MANIFESTATIONS OF ARTHUR WALEY: SOME BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND OTHER NOTES

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If Ezra Pound's assertion that the great ages of literature are always allied with great ages of translation is true,[1] then those interested in the work of what Cyril Connolly called 'the Modern Movement' would have ample justification, like Connolly in his book, for including in their collections Arthur Waley's translations together with the other works of outstanding originality that appeared between 1880 and 1950. Though Connolly chose as one of his hundred 'key books' *A Hundred and Seventy Chinese Poems* for bringing Chinese civilization into English poetry, he noted Waley's subsequent achievement in bringing Japanese civilization to Western readers with the monumental rendering of *Genji Monogatari*. If the dual accomplishment amply justifies the attention of the collector interested in recording the development of the taste of that time, this translator of genius also has another, if lesser, place in the record, as a poet in his own right. Edmund Blunden numbered him among the poets, for example, and W. B. Yeats included his work in *The Oxford Book of Modern Verse* (1936), as did Philip Larkin in *The Oxford Book of Twentieth Century English Verse* (1973).

Waley's extraordinary contribution to sinological and Japanological scholarship needs no repetition, and at least one dissertation has been written about his impact on English letters, though he consistently disclaimed having had any effect on English poetry.[2] But his general influence, much of it due to his personal friendships, is more difficult to treat with precision, as it shows up more casually but none the less pervasively in ways which were taken so much for granted at the time as not to call for comment then. These notes may serve to indicate where his traces can be found before the record becomes blurred with the increase of writings about him.

It is doubtful that Waley was ever an uncollected author, for, even before the appearance of his first book, Arthur Clutton-Brock introduced him to readers of the *Times Literary Supplement* in an article on the front page for 15 November 1917, devoted to two groups of translations which had appeared in the first number of the *Bulletin* of the (then) School of Oriental Studies.[3] The reviewer wrote of the 'strange and wonderful experience' of reading Waley's translations from the Chinese and assured readers that they were being made aware of 'a new planet'. Ten more contributions containing translations appeared in periodicals before July 1918 when *A Hundred and Seventy Chinese Poems* was published by Constable. A second printing was exhausted before Christmas and *More Translations from*

the Chinese followed in July 1919 from Allen and Unwin. In the United States Alfred Knopf perceptively secured the rights to *170* which came out there at the same time as *More Translations* did in England. Thus was launched a career of remarkable richness and versatility.

The poems first collected in *170* were frequently reprinted in periodicals, and were favourites with anthologists from 1927 onwards. In 1934 Sir James Lockhart's selection of translations by Giles and Waley, with the Chinese text, was published in Shanghai using fifty-one poems from *170*. Georgia Valensin and Eugenio Montale used 140 pieces from *170* and *More Translations* in their collection *Liriche Cinesi* (Turin, 1943), the remaining twenty-seven coming from a French anthology of 1933, while the whole of *Chinese Poetry* (1946) was translated into German in 1951.

If there is any pattern to be observed in the appearance of nearly forty books and over a hundred and thirty articles published between 1916 and 1964, one could establish these rough categories: works dealing with Chinese art appeared between 1917 and 1931, translations from Japanese from 1919 to 1933, and the scholarly books pertaining to ancient China mostly between 1934 and 1939. The biographies of poets—almost a new genre devised by Waley as they had to be based largely upon the poetry of three men—came out between 1949 and 1956. The translations from the Chinese run from 1916 to 1923, with *Chinese Poems* (1946) which he called 'essentially a book of poetry' representing his revision of the early work.[4] To these he added *Monkey* (1942), and in 1960 *Ballads and Stories from Tun-huang*, a collection of popular literature ranging between the fifth and tenth centuries, which revealed another hitherto unfamiliar type of Chinese literature to the West. But no tidy classification of his work is really possible, so wide was his scope.

Waley's writings on Far Eastern art, of course, span the whole period of his time at the British Museum, for this was where his official duties lay. His *Introduction to the Study of Chinese Painting* (1923), dedicated to his chief, the poet Laurence Binyon, has been called a very Chinese book for it is anecdotal following the Chinese manner. He included translations, and retranslations of some of the classical authorities, together with some poetry. The Western sources he had at his disposal were limited but he used them, as well as the Oriental ones, critically and unconventionally. He did not take for granted the superiority of Western views and if he adopted the largely traditional literary approach of the Chinese to their painting it was perhaps because it coincided with his own predilections.

His contribution on Zen painting, separately published the year before, anticipated a subject much written about later but which was then virtually uninvestigated in the West. His catalogue of Chinese paintings in the British Museum remains unpublished but that of the Tun-huang paintings recovered by Sir Aurel Stein he completed after his retirement, having initially joined in 1917 the group in the Museum helping with the appendices to Stein's massive *Serindia* (1921).

Before the publication of *Japanese Poetry* in 1919 Waley had collaborated (acquiring Japanese at the same time as Chinese) with Yeats, Pound, and Edmund Dulac in the staging of a recital of classic Japanese dance in November 1915.[5] This was a result of

Fig. 1. Spanish Waley, *c.*1914. Sketch by Stephen Gooden. (By courtesy of Miss Joan A. Gooden)

Pound's editing of Fenollosa's material on the Nō plays, which was to prove so valuable to Yeats in his search for a new form of symbolic drama.[6] Waley characteristically then proceeded to investigate the subject more fully, encouraged by Oswald Sickert, and *The Nō Plays of Japan* duly appeared in 1921. He used the available sources, both Japanese and European, citing Pound and Fenollosa's *Nōh or Accomplishment* (1916), in which his own help was acknowledged. Another collaborative effort, the 1913 *Plays of Old Japan*, he recognized by sending a copy of his article 'The Nō: a Few Translations' inscribed to one of its authors, Marie Stopes. But he was taken in, as Malcolm Cowley related, by Foster Damon's pastiche Nō play published in *The Dial* in 1920, and wrote to enquire about the Japanese original.

Yeats used Waley's book in his subsequent work,[7] while in France it bore fruit through Copeau and his disciples. Jean Schlumberger's story *Stéphane le Glorieux* was also influenced by *The Nō Plays*.

Turning to the novel, Waley worked just as systematically when he embarked upon *The Tale of Genji* which took him ten years to finish. Though at first he did not have available to him the critical material that his successors had, he knew Kencho Suematsu's first English version of part of the novel which had three editions between 1882 and 1900. The appearance of Edward Seidensticker's new translation in 1976 produced a spate of comparisons by specialists[8] but it is certainly true that Waley's re-creation, with its additions and suppressions, shows more of the translator's personality than the new version does.

This fairyland world, and it is not without significance that Waley chose an epigraph from Perrault's *Sleeping Beauty* for the book, incorporated for his reader the sensibility of the Bloomsbury aesthetic, to which he was so well attuned and of the best aspects of which he was in so many respects an exemplification. One might justifiably conclude that he found Genji's world—the world of the Shining Prince as Ivan Morris called it—as portrayed by Murasaki, which excludes so much of the unsavoury aspects of Heian Japan, very much to his taste. If the new translation echoes the starker, more neutral times we live in today, there is still room for more, as a reviewer remarked, and the truism that every generation has to produce its translations holds, for translations inevitably mirror the age which produces them, as they reflect the translator too.

Waley recognized not only the documentary importance but also the brilliance and poetic quality of *The Pillow-Book of Sei Shōnagon* in his partial version of 1928. He said that of all his works it was the one which he preferred, and much can be discerned from the book and its introduction concerning his own likes and dislikes. This small gem was later followed, like *Genji*, by a full translation, done by Ivan Morris in 1967.

With *The Way and its Power* (1934), *The Book of Songs* (1937), *The Analects of Confucius* (1938), and *Three Ways of Thought in Ancient China* (1939) Waley gave elegant renderings of Chinese classics. He was in full possession of the current scholarship, though never obtruding it on the reader, and not hesitating to depart from it when he saw fit. A good example from the *Analects* (p. 184), recorded by Walter Simon, was 'the amazing discovery, tucked away in a note, that the character *wei* in one of the sayings had not been

Fig. 2. Japanese Waley, 1915. Brush-and-ink drawing by Edmund Dulac. (C. White, *Edmund Dulac*, Studio Vista, 1976)

recognized by the commentaries as the name of a person (xiv, 15). "Translators have followed suit" is the laconic ending of the note.' Waley was punctilious in making changes in these books, as reprints were called for (though sometimes both he and his publisher failed to indicate that corrections had been made), and the revised impressions seem on superficial examination not to vary from the originals owing to the techniques and economics of modern printing and publishing. Some of the revisions revealed by an inspection of the 1949 reprint of *The Way and its Power*, for example, are changes in the translations on pp. 147, 155, and 181, with added notes on pp. 28, 60, 61, 173, and 249, and although the reprint of *The Book of Songs* in 1954 is called a second impression by the publisher, Waley wrote a new 'Preface to the Second Edition', made some changes to the text, and added to the notes, thus superseding the 1937 text. But in the Random House reprint of *The Analects* (1960) (which on first publication had an edition of 2,000 copies), the textual notes were dropped by the publisher when 15,000 copies were produced. The size of the print runs of the paperback editions of these books shows not only the demand for them because of their intrinsic quality, but also the growth of Far Eastern studies which his work had materially advanced. *The Nine Songs* (1955) completed this formidable group of contributions so extensively drawn upon by writers in many fields.

The three biographies, *Po Chü-i* (1949), *Li Po* (1950), and *Yuan Mei* (1956) allowed Waley to give free rein again to his enduring interest in poetry while at the same time incorporating into the narrative his unrivalled mastery of the historical subject-matter built up over a lifetime. They show perhaps a return to the early translations from the Chinese with which he first made his name and to which his reputation is indissolubly linked.

The breadth of Waley's interests and the extent of his erudition were prodigious, and though anecdotes of his reserve and at times devastating brevity abound, his friends of long standing were not as unnerved by it as were those of a later generation. Ivan Morris's appreciation and anthology *Madly Singing in the Mountains* (1970) collects some reminiscences of him. As it seems unlikely now that a full biography of this highly private person will be written,[9] these pieces can be supplemented from the published letters, memoirs, and biographies of those who were more nearly his contemporaries. They include Sir Harold Acton, Stella Bowen, Gerald Brenan, Dora Carrington, Sir Kenneth Clark, Ivy Compton-Burnett, Cyril Connolly, Roger Fry, David Garnett, Anthony Powell, William Plomer, Frances Partridge, Peter Quennell, the Sitwells, Lytton Strachey, Evelyn Waugh, and Virginia Woolf.

Sir Osbert Sitwell, for example, in *Noble Essences* said of Waley that he had 'perhaps the greatest range of friendship of any person I know, extending from dons and savants to spiritualists and members of Parliament, from his own kind, poets, painters, musicians, to those who practice their obsolete Eskimo tricks in winter on the topmost slopes of mountains'.[10] Dame Edith wrote to Jack Lindsay in 1948 saying that only he and Arthur Waley knew what her early poetry meant.[11] Waley dedicated *Chinese Poems* (1946) to her and *Yuan Mei* (1956) to Sir Osbert. All three Sitwells recognized him with dedications of their own books.[12] Sacheverell was categorical, writing that 'Arthur Waley had the most universal appreciation and intelligence of anyone I have known'.[13] He dedicated

touchingly his 'Forty-Eight Poems' (*Poetry Review*, 1967, pp. 75–120) in farewell to his old friend 'according to my promise made to him a day or two before he died'.

Though Waley was not in the inner circle of Bloomsbury, he knew all its members and shared some of their preoccupations, having been exposed inevitably to the work of their mentors such as G. E. Moore and Lowes Dickinson, who became a friend. He belonged while at King's College, Cambridge, to the Carbonari, an anti-philistine group of intellectuals devoted to modern literature, founded by Hugh Dalton and Rupert Brooke. In 1914 his friend Francis Birrell, also one of the Carbonari, started the Caroline club, which had weekly play-readings, and of which A. E. (Hugh) Popham, James Strachey, and David Garnett were members. Waley mentions, too, Monday evening dinners with Eliot, Pound, and Ford Madox Ford as well as regular lunches with Eliot.[14] So Waley was far from pursuing his industrious course in obscurity. He knew Imagists, Vorticists, and Georgians too, but remained his own man, sure of his own path outside the orbit of any single school or clique. His confidence proved justified, for he did not have to wait for recognition.

The same reasons which lead the collector to Waley also made him one. He recounted that because of his interest in contemporary poetry, in order not to miss anything, he bought everything new that appeared in the period 1907–10—with disappointing results. He never appreciated *The Dynasts*, for example, and did not change his mind about Hardy's poetry.

He knew many of the poets and writers whose careers were under way or starting about the time of the Great War. Pound, Binyon, Ricketts, Edward Garnett, Sturge Moore, R. C. Trevelyan, Logan Pearsall Smith, Clifford Bax, Iris Barry, Gordon Bottomley, T. S. Eliot, Robert Nichols, and John Squire were among those listed to receive copies of the little booklet entitled *Chinese Poems* which he circulated at Christmas 1916 (fig. 3). His family took this as evidence that he wished his work, inhibited hitherto by his own acute critical faculty, to be taken seriously as poetry.[15] He was prevailed upon to recount the story of its genesis in his characteristic fashion in 1960[16] as a result of a search for surviving copies. Perhaps it would not be so rare today if Roger Fry had been able to persuade the Omega Workshops to undertake the publishing of it.

The unfair gibe made by Hugh Kenner, the able apologist for everything that Ezra Pound did, that 'Waley was but one of many who rushed in as word of the two shilling pamphlet, *Cathay*, got around' needs correction.[17] It is true that Waley knew *Cathay* before it was published in April 1915, and he clearly profited from some of Pound's renderings.[18] But his interest had begun much earlier, for, in a letter to Clifford Bax, he acknowledged that it was Bax's book *Twenty Chinese Poems* (1910), which he read when it first came out, that induced him to study Chinese.[19] His two earliest known translations he sent in March and September of 1916 to Sydney Cockerell who had supported in 1913 his application for appointment to the British Museum.

If Waley 'rushed in' after *Cathay* with the translations collected in *170*—for *Chinese Poems* was not formally published and did not even bear his name on it—it was perhaps not just because he did not by any means approve of Pound's understanding of Chinese

CHINESE POEMS

Confucius heard a boy singing:

"When the waters of the Ts'ang-lang are clear,
They do to wash my cap-tassels in.
When the waters of the Ts'ang-lang are muddy,
They do to wash my feet in."

PRINTED BY LOWE BROS.,
157, HIGH HOLBORN, LONDON W.C.

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1916.

Fig. 3. Chinese Poems (London, 1916), 130 × 205 mm

civilization,[20] nor because he disagreed with Pound's high estimate of Li Po,[21] but simply because, having tested the wind, he felt ready to submit his work to a larger public.

In the 1962 edition of *170* Waley gave his reasons for omitting the introductory material and the short bibliography, consisting of a dozen items. Both pieces from the earlier edition shed light today on his approach. What he called the 'antique bibliography' tells us what he had to draw upon and it did not include *Cathay*. But as he listed only those sources taken directly from the Chinese and not secondary poetic versions, neither Bax's nor, for example, Helen Waddell's efforts were mentioned either. In fact, the only English renderings cited were those of H. A. Giles, who used rhyme. Though Waley was tactful about them, he of course rejected rhyme as too constricting, and also pointed out that he was aiming at literal translation and not paraphrase. To emphasize the difference of his approach from that of his predecessors,[22] in *More Translations* he said that he was most interested in *170* as 'an experiment in English unrhymed verse'.

Incidentally, Pound, in a rather patronizing notice of *170* (*The Future*, November 1918, p. 287), obviously saw his own method as being disapproved of by Waley who, he said, 'has several slings at translators who endeavour to render the general emotion of the poems, their atmosphere or intensity, rather than direct verbal meanings'. Empson said briefly much later, 'I don't think Pound is better. In fact it's just more jazzed up.'[23]

But Waley's efforts were not uniformly well received at first. William Bateson, F.R.S. (the biologist, later a Trustee of the British Museum), was unimpressed and Dora Carrington mischievously ensured that Waley saw Lytton Strachey's parodies of *Chinese Poems*, which incidentally await unearthing,[24] while in 1920 a reviewer of J. B. Morton's *Gorgeous Poetry 1911–1920*, directed against the younger Georgians, detected travesties of Waley, together with Graves, Sassoon, and the Sitwells.[25] However, Beachcomber's attention was nevertheless a kind of wry compliment. They all survived the attack, and Waley's perceived style was inevitably invoked later when things Chinese needed mimicry; an example being Sir Alan Herbert's pieces in *Punch* called 'From the Chinese' which appeared between 1951 and 1955. Bibliographers have not yet been led astray by the pseudo-translations, also in *Punch* (August 1959), for 'Oriental Billboard'. But the attention in *Punch* confirms in a very British way how much Waley's name had become synonymous in the view of its public with China for the Western reader.[26] The eminence of years was of course recognized with civil and academic honours; he received a C.B.E. in 1952, the Queen's Medal for Poetry in 1953, and he became a C.H. in 1956, while Aberdeen and Oxford gave him honorary degrees. For his seventieth birthday in 1959 *Asia Major* dedicated an anniversary volume to him, and the list of writings about him grew with the addition of two posthumous tributes from Japan, a memorial issue of *Kokusai Bunka* in September 1966 and a special number of *Hikaku Bungaku Kenkyu* in June 1975. The summing-up of his career for the *Dictionary of National Biography* was undertaken by his successor at the Museum, Basil Gray, and appeared in 1981.

Acknowledgements came, predictably, from those in Far Eastern studies, such as David Hawkes and A. C. Graham, who is perhaps the most successful of contemporary translators of Chinese poetry. Others among this later generation of scholars, Cyril Birch,

W. A. C. H. Dobson, Donald Keene, and Ivan Morris all dedicated books to him, for, as Keene observed, it was Waley who set the tone and they all belong to the School of Waley. More dedications to his memory came later from J. D. Frodsham and Burton Watson. Less obviously, but typical of Waley's wide-ranging knowledge, Yukio Yashiro, who in his early days had studied Western painting, thanked Waley for help in a book on Botticelli (1925), and H. C. Chang expressed his appreciation for advice in *Allegory and Courtesy in Spenser* (1955). His influence can be detected in his friend R. C. Trevelyan's *Translations from Leopardi*. Trevelyan also wrote him a tribute in verse (Waley had dedicated the fourth part of *Genji* to him in 1928), in praise of the 'truth's unadorned eloquence and simplicity's power' which he saw in Waley's translations from the Chinese.[27] His language facility was well known, and it is thanks to him that we have in English the work of the Portuguese poet Alberto de Lacerda. He is mentioned too with other friends of his and of Virginia Woolf, Bloomsbury and near-Bloomsbury, in the joking preface to her fantastical biography *Orlando*.

Bertolt Brecht owned a number of Waley's books and drew extensively upon them. As playwright he was heavily influenced by *The Nō Plays*—his *Der Jasager* (later *Neinsager*) was adapted from Waley's translation of Tanikō—and as poet by *170*, a direct debt being, of course, his use of seven of Waley's translations in his *Chinesische Gedichte*. Patrick Bridgwater sees changes in Brecht's diction, style, and even *Weltanschauung* as being attributable to Waley's work.[28]

If Waley was parodied, quoted, imitated, and anthologized, the extent to which the translator was himself translated is another indication of his impact beyond the English-speaking world. There are Swedish, French, Dutch, German, Italian, and Hungarian versions of *Genji*, and *Monkey* was retranslated in Spain, Switzerland, Sweden, Holland, France, Italy, and Buddhist Sri Lanka. *The Life and Times of Po Chü-i* received the rare accolade, for a Western sinological work, of being put into Japanese in 1960, and it was followed by *The Poetry and Career of Li Po* in 1973.

A different kind of compliment was paid to *The Originality of Japanese Civilization*, first written for the Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations in October 1929. The essay was republished in English (Tokyo, 1941), ostensibly to commemorate the twenty-sixth centennial of the foundation of the Japanese empire, with no indication of its previous appearance.

Waley's brother Hubert, and Juliet and Vera Compton-Burnett are three among many friends who have mentioned the important part music played in his life. He compared the role of the translator with that of the executant in music, as contrasted with the composer, saying that the literary translator must start with a certain degree of sensibility to words and rhythm.[29] He understood the music in ordinary speech as well as the sense of structure imposed by the free verse he used—for, as his friend Eliot said, no verse is free for the man who wants to do a good job—and it must have been of some satisfaction to him, after writing to Robert Nichols that he thought that the *Nineteen Old Poems* (translated in *170*) should be set to music, that Aaron Copland in 1920 chose one of the pieces to start interest among composers in joining their art with his. Others who perceived the compatibility

Fig. 4. A. D. Waley, *c.*1939. Photograph by Alfred Knopf. (A. Knopf, *Sixty Photographs*, 1977)

include Blair Fairchild, D. M. Stewart, Denis ApIvor, Reginald Redman, Benjamin Britten, Robin Orr, and Peter Tranchell. He dedicated an original addition to *Monkey* in 1945 to Violet Gordon Woodhouse in thanks for her harpsichord and clavichord recitals.[30]

As a young man Waley wanted to write short stories and his interest remained after he had turned to poetry. But until the Second World War, when he relaxed his reticence, he only published one, 'The Presentation' in 1924.[31] He made up his mind, though, about Henry James's *The Turn of the Screw*, in a piece in *The Egoist* (January 1918) where he anticipated later critics by rejecting firmly a Freudian interpretation of the story.

In the prologue to his book on Sir Edmund Backhouse, *A Hidden Life* (1977), Hugh Trevor-Roper mentions that Waley's comments on this egregious rogue would be of interest, saying that 'Waley's papers disappeared in mysterious, not to say scandalous, circumstances after his death'. This error may have been based on some letters and comments in the *Times Literary Supplement* between 2 November 1967 and 14 March 1968, concerning Waley's disposal, when he moved from Gordon Square to Great James Street in 1962, of a mass of accumulated books and papers which were acquired in February 1963 by Rutgers University in an endeavour to keep the material together for research purposes, and of which Waley knew.[32] The mystery perhaps relates to the subsequent unauthorized removal from Great James Street in May 1963 of personal belongings and papers. The matter remained unsolved, but no other theft was reported after his death in 1966. He did mention Bland and Backhouse's book *China under the Empress Dowager* once[33] (in a comment on Strachey's use of it in writing his tragedy *The Son of Heaven*, produced in 1925), but there is no evidence among the surviving material that Waley interested himself further in the Backhouse affair. Thus nothing more should be read into the Master of Peterhouse's note than what he says in it, by those scenting a possible conspiracy to suppress information about Backhouse's activities.

The secret of Waley's originality—if secret it is—and the source of his extensive influence lay in his ability to couple literature with learning. While for all his writings he examined the work of his predecessors carefully and critically, from the beginning of his career he mistrusted academic pedantry, saying that 'often in informative works the name of some previous writer is savagely dangled from footnote to footnote like the scalp that a triumphant Indian wears always at his waist'. He apologized for what he called the dry and technical character of *The Analects*, but in other prefaces, for example those of *170*, *Yuan Mei*, *The Way and its Power*, and *Po Chü-i* he consistently mentioned the needs and interests of the non-specialist reader. The result of his unflagging industry was nevertheless made available, though never obtrusively so, in appendices, notes on sources, and additional notes, thus enabling others to use his work with confidence. His indubitable authority made him usable, while his style and clarity, uncrushed by the weight of erudition and enhanced by the reticence and brevity which he admired in Chinese literature, made him readable. What better way is there to end these notes than with this tribute from Roy Fuller testifying to his enduring presence?[34]

Homage to Arthur Waley

Forced to the towns by rain on an August afternoon,
I bought in a bookshop at East Grinstead
A first edition of *More Translations from the Chinese.*
It is dated thirty-five years ago,
And printed, like some of my own books,
On paper that denotes the proximity of war.
It brings close the scents and colours of the seasons,
The artist's sadnesses and consolations,
In the Fourth Century B.C.
And driving back through shammy-leather wheatfields
  bright under low grey clouds
To the city where still the old poet is living,
I conceive the idea of trying to write a poem
In his incomparable and undervalued style.

1 Pound repeated in 'How to Read, or Why', *New York Herald Tribune Books*, v, 17–19 (1929), a similar comment made in 'Elizabethan Classicists', *The Egoist*, iv, v (1917–18).

2 R. Perlmutter, *Arthur Waley and his Place in the Modern Movement between the Two Wars* (University of Pennsylvania, 1971). See *170*, 2nd edn. (1962), p. 7.

3 Clutton-Brock had previously reviewed Pound's *Cathay* in the *Times Literary Supplement* (29 Apr. 1915), p. 144.

4 His wish to produce an edition giving the Chinese text in parallel still awaits realization.

5 Waley presented copies of *Chinese Poems*, *170*, *More Translations*, *Japanese Poetry*, and *The Nō Plays* to Dulac, together with offprints of earlier articles. Dulac made a brush drawing of Waley in 1915 (fig. 2) and was inspired to write a Nō Play of his own.

6 E. F. Fenollosa, *Certain Noble Plays of Japan . . . with an Introduction by W. B. Yeats* (Churchtown, 1916).

7 He also cited the chapter on Zen Buddhism in Waley's *An Introduction to the Study of Chinese Painting* (1923) in a letter to Sturge Moore of 5 February 1926.

8 An informative article written before the publication of Seidensticker's translation is Marian Ury's 'The Imaginary Kingdom and the Translator's Art: Notes on Re-reading Waley's *Genji*', *Journal of Japanese Studies* (Summer 1976), pp. 267–94. Seidensticker's own observations, 'The Free Ways of Arthur Waley', are in the *Times Literary Supplement* (30 Oct. 1981), pp. 1279–80.

9 Alison Waley's *A Half of Two Lives*, subtitled 'A Personal Memoir' (London, 1982), is devoted chiefly to the period 1943–66. It gives a rhapsodic account of their emotional life together which caused surprise among reviewers and others. A biography of Beryl de Zoete, Waley's companion for over forty years, would certainly be a necessary and valuable corrective to Mrs Waley's book, and is a desideratum.

10 Sir Osbert Sitwell, *Noble Essences* (Boston, 1950), p. 6.

11 Dame Edith Sitwell, 'Letters to Jack Lindsay', in *Meanjin Quarterly* (Autumn 1966), p. 78.

12 Sacheverell Sitwell in 1931 with *Far from my Home*; Dame Edith Sitwell in 1948 with *A Notebook on William Shakespeare*, dedicated jointly to Waley and Beryl de Zoete; Sir Osbert Sitwell in 1952 with *Wrack at Tidesend*.

13 'Reminiscences of Arthur Waley', in Ivan Morris (ed.), *Madly Singing in the Mountains* (London, 1970), p. 105.

14 'Arthur Waley in Conversation', BBC interview with Roy Fuller (1963) in I. Morris, op. cit., p. 140.

15 Communicated by Mrs M. Waley.

16 Basil Gray and others have observed that Waley may have embroidered somewhat his recollections for the introduction, notably in the story of the German book-plates. See below, note 19.

17 H. Kenner, *The Pound Era* (Berkeley, 1971), p. 195. *Cathay* was published at one shilling.
18 W.-L. Yip, *Ezra Pound's Cathay* (Princeton, 1969), chapter 3.
19 Undated letter sent from the British Museum, in the University of Texas Library, Austin, quoted by R. Perlmutter, op. cit., p. 15. However, his own later statement (in *170* 2nd edn.) gives the impression that his work on Chinese only started after his arrival at the Museum.
20 'Arthur Waley in Conversation', BBC interview with Roy Fuller (1963) in I. Morris, op. cit., p. 148.
21 A. Waley, *The Poet Li Po* (London, 1919), p. 5.
22 Metrically, his use of a form of sprung rhythm, as Hopkins used the term, was a device which he discovered for himself.
23 F. Watson (ed.), 'He Never Went to China—a Portrait of Arthur Waley', *The Listener* (2 Aug. 1979), p. 140.
24 *170* 2nd edn., p. 6. Lytton later made amends with a complimentary letter about 'Notes on Chinese Prosody', 7 July 1918, quoted by I. Morris, 'The Genius of Arthur Waley', in I. Morris, op. cit., pp. 67–8.
25 *Spectator* (13 Nov. 1920), pp. 641–2.
26 He made over a dozen broadcasts between 1947 and 1963, mostly on Chinese themes, but some on poetry and translating.
27 R. C. Trevelyan, 'Epistola ad A.W.', in *Rimeless Numbers*, published by the Hogarth Press (1932).
28 P. Bridgwater, 'Arthur Waley and Brecht', *German Life and Letters*, xvii (1964), pp. 216–32.
29 A. Waley, 'Notes on Translation', *Atlantic Monthly* (Nov. 1958), p. 109.
30 *Cornhill Magazine* (Dec. 1945), pp. 434–45. Reprinted in A. Waley, *The Real Tripitaka* (London, 1952).
31 He reprinted five stories in A. Waley, *The Real Tripitaka* (Lodon, 1952) and idem, *The Secret History of the Mongols* (London, 1964), which also contains three original poems as well as two previously unpublished ones.
32 *Times Literary Supplement* (1967), pp. 1036, 1043, 1061, 1167, 1193, 1215, 1239; (1968), pp. 13, 61, 85, 157, 181, 278.
33 A. Waley, 'Our Debt to China', *Asiatic Review* (July 1940), p. 557.
34 Reprinted by permission of Roy Fuller. First published in *The Listener* (17 Mar. 1955), p. 477.