

THIS ANCIENT MAN IS I: Kenneth Rexroth's Renderings of Tu Fu

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I. A Classic of American Idiom

Kenneth Rexroth's (1905-1982) renderings of Tu Fu are probably second only to Ezra Pound's *Cathay* among all English translations of Chinese verse in terms of their superb vital idiom as well as their popularity and extensive influence. When Rexroth's *One Hundred Poems from the Chinese* was published in 1956, it immediately won warm applause.¹ William Carlos Williams exalted it as "one of the most brilliantly sensitive books of poems in the American idiom it has ever been my good fortune to read," and he also extolled with enthusiasm Rexroth's translation of Tu Fu, saying that "as a translator of the Chinese lyric of Tu Fu, his ear is finer than anyone I have ever encountered."² Witter Bynner, an American poet and himself an acclaimed translator of Chinese verse, was so moved by Rexroth's renderings that he exclaimed with delight:

They make one feel one's heart beating in ancient landscape.
One becomes humanly identified with ancient persons. I was
this ancient man. Where has he gone? This ancient is I. Where
am I going?³

Many other critics and poets agree with William Carlos Williams that Rexroth's renderings are superb English poems in their own right. Many pieces from *One Hundred Poems from the Chinese* have been widely reprinted in poetry journals, anthologized, discussed in studies on poetry and poetics, set to music, and even re-translated into another language.⁴ In *Naked Poetry: Recent American Poetry in Open Forms*, an anthology of contemporary American poets published in 1969, sixteen poems by

Rexroth are selected and fourteen among them are translations from *One Hundred Poems from the Chinese*. Because this anthology is arranged according to seniority and Rexroth is the eldest among the nineteen selected poets, his poems and translations appear on the first few pages. Just imagine, when one opens an anthology of contemporary American poets, the first seven poems to greet one's eyes are written by Tu Fu, a Chinese-poet of the eighth century!

Rexroth's Chinese translations, particularly those of Tu Fu, have exerted considerable influence on many American poets. Quite a few of them acknowledge their indebtedness to him. In 1979, twenty-three years after its publication, W.S. Merwin (1929-), a poet one generation younger than Rexroth, said:

One evening I picked up his *One Hundred Poems from the Chinese* again, after several years, and read it through once more, at a sitting, with a great wave of gratitude, and a sense of its vividness and life — a book which I have known and read for so many years now.⁵

John Haines (1924-), also an American poet, acknowledged that his own style of simplicity, brevity and clarity owes much to Rexroth's Tu Fu translations.⁶ The impact of Rexroth's translations have not diminished with the passing of time. On the contrary, they are now regarded as classic and continue to influence the writings of younger poets. The impact and importance of these translations invite close attention. As with Ezra Pound's renderings in *Cathay*, Rexroth's Tu Fu translations do not follow closely the source texts; instead, the source texts by and large only serve as a departure point from which his imagination could soar freely. John L. Bishop's review of *One Hundred Poems from the Chinese* has already pointed out many misinterpretations in Rexroth's translation.⁷ Therefore, I shall not discuss his translation merely in the context of the Chinese texts of Tu Fu. Literal exactness has never been Rexroth's goal; he states his ambition thus: his translation should be "true to the spirit of the originals, and valid English poems."⁸ Furthermore, many source texts which he consulted were not the original Chinese, but translations of Tu Fu, in English, French, or German. The power and the beauty of his translation often lie in the passages which he rendered most freely and which bear little resemblance to the Chinese texts. Hence, it is crucial to find answers to the

following questions: How does he transform the source texts into powerful, dazzling verse? How does he render poems from such an alien, diverse culture into vital, contemporary American idiom? To what extent do his theories on Chinese poetry and his interpretation of Tu Fu's personality affect his performance as a translator? And above all, what are the innovative devices with which he created a classic of translation?

II. The Source Texts

Altogether, Rexroth translated thirty-six Tu Fu poems: thirty-five are collected in *One Hundred Poems from the Chinese* and one in *Love and the Turning Year: One Hundred More Poems from the Chinese* published in 1970.⁹ As already pointed out, he took much liberty with his source texts. Even by random check, it is easy to discover that his Tu Fu translations deviate significantly from the Chinese texts. In some cases, he made deliberate alterations in order to achieve certain artistic effect, even though he fully understood the meaning of the Chinese texts. In some other cases, the English or French renderings of Tu Fu's poems which Rexroth consulted, were themselves misinterpretations of the Chinese texts, which further misled Rexroth. Therefore, it is imperative to identify the source texts, because only when the source texts that lead to the final renderings are identified, can we compare them with the final renderings, and explore the unique and innovative devices with which Rexroth improves on the source texts.

The source texts of Tu Fu that Rexroth consulted involve many languages — English, Chinese, French, and German. Rexroth professed that his translations of Tu Fu had five different sources: The Chinese text *Chiu Chia Chi Chu Tu Shih* 九家集注杜詩 printed in the second volume of *A Concordance to the Poems of Tu Fu*, William Hung's English translations, Florence Ayscough's English translations, Erwin von Zach's German translations as well as Rexroth's discussion with his Chinese friends such as C.H. Kwock.¹⁰ I have also identified other sources such as the French translations of Harvey St. Denys, Lo Ta Kang and Georges Margoulies, and the English translation of Robert Payne.¹¹ The sources that Rexroth consulted most frequently were Ayscough's and Hung's English translations as well as the Chinese texts.

Because the source texts vary so much, to identify them is a toilsome task. There are basically two ways to identify them: firstly, to find out

if the possible source text deviates from the Chinese texts in manners similar to Rexroth's deviations, and secondly, to examine the reoccurrence of identical words which appear in both the source text and Rexroth's rendering. When Rexroth translated a Tu Fu poem, sometimes, he consulted as many as four different sources, but in most cases only one or two. The study in the context below presents one of the most complicated cases, for it involved not only several source texts, but also different drafts of the translation. It can serve as an example to demonstrate the ways to identify Rexroth's source texts as well as to examine his creative process.

For Rexroth's translation no. 7, "Jade Flower Palace," the Special Collections of University of California at Los Angeles keep two different holographs in English as well as a holograph which clearly shows how Rexroth rendered four lines in Chinese step by step into an approximation of the final version.¹² These three holographs are transcribed to typescripts as below and they are followed by the final version:

(holograph one) Before an Old Palace

The stream *foams & flows*, the wind *bellows* in the pine.
 Grey rats *flee at my approach* and *hide* in the broken tiles,
 Today, who remember the prince who built this palace.
 Who knows who left these ruins at the foot of the cliffs.
 There are blue ghost fires in the black vaults.
 Under the shattered pavement you can hear sounds like groans.
 Ten thousand voices of nature sing together.
 The autumn colors *blend in sadness (a sad picture)*.
 The prince had beautiful girls, now they are only yellow dusts.
 The glamour of their cosmetics has gone out, as though *it had
 been only a dream*.
 He had courtiers by his golden chariot.
 Now of all his splendor, only a stone horse remains.
 I am overcome with sadness. I sit rest on the withered grass.
 I begin a poem (the heart full of sorrow), my eyes full of tears
 overcome me.
 Alas on the road of life which each must run in his turn,
 Who is there who has very far to go.

(holograph two)

陰	房	鬼	火	青
dark	room	ghost	fire	green
yin ¹	fang ²	kuei ³	huo ³	ching ¹
dark	rooms	ghost	fire	green
壞	道	哀	湍	瀉
spoilt	way, road	sad		drain off leak
ruined	path	also moan		
huai ⁴	tao ⁴	ai	tuan ³	hsieh ⁴
ruined	way	sad	torrent	
			rushing water	
萬	籟	眞	笙	竽
ten thousand	3779	true	5742	7596
	pipe	real	sheng	yu
	flute			
wan ⁴	lai ⁴	chên ¹	sheng ¹	yu ²
10,000	pipe	true	mouthorgan	pipes
秋	色	正	灑	灑
autumn	color looks	upright	sound of	sprinkle free
	lust etc	true	beating rain	throw reckless
			& wind	
ch'iu ¹	se ^{4.5}	cheng ⁴	hisao ¹	shai ³
autumn	color	true	sound of	sprinkle drench
			driving storm	

There are green ghost fires in the dark rooms
The paths are all washed away
 10,000 pipes & mouthorgans *moan* in the storm
 Rain beats away *the autumn colors*

(holograph three)

The stream swirls, the wind blows in the pines.
 Grey rats scurry over broken tiles.
 I do not know what prince built this palace.
 Only broken beams and falling walls are left?
 There are green ghost fires in the dark rooms.
The paths are all washed away.

10,000 organpipes *roar* in the storm.
 The storm beats away *the Autumn leaves*.
 His beautiful girls are yellow dust now.
 Their powdered cheeks & blackened eyebrows are crumbled away.
 His gold chariot & servants are gone.
 Only a stone horse remains of his glory.
 I sit on the grass
 I try to sing but my tears rise up.
 Step by step the future passes us by.
 Who will remain in the years to come?

(final version)

The stream swirls. The wind moans in
 The pines. Grey rats scurry over
 Broken tiles. What prince, long ago,
 Built this palace, standing in
 Ruins beside the cliffs? There are
 Green ghost fires in the black rooms.
The shattered pavements are all
 Washed away. Ten thousand organ
 Pipes *Whistle and roar*. *The storm*
 Scatters the *red autumn leaves*.
 His dancing girls are yellow dust.
 Their painted cheeks have crumbled
 Away. His gold chariots
 And courtiers are gone. Only
 A stone horse is left of his
 Glory. I sit on the grass and
 Start a poem, but the pathos of
 It overcomes me. The future
 Slips imperceptibly away.
 Who can say what the years will bring? (Rexroth, no. 7)

The evolution of Rexroth's different drafts seems to be that he firstly drafted holograph one and then worked on the four lines directly from the Chinese in holograph two. In the next step, he incorporated the rendering of these four lines into holograph three. And finally, based on holographs one and three, he worked out the final version. Holograph two is the most interesting, for it demonstrates how Rexroth rendered directly from the

Chinese. The holograph includes Rexroth's hand-written Chinese of twenty characters, romanization in Wade-Giles system for each character, word-for-word literal rendering of each character, and below these exercises, a translation of these four lines which is almost identical with the same passage in holograph three and very close to the final version. The three numbers, such as 3779 written under the character *lai* 籟, indicate that Rexroth must have consulted *Mathews' Chinese-English Dictionary*. Rexroth, unlike Gary Snyder, had never taken any formal lessons in the Chinese language. We can imagine how painstakingly Rexroth worked on the Chinese text, looking up in Mathews' dictionary the definitions of every character.

The final version expands on the four lines in holograph two; for example, "paths" is replaced by "shattered pavements" and "red" color is added to the leaves. Also, both versions deviate in the same manner from the Chinese text; in the Chinese text, nothing implies that there is a storm. There could be two reasons why Rexroth interpolated the storm imagery into holograph two. The first reason is that he discovered from Mathew's dictionary that the character *hsiao* 瀟 also means "the sound of beating rain and wind," while he disregarded the fact that these two words *hsiao-shai* 瀟灑 were meant to be a compound which, in the context of this poem, should read "free and unrestrained." The second possible reason is that Rexroth might have been influenced by Robert Payne's translation which also interpolates the storm imagery:

The colors of autumn are fresh in the wind and rain.
(Payne, p. 193)

In fact, Rexroth was very familiar with Payne's translation of this poem. Several times he mentioned to me that the Chinese text of "There are /Green ghost fires in the black rooms" was very famous. I was rather puzzled, because as far as I knew that line was not particularly renowned. I did not solve this riddle until the day I came across Payne's footnote to his translation: "I know very few comparable lines that have such power of evocation."¹³ Therefore, these four lines in the final version are definitely derived from the Chinese text and also probably adopted Payne's interpretation.

A close scrutiny of the different renderings of these four lines reveals how constantly Rexroth improved on his drafts and tried to transform his materials into concrete, exact, and yivid imageries. The mere "paths"

are turned into "shattered pavements" which are much more concrete and echo the theme of a ruined palace. In the first version, the pipes "moan" in the storm, in the second they "roar," while in the final version, they "whistle and roar." "Whistle and roar" are verbs which can more accurately describe the sound of organ pipes. Also, Rexroth first changed the "autumn colors" to "Autumn leaves," and finally into "red autumn leaves." This process clearly shows Rexroth's attempt to avoid abstraction and to render his imageries colorful, specific and precise.

Holograph one deviates in many places from the Chinese texts. The deviated words are underscored in the typescript. I checked through many possible sources, and finally came across Harvey St. Denys' French translation, "Devant les fuins d'un vieux palais" (p. 141), which makes the same errors throughout as found in Rexroth. Two examples of these deviations are provided here side by side with a literal rendering of the Chinese text:

(example 1)

Grey rats scamper on the old tiles. (literal rendering)
 Les rats gris s'enfuient a mon approche et vont se cacher sous
 les vielles tuiles. (Harvey St. Denys)
 Grey rats flee at my approach and hide in the broken tiles.
 (Rexroth's holograph one)

(example 2)

The autumn landscape is displaying without restraint its charms.
 (literal rendering)
 Le spectacle de l'automne s'harmonise aussi avec ce triste tableau.
 (Harvey St. Denys)
 The autumn colors blend in sadness (a sad picture). (Rexroth's
 holograph one)

Harvey St. Denys' translation is the definite source of Rexroth's holograph one. In holograph three, there are some words which coincide with William Hung's choice of words in his translation of the same poem (p. 114), such as "scurry" and "stands in ruins." It is very likely that Rexroth consulted Hung's translation when he worked on holograph three. In conclusion, Rexroth's translation of Tu Fu's "Jade Flower Palace" might have been derived from four different sources: Harvey St. Denys' 19th

century French translation, William Hung's English translation, Robert Payne's English translation, and the Chinese Text of Tu Fu.

III. The Poet as Translator

In November 1959, Kenneth Rexroth was invited to deliver a paper at the Symposium on Translation held at the University of Texas.¹⁴ His theory stood out from those of other participants, who were either scholars from the universities, or professional translators. Rexroth advocated that a translator of poetry should be given maximum freedom, because he should ideally translate for his own era. As he said, "all the great translations survive into our time because they were so completely of their own time."¹⁵ Therefore, a translator today should engage in a creative process which presents to the 20th century English speaking world what it can readily assimilate.

When Rexroth translated Tu Fu, to some extent he practised this theory: he adapts his translations to what his contemporary American readers were "prepared to assimilate": "I have chosen only those poems whose appeal is simple and direct, with a minimum of allusion to past literature or contemporary politics. . . ."¹⁶ Where there were allusions to past literature or contemporary politics, he would always choose communication with his readers over fidelity to the source text. In other words, whenever he encountered anything which might have been unfamiliar to his readers, such as allusions to classical literature, history, and politics as well as traditional Chinese customs, manners and daily necessities, he would almost without exception find a more comprehensive substitute. His use of substitutes varies in each case. In no. 30 of *One Hundred Poems from the Chinese*, "Night in the House by the River," the line *wo lung yao ma chung huang t'u* 臥龍躍馬終黃土 — which literally means "Be Sleeping Dragon or Leaping Horse, they have all turned into yellow dust" — alludes to two historical figures: the loyal statesman Chu-Ke Liang 諸葛亮 (181-234) and a martial lord Kung-Sun Shu 公孫述 (?-36). Instead of including their names in the translation which would mean nothing to a Western reader, Rexroth replaced them by generalized terms:

*The great heroes and generals of old time
Are yellow dust forever now.*

I think this alteration can be justified in that neither "Sleeping Dragon"

nor "Chu-Ke Liang" means much to the Western reader, and if the translator provides a footnote for these names, as Witter Bynner did when he translated the same poem, the reader can no longer enjoy an intact poetic experience.¹⁷ As William Arrowsmith says, a translator should have "the tact of skill with which he improvises before impossibility."¹⁸

In another example, Rexroth replaces an ancient domestic household item by one still in use today. In no. 21, "Sunset," *lien gou* 簾鈎 was very common in ancient Chinese homes – a crescent-shape metal tie-back for curtains. The source of this poem is Georges Margouliés' "Le coucher du soleil" (p. 375) in which Margouliés renders *lien gou* into "les crochets (the hooks). Thus, Rexroth must have deliberately replaced the "crochets" with "beads" – "Sunset glitters on the beads/Of the curtain." Here we have an imagery which is not "impossible" to translate, because a reader can easily picture in his imagination a metal tie-back for the curtain. Rexroth is no longer a translator, but a poet, using the Tu Fu poem as his raw material and engaged in creating a new imagery. In terms of the effectiveness and vividness of imagery, are Rexroth's "beads" better or worse than Tu Fu's "tie-back"? Both the metal tie-back and the beads can reflect sunlight, though in a different manner. The tie-back, being metal, can glare brilliantly whereas the reflection on the beads will not be as glaring, but the glittering of numerous little beads can create a lustrous effect. The reflection on the metal tie-back dazzles one's eyes while that on the beads fills the whole picture with soft radiance. Therefore, as far as the effect of light and lustre of these two imageries are concerned, each possesses its own unique merit.

Another example of Rexroth's deliberate alteration involves an ancient Chinese custom – the traditional family gathering on Chinese New Year's Eve – in no. 3, "Winter Dawn." Rexroth apparently understood the meaning of the Chinese text *chiao p'an yi sung hua* 椒盤已頌花 – which literally means "the pepper plant is blossoming" – because in the footnotes he explains that the pepper plant is a New Year decoration.¹⁹ But he made a drastic change, completely abandoning the scene of a still New Year decoration for a boisterous banquet:

Green wine bottles and red lobster shells
Both emptied, litter the table.

Apart from the green and red colors that adorn both scenes, there is

absolutely no resemblance between Rexroth's rendering and the Chinese text. In fact, Rexroth's translation of the whole poem bears very little resemblance to the Chinese text. Rexroth says in his article "Poet as Translator" that "the text" should be "always there as a control."²⁰ I shall examine whether or not in this case Rexroth keeps himself under control. "The text" of "Winter Dawn" is Florence Ayscough's rendering (Volume I, pp. 109-111). Rexroth's "wine bottle" and "lobster shells" have already strayed from Ayscough's "The red pepper dish has already been extolled in song." The next sentence is an example of the blind leading the blind. The compound *ho tsan* 盞簪 is interpreted by traditional annotators as "all guests are arriving promptly." Therefore, the occasion should be the beginning of a New Year's Eve party. However, instead of annotators' interpretation, Ayscough's rendering is based on the dictionary definition, which she expands into "All assembled are of one mind." Rexroth in turn expands Ayscough's misinterpretation, and changes the occasion into the close of the party, by interpolating Robert Burns' Popular air:

"Should auld acquaintance be forgot?" Each
Sits listening to his own thoughts

...

In this case, Rexroth is completely out of the control of the text, be it the Chinese text, or Ayscough's text. The text merely serves as a departure point for Rexroth's soaring imagination. Rexroth only preserves some scattered imageries in Tu Fu's presentation of a winter gathering in 8th century China. In fact, he has rewritten a poem about the closing moments of a birthday party held for a forty-year old poet in 20th century America.

Among Rexroth's translations of Tu Fu, there are abundant examples of deviations like this one. However, they often have some redeeming features; for example, "Winter Dawn" ends with an imagery of breathtaking visual beauty:

In the winter dawn I will face
My fortieth year. Borne headlong
Towards the long shadows of sunset
By the headstrong, stubborn moments,
Life whirls past like drunken wildfire.

Compared with the following paraphrase of the Chinese text, one can hardly

recognize any resemblance between them:

Tomorrow morning I shall be forty-one years old.
 The flying, undulating evening shadows are aslant.
 Why should one restrain any more this own behavior?
 I should get dead drunk all through my remaining years.

Rexroth's centralized imagery is derived from Ayscough's text, which is full of mistakes:

At bright dawn my years will bridge four tens;
 I fly, I gallop towards the slanting shadows of sunset.
 Who can alter this, who can bridle, who restrain the moments?
 Fiery intoxication is a life's career.

Ayscough's misinterpretations of the Chinese texts are due to the ambiguity of the syntax, a characteristic of classical Chinese poetry, that the subject or the object of a sentence, or sometimes the possessive pronoun is often omitted. Thus, in line two of Ayscough's text, the subject should be "the slanting shadows" instead of "I." In line three, the object should be "oneself" instead of "the moments," while in line four, "a life's career" should be "my life's career." Nevertheless, we should be thankful for Ayscough's mistakes, because otherwise Rexroth would not have been provided with these raw materials to fabricate a new imagery. Rexroth combines the three separate imageries in Ayscough's text into one, and introduced emphatic words such as "long," "headstrong," "stubborn," "whirls past," and "wildfire." I cannot help but marvel at Rexroth's mastery in creating such a complex, yet clear-cut imagery.

The innovation that Rexroth employs here is mainly to improve on Ayscough's metaphor. By words such as "gallop" and "bridle," Ayscough interpolates a metaphor into the Chinese, that human life is the rider while Time is the horse. The horse carries the rider to the sunset, that is, to death. Rexroth in turn interpolates into Ayscough's text a new metaphor that human life is the wildfire while Time is the wind — a desolate scene in the desert with the wildfire whirling towards darkness, carried by a violent wind. The use of the metaphor of rider to stand for the journey of life is rather a cliché in English poetry. This metaphor appears in, to name a few, A.E. Houseman's "A Shropshire Lad," Robert Frost's "Stopping by Woods on a

Snowy Evening," and Robert Browning's "The Last Ride Together." Rexroth's metaphor of wildfire excels not only in its originality, but also in visual effect and intensity of movement. Since Rexroth's rendering differs in every aspect from the Chinese text, either in its content or techniques of presentation, to compare the two could be as futile as to choose the better of these two trees: American oak or Chinese *wu-t'ung* 梧桐. They both are magnificent, but of entirely different species. However, "Winter Dawn" can serve as an illuminating example to illustrate how Rexroth trespasses the boundary of translation into the realm of creativity, and to afford insight into Rexroth's creative process in constructing a centralized and intensified imagery.

IV. The Poetic Situation

When I interviewed Kenneth Rexroth in 1970, he said, "I think that Chinese poetry has had more influence on me than any other kind of poetry. And I wrote poetry mostly according to a kind of Chinese rule."²¹ What he meant by "a kind of Chinese rule" is the presentation of concrete scene and action, and the creation of "poetic situation." He thus further explained the concept of "poetic situation":

It is a certain place, at a certain time. . . . A gong sounds far off among the pines: it is a monastery in the mountains. What this does is to put the reader in a poetic situation. It puts him in a place, just like puts him on the stage, makes him one of the actors. . . . This is the fundamental technique of Chinese poetry.

Indeed Rexroth has perceived an important aspect of Chinese poetics. Chinese landscape poetry often presents nature in its pure, original forms, and the interference of the poet's subjective consciousness is reduced to a minimum. As a result, the reader is brought to a closer contact with nature itself and is put in a state of mind quite similar to being placed in what Rexroth called a "poetic situation." Rexroth not only applies this rule to the writing of his own poetry, but also to the translation of Chinese poetry. In other words, Rexroth would remodel the natural imageries in the source texts according to the "Chinese rule," to render the imageries more sensuous, concrete and specific as well as less discursive and less complicated.

In translating Tu Fu, Rexroth sometimes transforms a subjective statement into the so called "poetic situation." When Rexroth translated no. 5, "Visiting Tsan, Abbot of Ta Yun," he consulted Ayscough's text, "Ts'an Kung's Room in Ta Yün, the Great Cloud" (I, 243). Rexroth's line three is quite different from its source:

Night is deep; hall towers high; (Ayscough)

Between the temple walls the night is bottomless. (Rexroth)

Ayscough's "Night is deep" is a literal rendering of the original *yeh shen* 夜深, which means "far into the night." It is a subjective statement about the passing of time. The juxtaposition of *shen* (deep) and *t'u wu* 突兀 (high, lofty) might imply that the night, like the hall towers, is also dimensional. Rexroth has brought this vaguely implied connotation to the surface, and adopts another definition of the word "deep" — the dimensional extension, the deep, dark space of the night. The walls of two near-by temple halls are placed side by side, and the dark space, the concrete night, is wedged in between. In doing so, Rexroth not only has transformed a statement into an imagery, but gives every object in the imagery a specific locality and results in a more precise poetic situation. This imagery that Rexroth creates is similar in its composition to a famous line from Tu Fu's poem *ko yeh* 閣夜 (Night in the Tower):

三	峽	星	河	影	動	搖
<i>San</i>	<i>hsia</i>	<i>hsing</i>	<i>ho</i>	<i>ying</i>	<i>tung</i>	<i>yao</i>
Three	Gorges	stars	Milky	shadow	move	waver
			Way	reflection		

In the Three Gorges, the reflection of stars and Milky Way quivers on the water. (paraphrase)

There is the similar composition of the dark space wedged between two wall-like steep banks, and the similar color contrast between the pitch black of the walls and the lighter shade of the dark space. Therefore, Rexroth is not introducing an imagery totally new to the great artistry of Tu Fu. Yet he incidentally creates an imagery which coincides with Tu Fu's vision and technique.

To intensify a poetic situation, Rexroth often re-organizes the relationship among the objects of an imagery. In no. 29, "Full Moon," Rexroth relocates the position of the objects of an imagery in Ayscough's source

text:

Western sun reflects from fishing cormorants;
Crowded on weir top they dry black wings.
(Ayscough, II, 85)

. . . The sun sets
Behind a flock of cormorants
Drying their black wings along the river.
(Rexroth)

In Rexroth's translation the bright sun sets right behind the black birds, instead of the sun reflecting from an angle on the birds. Thus, Rexroth has brought the object in bright color and the one in dark into closer contact, and therefore, this imagery of silhouette results in a much stronger contrast of light and darkness. With this alteration, Rexroth creates a more contrasted and picturesque poetic situation. This is what Rexroth refers to as "the images themselves in concrete relationship."²¹

Sometimes Rexroth is so obsessed with the presentation of concrete poetic situation that he would go so far as to abandon complicated relations between the objects in an imagery and present instead a simplified poetic situation. When he translated no. 17, "Overlooking the Desert," he consulted two sources: Hung's and Ayscough's texts.

The wind tears more leaves from the thinning trees;
Behind the hills far away, the sun has just sunk.
(Hung, 152)

Sparse leaves through wind, still further drop;
Divided peaks through lack of sun, dulled.
(Ayscough, II, 37)

The wind blows the last leaves away.
The hills grow dim as the sun sets.
(Rexroth)

The first line of both sources suggests a cause and effect relation, that because the leaves are scarce now, the wind can easily blow off more of them. Rexroth completely leaves out this implication. The second line of both sources implies that there is a certain relation between the "far

away" hills or the "divided" peaks and the timing of the sunset. Rexroth also leaves out this implication. Simplifying a poetic situation is a device that Rexroth employs frequently when he translated Tu Fu poems.²² In Rexroth's translation of these two lines, the imagery of the tree has only one clear-cut movement — the wind stripping the leaves — while the imagery of the hills emphasizes only the dimming effect. The subtlety and complexity of the imageries in the sources are all missed. John L. Bishop thus observes Rexroth's translation in *One Hundred Poems from the Chinese*:

Nevertheless, the general effect of these English versions is one of clarity and simplicity. . . . Yet, for those who have worked to any extent with Chinese poetry, such lucidity is cause for uneasiness. It is just when a poem appears to be so transparent that one should suspect that additional, and valid, levels of meaning are overlooked.²³

I quite agree with John L. Bishop's observation which points out a serious drawback of Rexroth's translation of Tu Fu. The effect that Rexroth produces is closer to that of the five-character quatrains by Wang Wei 王維 and Liu Chang-ch'ing 劉長卿, which are distinctive in their clear-cut, crystalline natural imageries. Rexroth's simple, effortless renderings give a false impression, for Tu Fu's poetry is among the most elaborate and strenuous. Furthermore, Rexroth fails to present Tu Fu's dimensions and depth, even though in some cases the source texts, which faithfully convey Tu Fu's subtlety and complexity, are accessible to him.

However, although sometimes Rexroth has simplified a loaded poetic situation, the imagery he creates is so powerful and centralized that in a sense, the loss is outweighed by the gain. Rexroth's no. 10, "To Wei Pa, a Retired Scholar," is probably his most touching single translation of Tu Fu. It depicts the re-union of the poet and his boyhood friend in 759 A.D. when Tu Fu was in his late forties. The poem proceeds in the poet's fluent narrative about their surprise, joy and sorrow as well as providing the details of their re-union. Finally, the poem ends with a powerful imagery which broadens the perspective, placing their relationship in the ruthless forces of the macrocosm. I believe hardly anyone can remain untouched by the pathos in this imagery. Where does the power of these lines lie?

Tomorrow morning mountain peaks

Will come between us, and with them
 The endless, oblivious
 Business of the world.

There is a shift of perspective from the previous lines which center on the activities at Wei Pa's home. There are alliterations in the first line. But these are not the crucial reasons. There are two sources for this translation: the Chinese text and Ayscough's:

明	日	隔	山	岳
<i>ming</i>	<i>jih</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>shan</i>	<i>yo</i>
tomorrow		separate	hills	mountains

(Tomorrow we will be separated by mountains.) or (Tomorrow the mountains will separate us.)

世	事	兩	茫	茫
<i>shih</i>	<i>shih</i>	<i>liang</i>	<i>mang</i>	<i>mang</i>
world	affairs	both	vast, boundless, be at a loss	

(Both of us will be lost in the boundless worldly affairs.)
 (the original and a paraphrase)

On the bright morrow mountain peaks divide us, We shall both
 be immersed in endless, endless, world affairs.
 (Ayscough, I, 323)

Here again a statement is transformed into a concrete metaphor, and Rexroth demonstrates his capacity to intensify both the movement and the internal relationship of the objects. He waves his magic wand, bestowing both the "peaks" and the "business of the world" with the power to move and to act. Together these two metaphors move straight in to separate the poet and his friend Wei Pa. This motion is both dramatic and tragic, more forceful than that in the sources. It effectively presents the impact and the immensity of external forces, and the inevitable separation of dear friends.

In spite of the fact that Rexroth so often gives inaccurate, partial, or distorted presentation of Tu Fu's poems, he is still far in advance of many other translators of Chinese verse in his comprehension of the Chinese poetic

mind at work. As Wai-lim Yip points out, translators of Chinese poetry such as Herbert Giles, Witter Bynner, and Judith Gautier are inevitably influenced by the traditional Western approach to gain perception by discursive, analytical means.²⁴ Thus they often rationalize the direct and montage-like imageries in Chinese poetry. This results in "a superficial structure imposed upon undifferentiated existence and hence distorting it."²⁵ Rexroth is rarely guilty of imposition of this kind. To illustrate this point, we will compare Rexroth and Witter Bynner's translation of Tu Fu's *ko yeh* (Night in the Tower):

While winter daylight shortens in the elemental scale
 And snow and frost whiten the cold-circling night,
 Stark sounds the fifth-watch with a challenge of drum and bugle.
 (Bynner, *The Jade Mountain*, p. 127)

It is late in the year;
 Yin and Yang struggle
 In the brief sunlight.
 On the desert mountains,
 Frost and snow
 Gleam in the freezing night.
Past midnight,
 Drums and bugles ring out,
 Violent, cutting the heart.

(Rexroth, no. 30, "Night in the House by the River")

When Bynner inserts the word "while," he is imposing a logical time sequence on these three groups of imageries whereas Rexroth lets these imageries remain independent and intact. Rexroth even arranges for the smaller units such as "it is late in the year" and "past midnight" to stay by themselves grammatically by punctuation and end-stop lines. In other words, he lets nature reveal itself to the reader, without applying logical, analytical intervention, which is usually how the Chinese poetic mind is at work in a landscape poem.

In some cases, Rexroth even pushes it to the extreme by eliminating any subjective interplay between the persona and nature. The following example from no. 31, "Dawn over the Mountains" will be placed side by side with its source:

Sky soundless, hear leaves drop from trees.
(Ayscough, II, 289)

The still sky –
The sound of falling leaves.

(Rexroth)

The source clearly indicates that a literal rendering of this line should read: "The sky is soundless. *I hear* leaves dropping from trees." But, there is no "I" in Rexroth's rendering. He eliminates the voice of the persona, and instead lets his reader establish direct contact with the sound of the falling leaves. In this incident, Rexroth has rendered Tu Fu's poem one step closer to the tradition of Chinese landscape poetry which has been upheld by poets such as Hsieh Ling-yun 謝靈運, T'ao Ch'ien 陶潛, Wang Wei, Meng Hao-jan 孟浩然, Liu Chang-ch'ing, and others.

Rexroth has acquainted himself thoroughly with the structure and device of *tuei chü* 對句 (the antithetical couplet). In a lecture note about Chinese poetry written around 1944, he illustrates the antithetical couplet by an example of Tu Fu's quatrain:

White birds grey river.
Scarlet flowers, green hills.
I watch Spring pass.
I doubt home return.²⁶

We should note that in the source of this rendering, only the first couplet is antithetical:

River jade-grey; birds gleam white;
Hills green; flowers burn red.

Now in Spring; I see it pass;
What day will open return-home year?
(Ayscough, II, 170)

The second couplet in Ayscough's rendering suggests no antithesis, but Rexroth has rendered it into an approximation of an antithetical couplet. In fact when he translates Chinese poetry, he several times interpolates

approximations of antithetical couplets or triplets when there is none implied in the source; for example, the following lines from no. 29, "Full Moon," present a couplet and then a triplet with antithetical characteristics while in the source of Ayscough's text (II, 222) antithesis is not as apparent.

The circle without blemish.
 The empty mountains without sound.
 The moon hangs in the vacant, wide constellations.
 Pine cones drop in the old garden.
 The senna trees bloom.

(Rexroth)

Rexroth in most cases tries to preserve the antithetical couplets. He said, "I have usually disguised these strict antitheses slightly by lineation or syntax."²⁷ A literal rendering of an antithetical couplet into English would sound awkward and unnatural, especially if there were more than one such couplet in a poem. Rexroth solves this problem by the use of enjambement. Rexroth's translation no. 19, "Country Cottage" in fact has three antithetical couplets. If we re-arrange the lineation by end stop, the antithetical pattern would be very apparent:

A peasant's shack beside the clear river,]
 The rustic gate opens on a deserted road.] couplet one

Weeds grow over the public well.]
 I loaf in my old clothes.] couplet two

Willow branches sway.]
 Flowering trees perfume the air.] couplet three

However, Rexroth breaks the original six lines into seven and four among them are run-on:

A peasant's shack beside the (run on)
 Clear river, the rustic gate (run on)
 Opens on a deserted road.
 Weeds grow over the public well.
 I loaf in my old clothes, Willow (run on)

Branches sway. Flowering trees (run on)
Perfume the air.

The antithetical pattern is so constantly interrupted by enjambement that the reader is likely to be deluded into overlooking the existence of the antithetical pattern. Enjambement is a device Rexroth employs over and over again in his own poetry as well as in his translation. But in this example, with the tactful use of this device, he is able to usher a foreign metrical pattern into English poetry.

V. This Ancient Man Is I

After Witter Bynner introduced Tu Fu to the nineteen-year old Rexroth in New Mexico, Rexroth became a life-long, all-out admirer of this ancient Chinese poet.²⁸ He held Tu Fu in the highest esteem: "I considered him the greatest nonepic, nondramatic poet who ever lived. In some ways he is a better poet than either Shakespeare or Homer. At least he is more natural and intimate." Rexroth also admitted that because he was saturated by Tu Fu's poetry over the years, Tu Fu's personality had exerted a profound influence on him: "I am sure he has made me a better man, as a moral agent and as a perceiving organism." In Rexroth's own poetry, the fusion of the two personalities is quite obvious. In some poems, Rexroth speaks in the tone of Tu Fu, while in others he mixes his own experience with that of Tu Fu. Since Rexroth to a large extent empathized with Tu Fu, when he translated him, it is unlikely that he could have retained an objective, scholarly attitude. He must have imposed his subjective interpretation and his personal predilection on the translation, especially if he was to project himself into the experience of that ancient poet.²⁹ It would be interesting to examine how Rexroth's bias has affected his choice of Tu Fu's poetry; in what ways, his interpretation of Tu Fu's personality causes him to present a biased or even distorted image of Tu Fu; and to what extent, Rexroth's own experiences and convictions are projected into his Tu Fu translations.

Among the bulk of Tu Fu's poetry, his realistic satires are the most admired by traditional critics and are the favorites of Chinese readers. Some of these poems depict people's sufferings in wars and under the oppression of cruel bureaucrats. Some express Tu Fu's audacious protest against the corruption in the government. But Rexroth did not translate any of these satires. This biased choice might have resulted from his perception of Tu

Fu as a poet. Basically, Rexroth believes Tu Fu's poetry is "a kind of elegiac reverie," dealing with "what man does with his loneliness."³⁰ Among Rexroth's thirty-six translations of Tu Fu poems, more than two thirds are poems treating this subject.³¹ The perceiving mind is ever lonesome and sensitive, be he in the mountains, by a river, at a ruin, in the government bureau, or at a bustling banquet. Thus, Rexroth presents to his readers only some aspects of Tu Fu's personality. Nothing in his translations suggests the one important aspect of Tu Fu, that he is a fighter for humanitarianism with an extremely strong social consciousness as well as a firm commitment to his fellow countrymen. Strangely enough, Rexroth is also a poet who whole-heartedly commits himself to reality. A glance at the titles of his essays will reveal his concerns: "Moral, Ethics, Religion, Ideology, the Poet, Poetry," "Community Planning," "Urbanism," and "Who is Alienated from What?"³² However, there is one side of Tu Fu's personality, of which Rexroth expresses disapproval. He dislikes the fact that Tu Fu was an overtly serious Confucian officer.³³ Perhaps, because Rexroth himself has been a committed anarchist, he cannot help but resist Tu Fu's Confucian approach to reality. As a result, he simply denies every realistic poem that Tu Fu writes under the influence of Confucian ethics.

Rexroth believes that the great artistry of Tu Fu's poetry lies in his power to present "himself immediately as a person in total communication" in a pure, simple, and direct way.³⁴ Hence, Rexroth tends to render Tu Fu's poems in an intimate, conversational tone. A comparison of Rexroth's translation of no. 18, "Visitors," and its source shows how Rexroth has rendered the poem more direct, personal and immediate than its sources:

Long time past have suffered difficult breathing;
New house built looking down upon river.

Noise is slight; a place to escape the vulgar;
Relaxed, senses sharpened, am a very happy man.

(Ayscough, II, 83)

I have had asthma for a
Long time. It seems to improve
Here in this house by the river.
It is quiet too. No crowds
Bother me. I am brighter
And more rested. I am happy here.

(Rexroth)

The word "I" and "me" appear four times in Rexroth's version whereas there is none in the source. Rexroth not only employs the first person pronoun many times, but also short sentences and conversational tone. His translation sounds as if the poet is talking face to face with his close friend, and indeed has achieved what he believes to be Tu Fu's style — to present the poet "immediately as a person in total communication." It is also a very engaging tone, engaging his reader in an intimate chat. Rexroth's interpretation of Tu Fu's style is, generally speaking, not far off the mark. There is seriousness and sincerity in all Tu Fu's poetry. But as a consequence of what he believes to be Tu Fu's style of "total communication," Rexroth has, in this particular example, exaggerated the tone of intimacy a bit too much.

Similarly, because Rexroth thinks that Tu Fu has "passionate relationships" with men, he often intensifies the emotional tone in Tu Fu's poems written to his friends, sometimes even to the extent of sentimentalism. Close relationship between men, as Rexroth points out, is mostly "just convention, the accepted tone of Chinese poetry of the scholar gentry."³⁵ Governor Yen Wu 嚴武 is both Tu Fu's close friend and his benefactor. In no. 22, "Farewell Once More: to My Friend Yen at Feng Chi Station," a farewell poem written for Yen Wu who was summoned to the capital from Cheng Tu 成都 for a new post in 763 A.D., there is a line describing Yen Wu's fame as a conscientious officer and his popularity among the people, *lieh chün ou ke hsi* 列郡謳歌惜 — which literally means "In all the prefectures along the river, people sing ballads in praise of you, deploring your leaving." The source that Rexroth consulted is rendered in a way that the subject of the sentence stays ambiguous:

East of stream, West of stream, ballads of regret are sung;
(Ayscough, II, 123)

The ambiguity allows Rexroth to distort the meaning of this line: it becomes Tu Fu and Yen Wu, instead of the people, who sing the ballads. Rexroth also combines this line with the preceding end-stop line. In fact Rexroth often ignores the couplet structure of Chinese poetry, and links together lines that have no relationship whatsoever.

Last night we walked
 Arm in arm in the moonlight,
 Singing sentimental ballads
 Along the banks of the river.

Rexroth has created a vivid picture of two buddies frolicking in their tipsiness. Yen Wu and Tu Fu might very well have done this, since they had been good friends for about fifteen years, even though Yen Wu held a powerful high position and Tu Fu was nothing but a poor, humble poet. But, what Tu Fu's poem says is something quite different; Rexroth has turned a eulogy into a sentimental scene. In fact he often presents Tu Fu as a warmer, more outgoing, more zealous man than the image of Tu Fu as it appears in the Chinese original texts. This is probably a result of Rexroth's interpretation of the passionate relationship between the men of the gentry.

Rexroth professed that among Tu Fu's poems he chose those in which he could find experience identical to his own, those that would speak to him of similar situation in his own life, and eventually he came to regard his Tu Fu translations as expressions of himself.³⁶ Indeed, from what I know about the man Kenneth Rexroth in the last twelve years of his life, the voice speaking through these thirty-six Tu Fu poems bears much similarity to his own — with the same warmth and care towards friends, enraptured in the same way by the beauty of nature, and with the same openness and sensitivity to encounter experience and reality. On the other hand, I also find that Rexroth projected his own experiences and convictions into some Tu Fu translations. In Tu Fu's poem "chüan yeh" 倦夜 (A Tiresome Night), the poet is lying inside his bedroom, whereas in the translation, Rexroth has moved the poet outdoors, to a bamboo grove, and changed the title of the poem into "A Restless Night in Camp" (no. 23). The Chinese text *chu liang ch'in wo nei* 竹涼侵臥內 literally means "chill from the bamboos invades my bedroom." The source Rexroth consulted is Ayscough's text:

Chill from bamboos creeps in where I lie;
 (Ayscough, II, 137)

In the penetrating damp
 I sleep under the bamboos

...

(Rexroth)

Ayscough's ambiguous text allows Rexroth to imagine a different setting. However, Tu Fu is not a wild mountain man like Han Shan 寒山. It is most unlikely that Tu Fu would have enjoyed camping in the wilderness as many nature-lovers do in the West. As a matter of fact, although hermit poets of ancient China clung to nature, they usually preferred to sleep in their hermitages and rarely camped outdoors. On the other hand, Rexroth loved to camp in the wilderness. There are many descriptions of camping episodes in his own poetry. His use of the word "damp" to replace "chill" betrays him: it is highly possible that Rexroth himself experienced the "damp" air when he camped under bamboos or other trees. In the Chinese text of this poem, the poet is very restless — he goes out from his bedroom into the courtyard and worries with great anxiety about the war. In Rexroth's translation, the mood of the poet is rather placid — he stays in his sleeping-bag and muses on nature and human affairs. Because of the change of setting, Rexroth has significantly altered the tone and the image of the persona. He himself often wrote poems about his reveries when he camped in the mountain, as in "Another Spring," "King River Canyon," and "A Living Pearl."³⁷ In the translation "A Restless Night in Camp" the "I" who sleeps under bamboos, without doubt, must be Rexroth the camper. He must have projected his own experience into the persona and it is Rexroth's voice that dominates the poem.

Even though Rexroth realized that Tu Fu's poetry is "saturated with the exile's nostalgia and the abiding sense of the pathos of glory and power," in some poems, his own convictions in life supersede Tu Fu's pessimism.³⁸ In poem 30, "Night in the House by the River," Rexroth ends the translation with a positive statement about the effort of poets and writers, while the source text suggests no such notion:

Sleeping Dragon, Leaping Horse — in the end are yellow earth;
Works of men, harmonious writings are silent, stilled.

(Ayscough, II, 228)

The great heroes and generals of old time
Are yellow dust forever now.
Such are the affairs of men.
Poetry and letters.
Persist in silence and solitude.

(Rexroth)

A literal rendering of Rexroth's last three lines could also read: "No news. No letters. Immeasurable are the loneliness and silence." (*jen shih yin shu man chi liao* 人事音書漫寂寥). Rexroth abandons the pessimistic view about the futility of letters implied in Ayscough's text, and instead presents an opposing view to praise the courage and fortitude of writers and poets. This might result from Rexroth's conviction of the important cultural and historical role of a poet.³⁹

The foregoing discussion may lead one to conclude that Rexroth's translations of Tu Fu completely disregard the rule of fidelity, that he either creates new imageries on a whim, alters the tone of the persona, or interpolates freely his own experiences or convictions. This is not totally true. In some cases, his translations can be both accurate and refined. Rexroth's no. 4, "Snow Storm" might have consulted both Ayscough's and the Chinese texts. Here are the two sources and Rexroth's rendering of a couplet:

亂	雲	低	薄	暮
<i>luan</i>	<i>yün</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>po</i>	<i>mu</i>
disarrayed	clouds	lower	disappearing	sunset

(The disarrayed clouds gather low in the twilight.)

急	雪	舞	迴	風
<i>chi</i>	<i>hsüeh</i>	<i>wu</i>	<i>hui</i>	<i>feng</i>
hurrying	snow	dance	whirling	wind

Clouds, torn in confusion, sink low in prevailing twilight; Hurrying snowflakes perform a posturing dance on whirling wind.

(Ayscough, I, 228-229)

... Ragged mist settles
In the spraeding dusk. Snow skurries
In the coiling wind.

(Rexroth)

Rexroth's rendering is almost word-for-word faithful to the Chinese text. How accurate and precise is his choice of diction in "spreading dusk" and "soiling wind!" Also when used as a prefix, the word "*luan*" 亂 proves to be a challenge to the translator. However, Rexroth seems to be able to find the right word every time. William Hung renders *luan yün* 亂雲 awkwardly into "confused clouds" (p. 103) and Ayscough's "clouds, torn in

confusion" is too wordy. Rexroth's "ragged mist" is by far a superior rendering. Rexroth also renders *luan shan* 亂山 superbly into "jumbled hills."⁴⁰ There are abundant examples of Rexroth's excellent choice of diction such as "guttering candle" for *ts'an chu* 殘燭 (no. 26) and "gusty lantern" for *feng teng* 風燈 (no. 35). Rexroth was gifted with the power to find the exact poetic diction, which is a prerequisite for any good poet.

Nevertheless, not many lines in Rexroth's translations of Tu Fu can claim both fidelity and beauty as does the couplet from "Snow Storm," which we have discussed earlier. Strictly speaking, his renderings of Tu Fu are not translation per se. Nor do they achieve what he aspired to — that they should be true to the spirit of the originals — because mostly it is Rexroth's own spirit that enlivens the lines. No matter how complete and polished a source text is, Rexroth always treats it as his raw material. Using this material, he relived what he believed to be Tu Fu's experience. Therefore, his renderings are either expansions on the source texts, or personalized interpretations of Tu Fu. All in all, he is capable of creating precise and intensified imagery and capable of penetrating the whole poem with his own intimate, effusive voice. His renderings do possess some general characteristics of Chinese poetry such as objective presentation of nature, concrete poetic situation, and the tone of direct communication, but these are not necessarily Tu Fu's most unique characteristics. If we, bearing these in mind, approach his Tu Fu renderings not as translation, but as creative interpretation, we shall not fall into the trap of all those deviations and distortions, and meanwhile can appreciate the creativity of an accomplished American poet. Who can resist the sincerity and the charm of these lines, regardless of the beautiful errors therein?

It is Spring in the mountains.
I come alone seeking you.
The sound of chopping wood echos
Between the silent peaks.

...

(Rexroth, no. 2, "Written
on the Wall at Chang's
Hermitage")

Notes

1. New York: New Directions.
2. "Two New Books by Kenneth Rexroth," *Poetry*, 90 (June, 1957), 180.
3. "This Ancient Man Was I," *Chinatown News* (March 3, 1958), 11.
4. Journals such as *New York Times Book Review*, *Observer*, *Pilot*, etc. reprinted some Tu Fu translations. His Tu Fu translations are anthologized in *Poetry for Pleasure* (Garden City: Hallmark Cards, 1960) and *Naked Poetry: Recent American Poetry in Open Forms*, compiled by Stephen Berg and Robert Mezey (Indianapolis: the Bobbs-Merrill, 1969). In John Ciardi's *How Does a Poem Mean?* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1959), three translations are analyzed. Two Tu Fu translations were set to music by Charles Boone for the 1971 Ujai Festival. Pertti Nieminen translated the Sung poets into Finnish in *Syksyn ääni* (Otava, 1966).
5. "From a Letter," *For Rexroth*, edited by Geoffrey Gardner (New York: the Ark, 1980), p. 60.
6. "Homage to the Chinese," *For Rexroth*, p. 42.
7. *Comparative Literature*, 10 (1958), 61-68.
8. "Introduction," *One Hundred Poems from the Chinese*, p. xi.
9. No. 57, "Spring Rain," *Love and the Turning Year* (New York: New Directions), p. 62.
10. "Introduction," *One Hundred Poems from the Chinese*, p. xi. *A Concordance to the Poems of Tu Fu* (Taipei: Chinese Materials and Research Aids Service Center, 1966), Volume two is *Chiu Chia Chi Chu Tu Shih* edited by Kuo Chih-ta 郭知達. Hung, *Tu Fu: China's Greatest Poet* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952). Ayscough, *Tu Fu: the Autobiography of a Chinese Poet, 712-759*, vol. 1 (London: Jonathan Cape, 1929). Ayscough, *Travels of a Chinese Poet: Tu Fu, Guest of Rivers and Lakes, 759-770*, volume two (London: Jonathan Cape, 1934). Erwin von Zack, *Gedichte* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952). The Tu Fu texts I consulted include *Chiu Chia Chi Chu Tu Shih, Tu Shih Ching Ch'uan* 杜詩鏡銓 (Taipei: Yi Wen Yin Shu Kuan 藝文印書館, 1971), and P'u Ch'i-lung 浦起龍, *Tu Tu Hsin Chieh* 讀杜心解 (Peking: Chung-hua Shu-chu 中華書局, 1961).
11. Harvey St. Denys, *Poésies de l'époque de Thang* (Paris, 1862), the source of Rexroth's no. 7 is on p. 141. Lo Ta Kang, *Cent quatrains des T'ang* (Paris, 1947), the source of Rexroth's no. 20 is on p. 193. Georges Margouliés, *Anthology raisonnée de la littérature chinoise* (Paris: Payot, 1948), the sources of Rexroth's no. 32 and no. 21 are on pages 231 and 375. Payne, *The White Pony: an Anthology of Chinese Poetry from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (New York: The John Day Company, 1947), the source of Rexroth's no. 7 is on p. 193.
12. Kenneth Rexroth Papers, Special Collections, UCLA, 175/2 box 14. Altogether, twenty-two out of the thirty-six Tu Fu poems have either typographs or holographs kept in this Special Collections.
13. *The White Pony*, p. 193.
14. Papers presented in this Symposium are collected in *The Craft and Context of Translation*, edited by William Arrowsmith and Roger Shattuck (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1961). Rexroth's "the Poet as Translator" is on pp. 22-37.
15. *The Craft and Context of Translation*, p. 22.
16. "Notes," *One Hundred Poems from the Chinese*, p. 136.

17. *The Jade Mountain* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1964 [1929]), p. 197, note 49d.
18. "The Lively Conventions of Translation," *Craft and Context of Translation*, p. 124.
19. *One Hundred Poems from the Chinese*, p. 138.
20. *Craft and Context of Translation*, p. 23.
21. "Tu Fu Poem," *Classics Revisited*, (New York: Avon Books, 1965) p. 130.
22. More examples can be found in translation no. 12, "By the Winding River II," lines 4-6; no. 23, "A Restless Night in Camp," line 6; and no. 33, "Stars and Moon on the River," lines 4-5.
23. *Comparative Literature*, 10 (1958), 61.
24. *Ezra Pound's Cathay* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), Chapter One, "The Chinese Poem: Some Aspects of the Problem of Syntax in Translation," pp. 8-33.
25. Wai-lim Yip, "Aesthetic Consciousness of Landscape in Chinese and Anglo-American Poetry," *Comparative Literature Studies*, 15, no. 2 (June, 1978), 216.
26. Special Collections, UCLA, 175/2/box 1.
27. *One Hundred Poems from the Chinese*, p. 139.
28. *An Autobiographical Novel* (New York: New Directions, 1964), pp. 318-29.
29. *The Craft and Context of Translation*, p. 29.
30. *Classics Revisited*, p. 127.
31. They are poems no. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 17, 19, 20, 21, 23, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, and 34. The rest are either about friendship or about landscape.
32. These are titles from Rexroth's collection of essays, *the Alternative Society* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1972).
33. *Classics Revisited*, p. 128.
34. "Unacknowledged Legislators and 'art pour art'," *Bird in the Bush, Obvious Essays* (New York: New Directions, 1959 [1947]), p. 17.
35. *Classics Revisited*, p. 129.
36. *One Hundred Poems from the Chinese*, p. 136.
37. *The Collected Shorter Poems of Kenneth Rexroth* (New York: New Directions, 1966), pp. 145, 192-92 and 234-36.
38. *Classics Revisited*, p. 127.
39. For Rexroth's conviction on the role of a poet, see "Unacknowledged Legislators and 'art pour art'," *Bird in the Bush*, pp. 3-18.
40. Wang An-shih 王安石 "On the River," translated by Kenneth Rexroth and Ling Chung, *New Poems*, by Kenneth Rexroth (New York: New Directions, 1974 [1971]), p. 83.

