the tacit debate into the

twenties and thirties, but Porter's are the last rhymed versions of Japanese verse published in England or America that would not have seemed immediately out-of-date to many of their readers. The *Hundred Verses* has been shown by several writers, most notably Seaver (A17) and Miner (A25), to have been a source for Crapsey's 'cinquains' (see CA4), though Kawanami (noted at CA4) demonstrates that Crapsey relied more directly on Revon (see D21). Kodama (A59) argues that the work also was the source for poems by Lowell, particularly FROM CHINA (BI4e, and see also BI5 and BI8v). The work is mentioned in passing by Blunden (BD47), and its general influence, along with that of Porter's haiku translations, *A Year of Japanese Epigrams* (London: Oxford UP, 1911), is discussed by Schwartz (A18). Two other Porter translations from the Japanese, *The Tosa Diary* (London: Frowde, 1912, from Ki no Tsurayuki's *Tosa nikki*) and *The Miscellany of a Japanese Priest* (London: Milford, 1914, from Kenkô's *Tsurezuregusa*) were in Yeats's library (see BL228). See also BB3a.

2 1. Revon, Michel. *Anthologie de la littérature japonaise des origines au XXe siècle*.

Collection Pallas. Paris: Delagrave, 1910.

The anthology most responsible for introducing Japanese poetry to a wide French readership, and that according to Miner sounded the 'death knell of pseudo Japanese verse' in both French and English, making way for 'true Japanese modes', imitations and adaptations first by French and later by British and American poets (see A25). Fletcher wrote to Miner that he remembered reading 'two English, one French, and two German translations of Japanese poetry' at around the time he wrote his earliest poems with Japanese subjects or imitative of Japanese models (see BH1, 17, and 22c), and the likelihood is that the French would have been that either of Couchoud (19) or Revon, though perhaps it should be recorded as well that no critic writing of Fletcher or others under study here has mentioned two earlier works, Leon de Rosny's *Anthologie japonaise* (Paris: Maisonneuve et cie, 1871) and Joseph Dautremere's *Poésies et anecdotes japonaises* (Paris: Leroux, 1909). Kawanami convincingly traces several of Crapsey's 'cinquains' to sources in Revon (see CA4), and the *Anthologie* includes a version of HAGOROMO that makes it a possible source for Pound (see BK13d), though nothing in the published record provides direct evidence that he knew of the work. While the *Anthologie* is the most notable of Revon's works in the context of this study, he was also author of widely-read accounts of Japanese art, flower arrangement, history and civilisation, foreign relations, and three monographs on Shintô. See also A24 and CC1.

2 2. Sansom, George. Works 1910-63.

Sansom is important to this study more for his general importance in redefining Western understanding of Japanese history and culture than for specific cross-textual relationships, yet tentative evidence may be cited that his work has at least indirect effects on several of the writers under study here. Pound and Yeats would have been aware of Sansom's 'Translations from Lyrical Drama: 'Nô' (*Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* 38 [1910]: 133-76) while they were preparing their own versions and adaptations of the form, since the work is among those cited in Stopes's 'English Bibliography of the Nô' (see *D23*), and a quarter of a century later Kitasono (*BK176h*), in response to Pound's request for a 'book on Japanese history translated from the original', defers to Sansom's *Japan: A Short Cultural History* (London: Cresset, 1931; 3rd ed. rev. 1962), a work that also was in Rexroth's library, heavily annotated in Rexroth's hand (see *CB5*). Empson confided in Sansom about his theory of the ambiguity of Buddhist iconography (see *BF21b2*), and arguably adopted Sansom's theories of the relationship between Japan and China in his verse (see especially *BF9d*); Binyon's sojourn to Japan was in large part arranged by Sansom, who accompanied Binyon on his travels while in the country (see *BC36*, 41, 43); and though the published record reveals no evidence of a personal relationship between Blunden and Sansom, Sansom was resident in Tokyo during Blunden's first two stays in the city, and Blunden's reviews of *Short Cultural History*, *The Western World and Japan* (New York: Random House, 1949), and *Japan in World History* (New York: Institute of Pacific Relations: 1951) are acclamatory (see *BD85*, 91, 97, and 146). Sansom's three-volume *History of Japan* (Cresset, 1958, 1961, 1963) confirmed his reputation and influence and insured that it would be carried into the second half of the century and beyond. See also Katharine Sansom, *Sir George Sansom and Japan: A Memoir* (Tallahassee, Fla.: Diplomatic Press, 1972), Gordon Daniels, 'Sir George Sansom: Historian and Diplomat', in Cortazzi and Daniels (*CC8*), and *A24*.

23. Stopes, Marie. Works 1910-13.

Pound and Yeats read Stopes and Jôji Sakurai's *Plays of Old Japan: The 'Nô'* (London: Heinemann, 1913) at Stone Cottage while they worked on their own versions of the nô from Fenollosa's manuscripts. Pound twice credits Stopes's work in print (*BK13a*, 17a), though privately wrote to Harriet Monroe that the early English translations of the nô were 'dull and ludicrous' (*BK59b*). What he does not mention either in public or private, but what Stopes herself recalled years later, is that on the basis of her work Pound had solicited her help in his own versions of the nô, but that she refused him, because 'he knew nothing whatever about the subject' (see *BK152*). *Plays of Old Japan* includes lengthy and largely accurate

notes about the nô, translation of SUMIDAGAWA, MOTOMEZUKA (here called THE MAIDEN'S TOMB) and KAGEKIYO (see *BK21a*), and an 'English Bibliography of the Nô' that cites earlier work by Dickins (*D3*), Chamberlain (*D5*), Aston (*D13*), Brinkley (*D14*), and Sansom (*D22*). MOTOMEZUKA, particularly, stayed with Yeats, who turned to the play often in support of his idea of the universality of the 'dreaming back of the dead' (*BL13*, *15a*, *17b*, *38b2*, and see also *57h*) and perhaps drew from it in poems such as AMONG SCHOOL CHILDREN (*BL29*, and see *BL148*) and BYZANTIUM (*BL32a*, and see *BL97* and *98*). *Plays of Old Japan* provided as well source material for Craig (see *D17a4*) and was in Rexroth's library (see *CB5*), and is acknowledged in one of Empson's few comments on the Japanese theatre (*BF8*). Oddly, SUMIDAGAWA, the play upon which Plomer based the libretto for Britten's 'church opera' CURLEW RIVER (*BJ18*), first staged at the Aldeburgh Festival in 1964, was in Stopes and Sakurai's version the libretto for Clarence Raybould's opera performed at the Glastonbury Festival in 1913. Stopes's earlier work drawn from her travels in Japan, *A Journal from Japan: A Daily Record of Life as Seen by a Scientist* (London: Blackie, 1910), largely relates journeys to remote parts of the country, but includes as well an account of a visit to the nô. Blunden's letters to Stopes are held in the British Library (see *BD171d*). See also Carmen Blacker, 'Marie Stopes and Japan', in Cortazzi and Daniels (*CC8*), and *A24*, *36*, *BK95*, *149*, and *BL102*.

24. Naruse, Seichi. 'Young Japan'. *Seven Arts*, April 1917, pp. 616-26.

Naruse's tracing of the intellectual history of Japan from the Meiji Restoration into the twentieth century includes description and analysis of the suicide of the high-school student Fujimura Misao, and this is the acknowledged source of the '1903 Japan' section of Lowell's 'Postlude' to GUNS AS KEYS (*BI7b1*), where Naruse's translation of Fujimura's suicide note appears word for word.

25. Mathers, E. Powys. *Translations* 1918-27.

Despite Waley's 1919 *Japanese Poetry* (*D26a*), which for the first time brought both sound scholarship and modernist poetics to the English translation of Japanese verse, the poems in Mathers's *Coloured Stars* and *Garden of Bright Waters*, published simultaneously by Blackwell and Houghton Mifflin in 1918 and 1920, were for years in Britain and America the most widely-read translations of Japanese verse. In 1921 Van Doren (*A13*) noted that Mathers's translations were among those to which contemporary English poets were 'going to school', and even if Bynner found the work 'inflate[d] . . . with too much pomp and color' (*BE5*) and Yeats cut the pages of only one of the volumes (see *BL228*), another contemporary writer found that Mathers's versions 'so closely . . . realise Imagist ideals' that

they might be among those ‘Asian lyrics’ that will be ‘transplanted into the English garden’ (A17). Mathers’s work focused on the collection of pan-Asian ‘love poetry’, and culminated in the twelve volume *Eastern Love* (London: Rodker, 1927-30), volume 7 of which includes ‘Songs of the Geishas’ and ‘Comrade-Loves of the Samurai’. Notably, even though Waley had brought the art of Japanese translation to a new standard that transformed post-war work, Mathers demonstrates that before the war English students remained willing to reach Japan by way of Paris (see D1, 19, 21 and CC1): the Japanese poems in *Coloured Stars* and *Garden of Bright Waters* are retranslations from Adolphe Thalasso’s *Anthologie de l’amour asiatique* (Paris: Societe du Mercure de France, 1906), and the work from the Japanese in *Eastern Love* comes by way of Steinilber-Oberlin and Iwamura’s *Chansons des geishas* (Paris: Cres, 1926) and Sato’s *Contes d’amour des samourais* (Paris: Stendhal, 1927), a translation of Saikaku. See also A49b.

26. Waley, Arthur. Works 1919-35.

Herbert Giles and Basil Hall Chamberlain (see D5a) brought sound linguistic scholarship to the translation of Chinese and Japanese literature, Pound modernist poetics (see especially BK15), but Waley was the first to bring both, and in the process not only established the standard for later translators but also confirmed the link between East Asian literatures and Anglo-American modernism. The influence of his translations in English-language poetry was first noted in the twenties (see A13, 14, and 16) and continues to be explored (see especially A70). Of the poets under study here he was admired, imitated, and adapted by most, and discussed in print by virtually all, Aiken (see BA6, 8, and 13), Aldington (see BB15c-d, though also BB17), Binyon (see BC27, 42, and 43), Blunden (see BD47 and 100), Bynner (see BE7 and 8), Empson (see BF1, 8, 21b, 26a, and 29), Fletcher (BH15), Lowell (see BI16 and 19), Plomer (see BJ18, 28, and 40), and from as early as 1915 Pound (see BK86, 113, 181) and Yeats (see BL22, 35a, 47b, 52a, 57, 228, and b below). In addition to works noted below Waley’s studies and translations most directly related to this study include *Zen Buddhism and Its Relation to Art* (London: Luzac, 1922), *The Pillow-Book of Sei Shônagon* (selections from *Makura no sôshi*, London: Allen & Unwin, 1928), *The Lady Who Loved Insects* (a fragment from *Tsutsumi chunagon monogatari* [ca. 1055], by Fujiwara no Kanetsuke, London: Blackmore, 1929), and *The Originality of Japanese Civilization* (London: Oxford UP, 1929). See also Francis A. Johns, *A Bibliography of Arthur Waley* (2nd ed. rev., London: Athlone, 1988), Ivan Morris, ed., *Madly Singing in the Mountains: An Appreciation and Anthology of Arthur Waley* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1970), Ruth Perlmutter, ‘Arthur Waley and his Place in the Modern Movement between the Two

Wars' (PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1971), Alison Waley, *A Half of Two Lives* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1982), Phillip Harries, 'Arthur Waley: Poet and Translator', in Cortazzi and Daniels (*CC8*), and *A24*, *BB3*, *BH22d*, *BI10*, *BK24*, *31*, *135*, *142*, *BL116*, *129*, and *CA8*.

a. *Japanese Poetry: The 'Uta'*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1919. Critics have noted rightly that Waley's translations from the Chinese have been of greater influence than these versions from the *Manyōshū*, *Kokinshū*, and other early collections, but this does not diminish the importance of the work, which with its unrhymed, unmetred, and undecorated line brings the English translation of Japanese verse fully into the modern age. Includes a brief but knowledgeable introduction, notes on grammar and vocabulary, romanised Japanese texts set beside the translations, and scholarly notes about each poem. Jun Fujita writing in *Poetry* 16 (1920) wonders of a collection of rhymed translations from Japanese verse 'from what language' the poems are really derived, but finds that Waley offers 'a bridge into an unknown poetic world' of a sort 'never . . . attempted before', and that for the English-language poet who 'sincerely desires to study' Japanese verse the value of Waley's work 'can never be over-estimated'.

b. *Nô Plays of Japan*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1921. What Waley earlier had done for the English translation of Chinese and Japanese poetry here he does for translation of the nô. No other work in English until after the Second World War comes close in accuracy, and the verse passages are rendered in an undecorated free verse that at its best rivals Pound. Waley's bibliography includes in a 'European' section the 'rhymed paraphrases' in Chamberlain's *Classical Poetry of the Japanese* (see *D5a*) as well as work by Aston (see *D13*), Brinkley (*D14*), Dickins (*D3*), Florenz (*D11*), Noël Péri, Sansom (see *D22*), Stopes (see *23*), Noguchi (*D15e2-3*), and Fenollosa and Pound's '*Noh*' or *Accomplishment* (*BK24*), the last of which, Waley notes, is 'fragmentary and inaccurate', though 'wherever Mr. Pound had adequate material to work upon he has used it admirably'. The 'Japanese' section of the bibliography includes Ōwada's *Nô no shiori* and *Yōkyoku hyōshaku* (see *D8*). The work includes translation of twenty plays, including five that had appeared in Pound's '*Noh*' (KUMASAKA, KAGEKIYO, SOTOBA KOMACHI, AOI NO UE, and HAGOROMO), and one kyōgen, and knowledgeable supplementary materials that include a 'Note on Buddhism' that Ishibashi (*BL131*) believes is the source of Yeats's earliest interest in Zen. HATSUYUKI had appeared earlier in *Poetry* as EARLY SNOW. See also *BK22*.

c. *The Tale of Genji*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1925-33. Waley's translation of *Genji monogatari* originally appeared in six volumes, *The Tale of Genji* (1925), *The*

Sacred Tree (1926), *A Wreath of Cloud* (1927), *Blue Trousers* (1928), *The Lady of the Boat* (1932), and *The Bridge of Dreams* (1933), and was first collected in *The Tale of Genji: A Novel in Six Parts* (1935). No other translation from Japanese literature has been more widely read, no other has been so instrumental in shaping understanding of classical Japanese tradition, and no other is so uniformly praised by writers under study here. See comments by Aiken (BA13), Aldington (BB15d), Binyon (BC27), Blunden (BD100), Bynner (BE7), Empson (BF1), and Yeats (BL52a).

27. Miyamori, Asatarô. Works 1926-36.

Miyamori's *Anthology of Haiku, Ancient and Modern* (Tokyo: Maruzen, 1932) and *Masterpieces of Japanese Poetry, Ancient and Modern* (2 vols., Maruzen, 1936) include detailed explanations of Japanese verse tradition and taken together well over two thousand poems, each presented in Japanese, romanised Japanese, and rhymed metrical English. Both works are reviewed by Blunden (BD39, 47), and Blunden's only attempt at presenting his own versions of haiku (BD110) draws extensively but without acknowledgement on Miyamori's renderings of the same poems. Finneran suggests that the *Anthology*, particularly a poem by 'Gekkyo' (p. 487), is the source of Yeats's IMITATED FROM THE JAPANESE (see BL41a). Miyamori's earlier translation, *Masterpieces of Chikamatsu, the Japanese Shakespeare* (London: Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1926) was prepared with help from Robert Nichols.

28. Suzuki, D. T. Works 1927-38.

The influence of Suzuki's Zen is far-reaching and widely acknowledged among American and European intellectuals, artists, and poets after the Second World War, but Suzuki is of importance here largely because of Yeats's interest in his work and possible incorporation of its principles into his poems, a matter about which several critics have made broad claims. That Yeats knew Suzuki's writing, took it seriously, and derived his late understanding of Zen largely from it is certain. He first makes reference in print to the 'contemplative school of [Japanese] Buddhism' in his 1916 defence of the *nô* (BL11), and to that 'school' by name in a 1926 letter to Sturge Moore (BL47b), but shortly after publication of the first series of Suzuki's *Essays in Zen Buddhism* (London: Luzac, 1927) Yeats had a copy of the work (see BL67), and thereafter his understanding of Zen is traceable to it, Suzuki's *Zen Buddhism and Its Influence on Japanese Culture* (Kyoto: Eastern Buddhist Society, 1938; see BL48u), and Suzuki's journal the *Eastern Buddhist* (see BL53 and 228). Yeats was in correspondence with Suzuki by 1928, writing that he had the 'poems' (i.e. *koan*) of *Essays* 'constantly on [his] lips' (see BL53), and in

that year wrote to another Japanese correspondent of an interest in travelling to Japan to further explore the country's 'philosophy' (see *BL52e*). Passages traceable to the *Essays* appear in the second edition of *A Vision* (*BL38, 38a*), Yeats's introduction to Patanjali's *Aphorisms of Yōga* (*BL42*), and *Pages from a Diary Written in Nineteen Hundred and Thirty* (*BL46b*). Beyond this, the evidence critics cite for an influence from Suzuki and Zen in Yeats's poems, most notably *DEMON AND BEAST* (*BL16*), *AMONG SCHOOL CHILDREN* (*BL29*), *DIALOGUE OF SELF AND SOUL* (*BL30a*), *BYZANTIUM* (*BL32a*), *LAPIS LAZULI* (*BL40*), and *THE STATUES* (*BL43*), is sometimes convincing and sometimes not. One cannot easily dispute the general point that Yeats incorporated an understanding of Zen via Suzuki into the philosophical stance underlying his late poems, but specific critical explorations of the issue often place squarely at Suzuki's doorstep lines and understandings demonstrably derived from a complex mix of sources (see notes about this at *BL196*). For other Yeats references to Suzuki or Zen see *BL43, 47d, 48n, and 49*; for discussion of the influence of Zen in his poetry see *BL66, 83, 85, 113, 124c, 124e, 124g, 124i, 131a, 133, 146, 159, 163, 165, 170, 198, 211, 220, 224, 234, 244, and 255*; and for related material see *BL31, 48c, 76, 80, and 124*. Discussion of Suzuki's larger influence in Anglo-American literature may be found in *A31* and *A49a-b*. See also Masao Abe, ed., *A Zen Life: D. T. Suzuki Remembered* (Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1986), particularly Christmas Humphries's 'Dr. D. T. Suzuki and Zen Buddhism in Europe', Larry Fader's 'D. T. Suzuki's Contribution to the West', and Abe's 'The Influence of D. T. Suzuki in the West'.

29. Kitasono, Katsue, and *VOU*. 1936-66.

Kitasono's importance here comes by way of his connection with and influence on Pound, with whom he maintained a thirty-year correspondence, 1936 to 1966 (see *BK82b*). Particularly in the late thirties, as Pound was increasingly cut off from confidants in England and America, he turned to Kitasono as a sounding board for the ideas that preoccupied him (see *BK17g, 45f, 48, 56c, 59h, 82b1-14, D1c, and 22*) and rarely missed an opportunity in print to note the importance of Kitasono's poetics and the anti-establishment voice of his journal, *VOU*, and the poets who published in it. The 'vurry lively and simpatique rev[iew] / in the sun rise' (*BK80*), Pound believed, was 'a better literary magazine' and 'wider awake' than any in Europe or America (*BK59i*), and the 'liveliest magazine of young letters in the world' (*BK55*). By 1938 Pound had arrived at the conclusion that 'it may be from now on that any man who wants to write English poetry will have to start reading Japanese', for 'all the moss for twenty years we have been trying to scrape off our language—these young men [Kitasono and the Vou club poets] start without

it' (BK46). In that year the Pound of *Guide to Kulchur* (BK45) fails to find much civilisation in the modern world, but in a key chapter turns to Kitasono, the 'civilized man' who can give 'a serious answer to a serious question' (see 45c), and the outline of Kitasono's poetics there has been found by at least one writer to be central to Pound's own mature style (see BK124). For Pound's other references to Kitasono in print see BK53, 54, 56a, 61, and 76a, and for related material see A49b, BK49, 59, 59h, 116, 126, 130, 176a, 176g-i, 181, 184a, and 205. Kitasono's collected English poems, *Black Rain: Poems and Drawings*, appeared from Robert Creeley's Divers Press in 1954; selected translation of his work in Japanese may be found in John Solt, trans., *Glass Beret: The Selected Poems of Kitasono Kat[s]ue* (Milwaukee: Morgan Press, 1995); his complete poems in English and Japanese are in Fujitomi Yasuo, ed., *Kitasono Katsue zen shishû* (Complete poems, Tokyo: Chusekisha, 1983). See also Solt's, *Shredding the Tapestry of Meaning: The Poetry and Poetics of Kitasono Kat[s]ue* (BK208) and Fujitomi Yasuo, *Kitasono Katsue* (in Japanese, Tokyo: Yûseidô, 1983).

Appendix of Names and Terms

- Adams, William (1564-1620). English pilot of the crippled Dutch ship *Liefde*, arrived at Itô in April 1600, most of the crew dead or dying; thereafter resident of Japan, eventually as confidant and advisor to Tokugawa Ieyasu.
- Arakida Moritake (1473-1549). Renga and haikai poet whose image of a butterfly returning to its branch was made famous in Europe and America by Pound's reliance on it in explanation of his 'form of super-position'.
- Ariga Nagao (1860-1921). Student at Tokyo Imperial University who helped Fenollosa with translations of the poems that were the subject of Mori Kainan's lectures; later professor of international law at Tokyo and Waseda universities.
- Ariwara Narihira (825-80). Waka poet and legendary lover, whose poems are the subject of frequent allusion in the later literature, including the nô *Kakitsubata*.
- Aston, W. G. (1841-1911). British Japanologist, translator, and author of the first English-language history of Japanese literature.
- Bigelow, William Sturgis (1850-1926). Boston physician who travelled to Japan for diversion in 1882 and remained seven years, studying and eventually converting to Buddhism.
- Blyth, R. H. (1898-1964). British poet, translator, and author of influential and idiosyncratic studies of Japanese poetry and Zen Buddhism; after accepting a teaching post in Japanese-occupied Korea in 1924 did not return to Europe.
- Brinkley, Frank (1841-1912). British army officer and Japanophile; came to Yokohama in 1867; after 1871 military advisor to the Japanese army; after 1891 Tokyo correspondent for the *Times* of London; father of Pound's acquaintance John Brinkley.
- Chamberlain, Basil Hall (1850-1935). British Japanologist and translator of Japanese literature, the most influential before Waley; professor of Japanese at Tokyo Imperial University, 1886-90.
- Chikamatsu Monzaemon (1653-1724). Bunraku and kabuki dramatist, in several early-century English-language sources identified as 'the Shakespeare of Japan'.
- Chûshingura*. Enduring Edo-period tale of the revenge of forty-seven loyal samurai for their master's betrayal, and of their own subsequent suicide; told in many versions, most famously on the bunraku stage.
- Craig, Edward Gordon (1872-1966). British stage designer, theorist of the Symbolist theatre, and editor of *The Mask*.
- Dickins, F. V. (1838-1915). Medical officer of the Royal Navy, stationed at Yokohama

from 1863-66, among the earliest translators of Japanese poetry and drama into English.

Doi Kôchi (1886-1979). Professor of English Literature at the Imperial University at Tokyo and then founder and long-time head of the English Literature department at the Imperial University at Sendai.

Fenollosa, Ernest (1853-1908). American scholar and collector of Japanese art, among the 'Boston Brahmins' in Japan in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, whose manuscripts found their way to Pound, and whose collection of Japanese masterpieces forms the core of the holdings at the Boston Museum of Fine Art.

Fenollosa, Mary McNeil (1865-1954). American author of successful novels set in Japan, second wife of Ernest Fenollosa, and the link between her husband's manuscripts and Pound.

Flint, F. S. (1885-1960). British poet and literary theorist, associated with the advent of Imagism and the early twentieth-century turn to foreign traditions to enliven English poetry.

Fraser, G. S. (1915-80). British poet and essayist who succeeded Blunden as cultural advisor to the United Kingdom Liaison Mission in Tokyo, 1950-51; author of the prose *Impressions of Japan* (Tokyo: Asahi shimbunsha, 1952).

Freer, Charles Lang (1856-1919). American collector of Whistler and the Japanese masterpieces that were bequeathed to the Smithsonian Institution in 1906.

Fujita Jun (b. 1890). Japanese poet associated with *Poetry* from 1919 to 1928, before disappearing from the published record; author of *Tanka: Poems in Exile* (1923) and reviews sensitive to the difficulties of joining Japanese and English traditions.

Fujiwara. Family that dominated the Japanese court and government from the ninth to the twelfth centuries, branches of which gave rise to poets among the most noted in the tradition, particularly Teika (1162-1241), probable compiler of the *Hyakunin isshu*.

Fukuhara Rintarô (1894-1981). Scholar of English letters and long-time editor of *Eigo seinen*, the most widely-regarded Japanese journal of English literary studies; instrumental in bringing Empson to Japan.

haikai. Linked 5-7-5 and 7-7 syllable stanzas, ranging from the two-stanza hokku (5-7-5)-*waki* (7-7) through more standard series of eighteen, thirty-six, or one hundred stanzas; originally non-standard renga practised as a diversion, but after the sixteenth century a serious form in its own right.

haiku. Derived from *haikai no ku*, a 'stanza' of haikai; not a term common in Japanese

tradition until the nineteenth century; the modern form is essentially like an independent hokku, i.e., a hokku without following stanzas.

Hartmann, Sadakichi (ca. 1867-1944). Poet, dramatist, art critic, photographer, and *bon vivant* born at Dejima in Nagasaki Harbour to a Japanese mother who died in childbirth; raised in Germany, later resident primarily in the United States.

Harunobu (1724-70). Ukiyoe painter and printmaker admired particularly for his daring use of colour after the advent of polychrome printing.

Hearn, Lafcadio (1850-1904). Writer, born in Greece, raised in Ireland and the United States, who settled in Japan, became a Japanese citizen, and authored books that have defined popular conceptions of the country to this day; known in Japan as Koizumi Yakumo.

Hirata Kiichi (1873-1943). Novelist and translator, who as a young man accompanied Fenollosa to nô lessons with Umewaka Minoru, and was in large degree responsible for the nô translations that found their way to Pound; also known as Tokuboku.

Hiroshige (1797-1858). Ukiyoe painter and printmaker, famous for depictions of Japanese landscape and daily life; in the early years of the century largely responsible for European and American conceptions of a 'quaint' Japan; also known as Andô Hiroshige.

Hodgson, Ralph (1891-1962). British poet and professor of English letters at the Imperial University at Sendai, 1924-38; reworked Ishii Hakuson and Obata Shigeyoshi's translation of the *Manyôshû* (1940).

hokku. The opening stanza of a haikai or renga sequence, three units or 'lines' of 5-7-5 syllables, by the nineteenth century sometimes composed as an independent poem.

Hokusai (1760-1849). Ukiyoe painter and printmaker; worked in a variety of formats and styles but most widely known in the West for the print series *Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji*; also known as Katsushika Hokusai.

Hyakunin isshu. Exemplary collection of one hundred poems, each by a different poet, drawn from the imperial collections, probably by Fujiwara Teika, ca. 1230-40; the most frequently translated of Japanese collections.

Ichikawa Sanki (1886-1970). Internationally renowned Japanese philologist and scholar of English letters, for many years head of the department of English literature at Tokyo Imperial University.

Ihara Saikaku (1642-93). Haikai poet and author of *ukiyo-zôshi*, the literary equivalent of ukiyoe, tales of the denizens of the 'floating world'.

Itô Michio (1894-1961). Japanese friend and inspirer of Pound and Yeats, dancer in the role of the hawk in the first productions of *At the Hawk's Well*, later a central figure in the development of modern dance in the United States and Japan.

- Kakinomoto Hitomaro (d. ca. 712). Waka poet often regarded as Japan's greatest, among the principle poets of the *Manyōshū*.
- Kayano Nijūichi (1890-1924). Japanese student in London in 1915, who along with Kume Tamijurō and Gun Torahiko sang the *nō* for Pound and Yeats; later a successful dramatist and translator; also known as Kayano Jisōichi and Kōri Torahiko.
- Kenkō (ca. 1283-ca. 1352). Poet, essayist, and priest, remembered primarily for the *Tsurezuregusa* (*Essays in Idleness*, 1330-31), prose observations about life and art that represent aesthetic understandings regarded as characteristically Japanese.
- Ki no Tsurayuki (ca. 872-945). Waka poet, diarist, and literary and aesthetic theorist, principle poet of the *Kokinshū*, and author of its seminal Japanese preface.
- Kitao Masanobu (1761-1816). Ukiyoe painter and printmaker, known especially for prints of courtesans of the Yoshiwara, the licensed district of Edo; later a successful novelist.
- Kitasono Katsue (1902-78). Avant-garde Japanese poet, founder of the Vou Club and the journal *VOU*; known in English primarily as Kitasono Katue or, in Pound's idiom, Kit-Kat.
- Kobayashi Issa (1763-1827). Haikai poet and prose writer, particularly associated with hokku that offer tender portrayals of the solitary, the lonely, and the vulnerable.
- Kojiki*. The 'Record of Ancient Matters' compiled in 712, the oldest known work in the Japanese tradition, a chronicle of the country from the mythic age to the early seventh century; regarded among the classics of the literature.
- Kokinshū*. The first and most important of the Imperial poetry anthologies, compiled about 905 by Ki no Tsurayuki and others; also and more properly known as *Kokin wakashū*, 'collection of waka from ancient and modern times'.
- Kūkai (774-835). Japanese Chinese-language poet, religious figure, and mystic, founder of Shingon Buddhism and the monastery at Kōyasan; also know by the honorific name Kōbō Daishi.
- Kume Tami[jūrō] (1893-1923). Artist and Pound's friend and helper, who had studied the *nō* as a child and helped Pound through 'difficult passages' in his work with Fenollosa's manuscripts; died in the Great Kanto Earthquake.
- La Farge, John (1835-1910). American artist, whose travels in Japan with the historian Henry Adams in 1886 resulted in the provocative study of Japanese aesthetics, *An Artist's Letters from Japan* (1897).
- Lawrence, John (1850-1916). British literary critic who took over Hearn's position at the Imperial University at Tokyo.

- Loti, Pierre (1850-1923). Pseudonym of Julien Viaud, French novelist whose exemplary exoticism includes several works set in Japan, most notably *Madame Chrysanthème* (1887), which played a central role in shaping popular European and American conceptions of the country.
- Lowell, Percival (1855-1916). American consular official in Japan and Japanese-occupied Korea (1883-93) and author of influential works about both countries; later a noted astronomer; elder brother of Amy Lowell.
- Manyôshû*. Literally the 'collection of ten thousand leaves', earliest extant collection of Japanese poetry, compiled ca. 759 and regarded from that time forward as a masterpiece of the literature.
- Matsuo Bashô (1644-94). Haikai poet, travel diarist, and aesthetic theorist, the Japanese poet most loved in Japan and most widely known and translated in Europe and America.
- Mitford, Algernon (1837-1915), in full Algernon Bertram Freeman-Mitford, the first Baron Redesdale. Diplomat and attaché to the British Legation at Edo, 1866-70; author of among other works *Tales of Old Japan*.
- Mori Kainan (1863-1911). Professor of Chinese poetry at Tokyo Imperial University during Fenollosa's tenure, the most respected Japanese scholar of the subject in his day.
- Morse, Edward (1838-1925). American scientist, whose interest in conchology led him to Japan, where he became Professor of Zoology at Tokyo Imperial University; instrumental in bringing Fenollosa to the country.
- Murasaki Shikibu (d. ca. 1014). Waka poet, diarist, and author of *Genji monogatari* (*Tale of Genji*), often regarded as the greatest work of Japanese literature.
- Natsume Sôseki (1867-1916). Novelist credited with bringing the foreign methods associated with realism to Japanese fiction, but regarded nonetheless as quintessentially Japanese; studied in London from 1900 to 1902.
- Nichols, Robert (1893-1944). British poet and critic, preceded Blunden as visiting professor of English literature at Tokyo Imperial University, 1921-24.
- nô. Lyrical dramatic form that combines text, acting, music, song or chanting (*utai*), dance, austere staging, and elegant costume into a sombre whole that contravenes European conceptions of time and space; developed from earlier genres and brought to eminence largely by Kanami (1333-84) and his son Zeami (ca. 1364-ca. 1443).
- Noguchi Yone[jirô] (1875-1947). Japanese English-language poet and author of studies of Japanese literature and art, widely regarded in Britain and America in the first quarter of the twentieth century; father of the sculptor Isamu Noguchi.
- Nonomura Sôtatsu (fl. ca. 1625-43). Kyoto painter, particularly associated with

landscapes in the Chinese style and folding screens; also known as Tawaraya Sôtatsu.

Oda Nobunaga (1534-82). Warlord and autocrat whose defeat of the Ashikaga shogunate led to the reunification of Japan after two centuries of feudal war.

Ogata Kôrin (1658-1716). Painter known particularly for decorative works that combine keen observation of natural landscape with powerful anti-naturalistic design and composition.

Okakura Kakuzô (1862-1913). Author and authority on Japanese aesthetics; studied under Fenollosa at Tokyo Imperial University; after 1903 curator of Japanese and Chinese art at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts; known in Japan as Okakura Tenshin.

Ono no Komachi (fl. ca. 833-857). Waka poet, among the *rokkasen*, and legendary lover, whose sadness at the loss of beauty in old age is the subject of countless tales and literary works, including the nô *Sotoba Komachi* and *Kayoi Komachi*.

Péri, Noël (1865-1922). French translator from the nô, arguably the greatest in Europe before 1920. *Cinq nô* (1921) and *Le nô* (1944) are based on work Péri published in *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* from 1909 to 1920.

Quennell, Peter (1905-93). British literary historian, biographer, critic, and poet, who held a post at Tokyo University of Literature and Science (*bunrika daigaku*) in 1930-31; author of *A Superficial Journey through Tokyo and Peking* (1932).

renga. Alternate 5-7-5 and 7-7 syllable stanzas linked through elaborate semantic, syntactic, and rhythmic rules, so that each forms an independent unit with preceding and following stanzas; often composed by several poets, ordinarily in set lengths of thirty-six to a thousand stanzas; a standard form after the twelfth century.

Saitô Takeshi (1887-1982). Japanese scholar of English literature at Tokyo Imperial University, later President of Tokyo Women's Christian College; instrumental in bringing both Hodgson and Blunden to Japan.

Sansom, George (1883-1965). British consular official in Japan and elsewhere in East Asia (1904-40), who became the century's most widely-regarded European historian of Japan, influencing even Japanese understanding of the country's history.

Satow, Ernest (1843-1929). British consular official, Japanologist, linguist, historian, and Ambassador to Japan, 1895-1900.

Sei Shônagon (b. ca. 966). Waka poet and diarist, most widely remembered for the *Makura no sôshi* (*The Pillow Book*), part diary, part ironic observation of life at court, regarded among the masterpieces of the Japanese tradition.

- Sesshū Tōyō (1420-1506). Zen priest and painter, often of ink-wash landscapes in the Chinese style; the most widely known of Japanese artists, regarded by many as the greatest in the tradition.
- Suzuki, D. T. (1870-1966). Japanese interpreter of Zen Buddhism, author of numerous widely-influential monographs on the subject in both Japanese and English.
- Taki Seiichi (1873-1945). Author and authority on Japanese art, founder and for many years editor of the influential journal *Kokka*; in the twenties Dean of the Faculty of Letters at Tokyo Imperial University.
- tanka. Literally 'short poem'; after the *Manyōshū* the principle type of waka, consisting of five lines of 5-7-5-7-7 syllables.
- Tokugawa. Family that from the 1603 to 1867 ruled Japan, owing largely to the military skill and political acumen of the first Tokugawa shogun, Ieyasu (1543-1616).
- Torii. Family of ukiyoe artists, particularly associated with prints of actors; dominated this genre in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; among the most well-known Torii artists are Kiyonobu (1664-1729), Kiyomasu (fl. c 1696-1716), Kiyomitsu (1735-85), and Kiyonaga (1752-1815).
- Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-98). Feudal lord and Imperial minister, who rose from peasant roots to complete the sixteenth-century unification of Japan begun by Oda Nobunaga.
- Tsubouchi Shōyō (1859-1935). Japanese scholar of the theatre, author, and prodigious translator, of the complete works of Shakespeare among many others.
- Ume-waka Minoru (1827-1909). Kanze-school nô actor, often credited with revitalising the form after the Meiji Restoration, who transgressed long-held standards by accepting foreigners as students, among them Morse and Fenollosa.
- Utagawa. School of ukiyoe artists founded by Utagawa Toyoharu (1735-1814) and continued by succeeding generations of pupils, among the most important of whom are Toyokuni (1769-1825), Toyohiro (1773-1828), and Kuniyoshi (1797-1861).
- Vines, Sherard (1890-ca. 1980). Irish poet and literary historian, lecturer in English literature at Keio University in Tokyo from 1923 to 1928; author of two prose volumes about Japan, *Humours Unreconciled* (1928) and *Yofuku* (1931), and two volumes of poetry written in but otherwise unrelated to the country, *The Pyramid* (1926) and *Triforum* (1928).
- waka. Literally 'Japanese poetry', more specifically denotative of verse forms predating renga, including and particularly the most common, tanka.
- Waley, Arthur (1889-1966). British poet and translator from the Chinese and

Japanese, by any standard among the great translators of the century; self-taught in both languages while working as Binyon's assistant at the British Museum, 1913-29.

Whistler, James McNeill (1834-1903). American painter, among the important figures in nineteenth-century Japonisme, closely associated with Japanese subjects and methods well into the twentieth century.

Yashiro Yukio (1890-1974). Japanese art historian, author of the widely-respected English study *Sandro Botticelli* (1925); founder of the Yamato Bunkakan (Museum of Japanese Art) at Nara.

Yosa Buson (1716-83). Haikai poet, master painter and calligrapher, known particularly in the West for the sensuous detail and adept wit of his hokku.

Zeami (ca. 1364-ca. 1443). Playwright, actor, critic, and principle aesthetician and most important author of the nô; also known as Kanze Motokiyô and, in some early European and American references, Seami.

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