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“Rock’s Land and Goullart’s”

Ezra Pound’s Recreation of Lijiang as a Site of World Literature

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Abstract

Despite being a UNESCO World Heritage site, Lijiang in China’s mountainous south-west is not a renowned city in world history, yet there is no doubt that, after reading the works of Joseph Rock (1884–1962) and Peter Goullart (1901–1978), Ezra Pound perceived it as befitting such a status. Lijiang in Pound’s *Cantos* becomes both an ideal construct of the poetic mind and a real, achievable *paradiso terrestre*. In this glorified hieratic landscape, Pound places his friends who introduced him to the Naxi people and culture: Rock and Goullart. While Rock’s influence on Pound is clear to see in the published *Cantos*, to find Goullart’s name we must read Pound’s unpublished poetry drafts. By investigating Goullart’s previously unstudied correspondence, this essay makes the case that Goullart played an equally important role in Pound’s poetic construction of Lijiang.

Keywords

Naxi – Ezra Pound – Lijiang – Peter Goullart – Joseph Rock

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I'd quite like to live in Xanadu, but not for ever

GEORGES PEREC

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1 Introduction: Pound's Oriental Paradise

"And over Li Chiang, the snow range is turquoise / Rock's world that he saved us for memory" (*Cantos* 806). The reader of these two lines from canto CXIII, one of the final poems in Ezra Pound's *Cantos*, may be forgiven for wondering what he was writing about (not exactly an unfamiliar feeling for readers of Pound's poetry, to be sure). Two simple factual questions emerge: what is "Li Chiang", and who is "Rock"? True to form, Pound never explains the references, but these are nevertheless important cultural particulars meant to aid in Pound's project of a literary renaissance. The appearance of the Naxi people, their pictographic script and their cultural centre, the city of Lijiang (Chinese 丽江, Pound's "Li Chiang") in the final section of Ezra Pound's long epic is generally attributed to Pound's reading of Joseph Rock, the botanist/explorer turned ethnologist who dedicated his life to recording the customs of this remote Tibeto-Burman tribe in China. But another instrumental figure remains less celebrated for providing Pound with inspiration: Peter Goullart, who wrote a popular memoir of his years living in the erstwhile Naxi "kingdom". This essay will trace the genesis of Pound's Lijiang, and will reclaim Goullart's pivotal role in the literary creation of a final paradise in which Pound could end his long poem. It will be shown that Rock provided much of the foundation for the poetry, but Goullart was one of the main sources of the sentiment that led to the final fragmentary lines of the *Cantos*, lines such as "and that I tried to make a paradiso / terrestre" (*Cantos* 822).

For Pound, this was an "other" China, far removed from the poems of Li Bai or the official dynastic histories, and it became a new frontier of Pound's orientalism in his later work. If "The Orient was almost a European invention", as Said famously asserted, then Lijiang certainly was, the "haunting memories and landscapes" (Said 1) associated with the cultural capital of the Naxi minority playing a pivotal role in the late *Cantos*.¹

¹ The Naxi are a 330,000 strong ethnic group, one of China's officially recognized minority peo-

Indeed, it has been suggested that reading the *Cantos* might act as an introduction to the Naxi people of southwestern Chinese province of Yunnan: "It is thanks to *The Cantos* that many of us learned of the Naxi people of Yunnan – a place that one would like to visit, but which one can visit vicariously if one follows Pound's tips to read Rock and Goullart" (Bacigalupo 286). I believe a bolder statement can be made. We do not need to see Pound as merely an intermediary stage on the journey, made primarily through Rock and Goullart, because in his poetry Pound gives us more than just reading tips, the likes of which he was fond of dispensing in his correspondences. Pound's literary recreation of the Naxi landscape itself is enough for a vicarious visit, however brief, and, further, in his unpublished drafts, he places both Rock and Goullart directly *back* into the landscape that they inspired, a place they loved but could not return to for geopolitical reasons. Pound returns them to their spiritual homeland via the act of writing them into the landscape, and in so doing, he makes the case for Lijiang as a site of world literature. Pound places Lijiang into his new cultural "paideuma," something akin to the essence or soul of a culture, and it is a place that therefore owes its "discovery" to authors of European descent. It is of no surprise, then, that this is an orientalist fantasy of a place, but a fantasy subsequently reinforced by book culture within China itself, subsequently becoming a reality. The use of Pound and Goullart as travelogues, modern Chinese translations of Pound, and the ubiquity of translations of Goullart's memoir *Forgotten Kingdom* on sale in Lijiang, makes the orientalist construction of Pound an ironic reality: helped by translation, "the myth of orientalism thus returns to its source and becomes real, in the form of some extravagant self-fulfilling prophecy" (Hayot 515). This "self-fulfilling prophecy" can be understood in relation to Pound's Naxi-inspired poetry in two ways. Firstly, in his early years, Pound dreamed of rejuvenating world culture with the forgotten knowledge of the East, at the time surely nothing more than an orientalist fantasy, but his epic poem did end with a reverie of a lost civilization in the Himalayan foothills. Secondly, Hayot refers to westerners behaving "a certain way" in the "real Orient", but Pound's Lijiang shows how this idea can be pushed further: world literature enables Orientalism to spread within the peoples of the "real Orient" itself, and that is what we see with Chinese translations of Goullart and Rock. In this sense, I follow Venkat Mani in arguing that interconnected moments of global

ples. They live in the picturesque mountains of southwest China. In Pound's *Cantos* there are four poems that deal with the Naxi in detail: CI, CIV, CX and CXII, but their influence permeates the later cantos as a whole, and much Naxi material including a number of Naxi pictographic characters that didn't make it into print can be found in Pound's late poetry notebooks.

print cultural history combine to make world literature (Venkat Mani 285), in this case, the enshrining of Lijiang as a sacred locale within “world literature”, a Shangri-la made real, so to speak.

Pound’s ambitious project in the *Cantos* was not just an attempt at creating a literary classic, but at rejuvenating world culture as a whole. Pound’s poetic method was one of trying to show his readers things they did not know via collecting “luminous details,” selecting “characteristic *exempla* from the tribe’s entire heritage” (Bernstein 127). These multicultural *exempla* are juxtaposed “ideogrammically,” interweaving different languages, dialects and even modes of signification, helping the *Cantos* stand as Pound’s own contribution to a world heritage. Through them, Pound attempts to broaden the horizons of world culture, and introduce his readers to other realms of knowledge. One important late discovery was Lijiang and its Naxi culture, which figured as a major element Pound’s “attempts to render a paradise of natural, private, and poetic harmony” (Stoicheff, 49) in the final cantos. The image of Lijiang as a paradise is consecrated within the *Cantos* by Pound’s repeated reference to the most important religious rite of the Naxi, who traditionally followed a kind of animist religion known as “dongba.” This rite was the sacrifice to heaven (*mee biuq*, Rock’s, and hence Pound’s “muan bpö”). This rite is mentioned by name three times across Pound’s published *Cantos*, and appears pictographically in the draft poetry.²

Pound’s ideal city, a *paradiso* of the mental imagination, figured in the *Cantos* from its inception. Take Ecbatan of Canto IV, written in 1919: “Look down on Ecbatan of plotted streets, / Danaë! Danaë! / What wind is the king’s?” (Pound *Cantos* 16). Here we are looking down from a high tower over the streets of the ancient city, awaiting the divine union of Danae and Zeus, a coming together of heaven and earth. Almost four decades later, in the late 1950s, Pound imagined another ideal city by the waters of Lijiang, a place that consecrates another union of earth and heaven, man and god, this time realized in the central rite of the Naxi, the “sacrifice to heaven” that combined (at least in Pound’s imagination) an admixture of Daoism and Confucianism with pagan ritual. As Pound never went to China, however, the mental images of Lijiang were necessarily mediated through the writings of two men: Rock and Goullart, although the former is much more prominent in the *Cantos* as published. It is to these two literary inspirations that we now turn.

2 Facsimiles of Pound’s late handwritten notebooks for the poems included in *Drafts & Fragments* have been meticulously printed by Glenn Horowitz (Pound 2010). The *mee biuq* pictographs can be found in Notebook no. 2.

2 Rock and Goullart

The connection between the *Cantos* and the works of Rock has been examined in detail, and the consensus is clear: Rock was *the* major inspiration for the Naxi-related lines that made it into the published poems.³ The presence of Goullart is more elusive, excised from the published *Cantos*, but still visible if one knows where to look: Rock and Goullart are named as a pair three times in drafts composed in the late 1950s, and Pound's references to Lijiang in particular can be seen to carry Goullart's influence. In short, Lijiang and the Naxi kingdom, what readers of the published *Cantos* know as "Rock's world" (Pound 1996, 806), should be interpreted as "Rock's land and Goullart's," as Pound himself wrote in one draft. I attempt here to assert Goullart's importance to the late *Cantos*, both in the literal text of the drafts, and via his own claims of Lijiang as a kind of lost earthly paradise. Lijiang as a Shangri-la that lives on in the memory of its erstwhile inhabitants is perhaps one of the key reasons that it became so central in the late cantos. This is important because the appearance of Lijiang is almost always ascribed only (or mainly) to Rock, perhaps because of an over-reliance on the direct textual references to Rock's work that can be found in the published poetry. Goullart's sentimental reverie of Lijiang, composed not just in his memoir but used as a frequent reference in his correspondence with his friends, is, I posit, just as important to the recreation of the city in the later *Cantos*.

Both Rock and Goullart led peripatetic early lives, consumed by wanderlust, and both found solace in the Himalayan foothills that surround Lijiang, far away from the centres of Han Chinese population found along the country's east coast. They were forced to leave this adopted homeland in 1949, flying out on the same plane after being compelled by the local communist militia.⁴ It was a place that had come to define both of them, and they subsequently became Lijiangers-in-exile. Joseph Rock is a name known to many worldwide, for he was the first to bring Lijiang's natural beauty and cultural riches to the mainstream with his articles for the *National Geographic* in the 1920s and 30s. Rock was born in Vienna, and after an unhappy childhood he wandered Europe

3 See for example Emily Mitchell Wallace (2003), a beautifully written exploration of Pound's debt to Rock. Further examples of a focus on the Rock connection are Liebrechts (355) and Qian (*Ezra Pound and China*, 9).

4 As Goullart (1963) wrote in a letter after Rock's death, "I knew him since 1931 and we spent together some ten years in Likiang where we were neighbours and he used to invite me to his house almost daily ... We left Likiang together in 1949 by chartered lane in the face of advancing Communists."

for several years. He then emigrated to the United States in 1905, becoming an American citizen in 1913. He spent his most productive years in China, at first botanizing, but later focusing on recording the customs of the Naxi people and translating their literature. After leaving Lijiang (where he had taken up frequent residence in 1922), he returned to Hawaii, where he held a research post, and died in 1962, in exile from the one place he truly loved. Rock's botanical achievements are perhaps best known today, but only because the study of the Naxi, a small tribe on China's periphery, has never been more than a niche endeavour. Peter Goullart was also forced by circumstance to flee his place of birth (modern-day Belarus) during the October Revolution, later settling in Shanghai. He had always had a desire to explore China's remote mountains, and he was given the opportunity to do so when working for the industrial cooperatives, first in Sichuan in the late 1930s, and then in Lijiang in 1942.

Both men were modern cosmopolitans, setting out to become citizens of the world intellectually, geographically and linguistically. But such projects always prove to be a greater challenge than might at first be imagined. The paradoxical relationship between the local and the global plays out in the human longing for place, for a kind of rootedness. Rock and Goullart were undoubtedly citizens of the world, but their lives were marked by a longing for a small town in the Chinese borderlands.

To unlock the secrets of Pound's addition of Lijiang to his poetic landscape requires understanding this "Lijiang sentiment," and to do so I will show how Lijiang is always a point of reference in Goullart's correspondence with Rock, no doubt due to their shared experience in Yunnan. We have at present only one letter between Rock and Pound, found by Emily Mitchell Wallace in the Pound Archive at Yale – a two-page handwritten letter dated January 3rd, 1956. Wallace assumed that further letters from Pound to Rock, along with letters from Goullart to Rock, might be found in the uncatalogued papers at the Arnold Arboretum, Boston, and elsewhere. In fact, the correspondence from Goullart to Rock has been preserved at the Hunt Institute for Botanical Documentation in Pittsburgh.⁵ Reading these previously unstudied letters, it becomes clear that Goullart was the key link that connected the three men: in the 1930s and 40s, he developed a lifelong friendship with Rock in Lijiang; then, in the late 1950s and early 1960s, he lived together with Pound in Italy, all the while searching for his lost Lijiang as he went travelling about the world. In Asia, Goullart asks after Lijiang refugees fleeing political upheaval; in Europe, he searches for reminders

5 No letters from Ezra Pound can be found in this collection, but the correspondence between 1955–1957, the period when we know Pound and Rock were writing to one another, is not comprehensive.

of his beloved city. It is important when reading the frequent references to Lijiang in the letters to think how Goullart might have conveyed similar feelings to Pound in person when the two were together at the castle of Brunnenburg in the Italian Tyrol. Of course, we have no record of their conversations, but the letters from Goullart to Rock (a number sent from Pound's address at Brunnenburg, sometimes referring to "poor Ezra Pound", by then in ill health) help us build a mental picture of his "Likiang." In this way, Pound's recreation of Lijiang on the page can be read as a direct response to this creation of a Shangri-la of the mind, answering the question that Sean Pryor (166) has said that Pounds's late works pose: "to whom might poetry deliver paradise?"

2.1 *Their Beloved Lijiang*

For Pound to understand Lijiang and recreate it in his poetry, he had to grasp the Lijiang sentiment that Goullart and Rock shared after they left: Lijiang, to them, was a kind of paradise lost. But even before it was lost to them, they were thoroughly in its thrall. Rock always said that he wanted to live out his life in the mountains of Lijiang. To him, Yunnan was an unspoiled utopia; and he felt at home roaming its wilds. He even dreamed of dying there, a terminal dream that would become something of a theme in his gloomier diaries and correspondence. He once wrote in a 1925 diary while out exploring the mountains of Yunnan, "I was born for the wilderness and there I shall spend my last days" (*Rock papers* 64). Towards the end of his life, Rock's thoughts turned once again to where he would spend his final days. Rock had left Lijiang (for the penultimate time) in 1944, forced out by the deteriorating political situation. The following year, the Harvard-Yenching Institution was planning to send him back to China for academic research, and a book on the history and geography of the Naxi people was being readied for press. At this point in his life, Rock was once again looking forward to being in China, perhaps with no thought of returning to the west. By December 1945, from the home of a spinster in a Boston retirement community, in a room where Tibetan banners hung on the walls, he wrote of Lijiang: "if it is only to die there, I love the beautiful land of Yunnan, and especially Likiang" (*papers* 97). After leaving Lijiang for the last time in 1949, Rock was still hopeful that someday he would return. In a letter to Elmer Merrill at Harvard University's Arnold Arboretum, he wrote, "I will see how things go during the next year and if all is o.k. will go back to Likiang to finish my work ... I want to die among those beautiful mountains rather than in a bleak hospital bed all alone" (as cited in Chatwin 34).

Peter Goullart, perhaps even more so than Rock, saw Lijiang as a paradise on earth. His description of his first arrival in Lijiang reveals a moment that goes beyond even love at first sight. It is a religious experience: "When on arrival

I set my eyes on that lovely valley, snow-capped mountains and the sea of great, fragrant forests, I felt that, at last, I had reached my Shangri-La, and the retreat of Goddess Hsiwangmu was there before me – veiled in physical reality” (Goullart *Monastery* 189). Goullart, who had previously lived for some time in a mountaintop monastery in Hangzhou, discovered his very own Taoist paradise in Lijiang. He ends perhaps the best of his four travel memoirs, *Monastery of Jade Mountain*, with the words, “I wanted to remain in Likiang forever, as it was a place after Laotse’s own heart ... its warmth and beauty are still with me and inspire me in my struggles in the outer world” (*Monastery* 245). Lijiang really was his Shangri-la. This becomes even clearer when reading Goullart’s letters: it seems Lijiang was always on his mind, but it was a place to which he could never return. Indeed, everywhere Goullart travelled, he compared (unfavourably, for where else could possibly compare to a Taoist paradise?) with Lijiang.

The city of Sarawak in Malaysia, where Goullart lived out his final years, was, despite dear to him, always only second best. On August 20th, 1953, Goullart writes to Rock: “I went to Sarawak on April 15th by plane and stayed there till July 17th. It is a lovely country with very lovely people, and, after Likiang, it is the best country I now love”. Then, in Bangkok on September 17th of the same year, he writes another missive: “[Sarawak] is a beautiful friendly country and I wish I could get back there. After Likiang it was the only place where I was supremely happy once more”. Goullart saw Lijiang everywhere. In Torremolinos in January of 1960, he saw the architecture of Lijiang in the whitewashed Spanish houses and was reminded of the wine shops of the city. Even the wind reminded him of his Shangri-la: “Torremolinos is a bit like old Likiang, with low white-washed houses with patios and wineshops on every corner. All hotels face the sea. The village is on an escarpment. It is all sunshine and flowers here but some days are gusty – just like dear old Likiang. The people are friendly and polite”. Goullart thought he had found a new Shangri-la in Vaduz, in August 1953: “I visited Zurich and had a drive towards Lichtenstein. I think Vaduz is probably one of the most beautiful places in the world. You should visit it – absolutely charming.” Then, during a return trip to Lichtenstein in October 1961, he was disappointed that Vaduz was not in fact a paradise like his Lijiang, but at least the children herding cattle through the streets reminded him of his favourite city: “Then we stopped at Vaduz in Liechtenstein. It was not such a Shangri-la after all but so many cows with bells, driven through the streets by smiling children, did remind me somehow of Likiang.” The dream was, after all, fleeting. Goullart’s reference to Shangri-la is important here – this is the orientalist epitome of an ideal city where Europeans may live out their lives in peace, an ideal that manifested itself in “brute reality” when Diqing 迪庆 (Tibetan: Bde-chen འདོ་ཆེན་), a predominantly Tibetan city over a hundred kilome-

tres to the north of Lijiang, was renamed "Shangrila" (Xianggelila 香格里拉) by the Chinese state in 2002. Perhaps Goullart would have done well to remember the line in James Hilton's *Lost Horizon* (fictional source of the Shangri-la myth and a favourite in Lijiang bookshops): "There is only one valley of Blue Moon, and those who expect to find another are asking too much of nature." (189).⁶

Then, in January 1962, while staying with Pound at castle Brunnenburg in northern Italy, Goullart seems to finally have found another Lijiang: "The village Tyrol is just like Likiang with narrow streets, Tibetan style houses and clear, icy streams rushing down along the streets. All around are snow mountains and beautiful valleys."⁷ But it's still not *quite* the same: in May 1962, Goullart qualifies the comparison somewhat: "Tyrol is certainly a marvellous country, and almost everything here is just like Likiang." "Almost," one feels, but not quite.

Despite the generally optimistic nature of Goullart's correspondence, there is an underlying sadness here, of a wandering soul yearning for its true home, a feeling not unfamiliar to what one imagines when reading Pound's late *Cantos*. Wherever Rock or Goullart went in the world, Lijiang was always foremost in their minds. Rock and Goullart started out as modern cosmopolitans, homesick for the world, for places not yet seen, and they both ended their lives in what can be described as a failure of cosmopolitanism: they had become homesick, homesick for Lijiang, a place they could never see again. Qian Zhaoming has written of how "Goullart, a Western journalist and sojourner of Lijiang for nine years, would be a help ... for imagining Naxi in Pound's final cantos" (*East-West* 112), but it is only through these letters can we get a stronger feeling (albeit vicariously) for exactly how he might have contributed to the "imagining" of a lost Shangri-la, awaiting rediscovery. The rediscovery became a literary one. Lijiang, in Pound, is a "paradise found" (or a "forgotten kingdom, remembered,") a spiritual home for those dispossessed by modernity – and Pound envisions this literary Shangri-la specifically for both Goullart and Rock, the two who introduced it to him.

6 In another ironic act of re-naming, Lijiang authorities christened a scenic park at the foot of the main peaks of the city's Jade Dragon snow range "Blue Moon Valley" (*lanyuegu* 蓝月谷), after the location of the mythical city in Hilton's novel.

7 Goullart ended up staying at Brunnenburg (as a paying guest) for over a decade, starting from 1962. As Pound's daughter Mary de Rachewiltz remembers it, "Oh, Goullart was here for a long time. He was a funny character" (de Rachewiltz and Sieburth, 24).

3 Pound's Discovery of the Naxi

Pound's first introduction to the Naxi was via Rock's monograph-length articles, gifted to him by a native Naxi émigré in the US.⁸ Rock wrote to Pound in January 1956, referring to a "Na-khi boy" and two of his works that he had given to Pound via Professor Giovanni Giovannini of the Catholic University of America.⁹

This "Na-khi boy," Pao-hsien Fang 方寶賢, was born in Lijiang in 1923, and he had come to the US in August 1945. In 1953, Professor Giovannini took Fang to St Elizabeths Hospital to meet Pound, who had by that point already been incarcerated for eight years. One of the monographs given to Pound by Fang was "The Muan Bpö Ceremony: or the Sacrifice to Heaven as Practiced by the Naxi," published in *Monumenta Serica* in 1948, and the other was "The Romance of K'a-mä-gyu-mi-gkyi", published in the *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient* almost a decade earlier, in 1939. The former accounts for the repeated refrain of "Muan bpö" (Naxi: *mee biuq*) in the *Cantos*, the latter for the Naxi suicide story which appears in CI and CX.

By the summer of 1956, Pound was captivated by what he had read about the Naxi. This excitement can be seen in his letters, and frequent exhortations to read the two men's work. Pound wrote to his daughter, Mary de Rachewiltz in July 1956, saying "Goullart on Na Khi very interesting." In August 1956, Pound wrote again, telling her that "Big 2 vol/Rock 'Ancient Kingdom' arruv on loan" (Moody 373). Pound wrote to Pao-hsien Fang in August 1959, saying that he had "got hold of Rock's 'Ancient Kingdom'" and asking for Rock's Vienna address. This "Big 2 vol" book was Rock's important anthropological introduction to the Naxi, *The Ancient Na-khi Kingdom of Southwest China* published by Harvard University Press in 1947. Rock's writings, alongside Goullart's book, were rich enough in detail for Pound to recreate the world of the Naxi in his cantos.

Both Rock and Goullart were Pound's epistolary acquaintances. In his letters to John Theobald (from April 1957 until early 1958), who was preparing a poetry textbook and was seeking input from the poets to be included, Pound was quick to recommend both Rock and Goullart's work on the Naxi. In August 1957 Pound revealed that he had written to both men, but only Rock had answered, and referencing the Naxi heaven sacrifice once again (Pound and Theobald 71):

⁸ This history has been thoroughly recounted by Qian Zhaoming (2017).

⁹ This letter, stored in the Beinecke Library, was discovered by the late Emily Mitchell Wallace (272).

Rock answers, knows more Na Khi than Goullart but hasn't packaged it
so conveniently / bilingual edtns/ of the very fine
poetry of Na Khi etc.

Without Muan bpo. (sacrifice to heaven) no reality.

Goullart don't answer, or hasn't to date/ no address save care his pubrs/

Pound then patiently explained to a bemused Theobald who Rock was (75):

Rock is the buzzard FIRST heard of Na Khi/ 20 years/ bilingual texts/
Start as botanist, then geog/ 20 year literary
etc. <sunk> by jap torpedo
in trunk
has answered letters/ no contact with Goullart yet made.

We see here how Pound bought into Rock's own propaganda wholesale – he may have been the first person to bring the Naxi to the well-read westerner via his *National Geographic* articles, but the Naxi had been known long before, since at least the late nineteenth century (in 1871, the English traveller Thomas Cooper was the first to publish an account of the Naxi people in English). Lijiang was not Rock's discovery, but he made the world believe it was. Pound didn't invent literary Lijiang, but he reinforced Rock's self-aggrandising mythos.

3.1 *Goullart's Land, Recreated*

Goullart may have been fundamental to developing Pound's conception of Lijiang, but what can we learn from reading the actual poems themselves? Lijiang and the land of the Naxi as it appears in the *Cantos* is most famously "Rock's world / that he saved us for memory" (*Cantos* 806). Goullart does not figure into the *Cantos* as they have been canonically published, but, importantly, he is named several times alongside Rock in Pound's drafts of poems written in the late 1950s.

To fully understand Goullart's presence in the *Cantos*, and how much Pound was indebted to him, requires going beyond the published text of the epic poem and examining his late poetry notebooks. One of the first mentions of the two men comes in an early draft of canto C, written sometime between 1956–1957. The two men are placed together, standing in the wooded landscape: "Rock and Goullart / amid pine, and spruce on the north slope" (Pound n.d.). They are here reunited with the place that they loved, although this particular framing would not make it into the *Cantos*-as-published, where the landscape (particularly the trees) of Lijiang is conflated with that of France, and the men are not present: "(junipers, south side) M. Talleyrand / spruce and fir take the North" (*Cantos*

743), where Pound refers (via Rock) to the specific sides of the mountain upon which the trees grow in Lijiang.

In a page of typewritten notes (January 1958), Lijiang becomes explicitly Rock and Goullart's "land," using the possessive, followed by a meditation on Lijiang's market:

Rock's land and Goullart's
copper and coral for sale there,
but years?
No years on sale in that
market

POUND *Posthumous* 160

Copper was a specialty of the region (Goullart tells us that "one of the streets off Main Street led to the Copperware Square," [*Kingdom* 25]), and coral comes from Rock's *Romance* as a decorative adornment (Rock *Romance* 18), readily available in the bustling market of Lijiang. "Years," that is, longevity, cannot be bought. Long life must be prayed for and granted by the gods, and this is a direct reference to a manuscript found in Rock's *The Zhimä Funeral Ceremony of the Na-Khi of Southwest China*, namely the "origin of bitterness." This is the story of a man who sees his reflection in the river one day while panning for gold. His hair grey, his face wrinkled, he discovers that he has already grown old. He then embarks on a journey south, to the great markets of Baisha, Lijiang, and Kunming, to find longevity, i.e., to buy more "years." Ultimately, he discovers that longevity cannot be bought with gold, and that with life must come the sorrow of old age and death.

Pound's lines describe the famous Lijiang market, a place that Goullart portrays as a hive of human activity (*Kingdom* 38):

In the market itself there was great tumult with all these crowds trying to pass each other and jockeying for the best positions on the square. On the previous night sturdy stalls had already been pulled out of the common pile, or dragged from surrounding shops and set in rows in the centre. Women and girls brought heavy bales of textiles and spread bolts of cloth on the stalls. Haberdashery, spices and vegetables were displayed in separate rows. Shortly after noon the market was in full swing and was a boiling cauldron of humanity and animals.

Goullart was concerned primarily with his work of running industrial cooperatives, and the day-to-day goings on of Lijiang. Rock holed himself up in a

remote village far from town, and the "boiling cauldron of humanity" described by Goullart likely held little appeal to him. We see in the Naxi lovers' song translated by Rock the following lines: "On the Li-chiang market / There is nothing that cannot be bought / I heard that there is everything" (Rock *Romance* 140). The great abundance of the Lijiang market is perhaps comparable in Pound's mind to the market at Qufu (hometown of Confucius) described in Canto LIII, where goods were brought from all around: "held market at mid – day / 'bring what we have not here'" (*Cantos* 262). Lijiang was, it could be posited, in Pound's estimation, another Qufu, a centre of good governance and philosophical wisdom, but also more intimately connected to the glories of nature.

The lines about the marketplace, even if inspired by a section from a Naxi funeral ceremony, were not included in the *Drafts & Fragments*. What was at first "Rock's land and Goullart's" shifts, then, to become the sole preserve of Rock's naturalistic and spiritual world, and Goullart's more mundane, worldly Lijiang is excised in favour of the hieratic landscape that the Pound's Naxi-inspired cantos came to embody. In a later draft (dated late 1959), the two men appear again, alongside Tibetologist Lawrence Waddell: "Waddell, Rock, Goullart says some tribes die out. / and pronounces it Nashi, against Rock's obvious spelling" (Pound *Posthumous* 166). By 1959, when most of the cantos that would be collected into *Drafts and Fragments* were drafted, Pound and Goullart had finally met. Pound at this point discovers that Rock's "Nakhi" should not be read with a hard "k" and instead as something more akin to "na-shi."¹⁰

Despite Goullart's name being excised by the time the *Cantos* made it into print, if we know where to look, his influence survives in CXII of the *Drafts & Fragments*, which offers perhaps the most lucid description of the Lijiang landscape (*Cantos* 804):


By the pomegranate water,
 in the clear air
 over Li Chiang
 The firm voice amid pine wood,
 many springs are at the foot of
 Hsiang Shan

¹⁰ "Nashi" was in fact an early romanization for "Naxi"; Pound may have seen it written this way from Goullart himself, but he certainly would have heard him use this phonetic pronunciation, for "Nashi" sounds closer to the correct pronunciation (Na-shee) than Rock's Na-khi (if one were to pronounce the hard *k*). Pound probably had not paid full attention to Rock's guides to Naxi pronunciations.

By the temple pool, Lung Wang's
 the clear discourse
 as Jade stream
 玉 Yü⁴
 河 ho²

These lines (also used in the obituary of Pao-hsien Fang) capture the beauty of the pine-dotted mountains and the limpid waters that flow through Lijiang's landscape, culminating in the Jade River, the watercourse that gives life to the old town itself. This visualization is a remarkable feat for a man who never visited China, let alone Lijiang, and a testament to the clarity and detail to be found in his sources. Qian Zhaoming treats this as a travelogue, saying "Canto 112' has been found to precisely describe the natural beauty of the Lung Wang's pool (Jade Dragon God pool), now known as the Black Dragon pool, at the foot of Hsiang Shan or the Elephant Hill" (Qian *World of the Na-Khi* 34). Qian is taking the Canto as a description of a place with which he can compare the reality of Lijiang to – the orientalist myth manifesting in reality. I would argue the vicarious travel takes us beyond the immediate references to the temple pool and the picturesque park; in fact, the pool is one part of a *periplum*, the journey of water from the high mountains over Lijiang down to the springs at Elephant Hill, emerging into the pool and then flowing down the Jade Stream into Lijiang proper.

The place names in CXII are likely taken directly from two consecutive notes in Rock's 1948 monograph on the Naxi sacrifice to heaven ceremony. Rock identifies "pomegranate water" in note 162 as the Naxi name of several springs that can be found below the village of Jjiqwel: "the springs themselves are called 'Ssi or 'Ssä-²mi-¹gya i.e. pomegranate water, and are five li north of Lijiang" (*Muan Bpö* 65). The other names borrowed by Pound, "Hsiang shan," "Li-chiang," and "Lung-wang Miao" (Dragon King Temple) are all from note 163 which describes Black Dragon Pool as "a large pond with sacred fish." Waters from the springs that feed this pool flow south "through the city of Li-chiang as the Yü ho 玉河 or Jade stream" (*Muan Bpö* 65).¹¹

Pomegranate water (Naxi: *seiqmi jjiq* ) is in fact the Naxi name of a river to the north of Lijiang, known in Chinese as "clear stream" (Qingxi 清溪). Its source is the eponymous Qingxi village, about 250 metres from Black Dragon

11 Note that Rock does not provide the tone marks for the Chinese words, these are added by Pound, and the Chinese *yu* (yü) rhymes with Naxi *muq*, the pictograph of the winnowing tray in the final line of the canto. See Poupard (168–181) for a detailed discussion of the two Naxi pictographs that appear at the end of Canto 112.

Pool. At the end of the Ming dynasty, the Han Chinese traveller Xu Xiake called this river *Xiangbi shui* "Elephant nose water." In the Qing dynasty it was called White Jade Stream (*Baiyu xi* 白玉溪). Its waters are noted for being very clear, and part of it flows into the Black Dragon Pool, the other part flows around the western side of elephant mountain. Qingxi reservoir, fed by Qingxi river, was constructed in 1958, and is now one of Lijiang's public parks.

We can compare Pound's lines to a description of the town's water system taken from a modern scientific article on Lijiang's watercourses:

Lijiang's water system originates from the 38,000 m² Black Dragon Pool (Heilongtan) located at the foot of the Elephant Mountain. This pool was originally a natural pond fed by dozens of springs on the mountainside. During the Qing Dynasty (1644–1911AD) an elevated weir was built to increase the storage capacity and improve flow regulation. Water flows from here through the 1km long Jade River to the Yulong (Jade Dragon) Bridge, the beginning of the old city, where it branches into three tributaries, known as the East, Middle and West Rivers. These subdivide further into a network of canals and culverts to supply every house in town.

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If we take all these places as they appear in Pound literally, the canto describes the flow of water from the Qingxi river ("pomegranate water") which has its source some 2.5km north of Lijiang. The water (or at least a portion of it) flows south into Back Dragon Pool Park, then into the Jade River (which subsequently flows through the ancient town of Lijiang in a network of countless canals).

So far this seems as if it is all "quarried" straight from Rock, to borrow Emily Mitchell Wallace's phrase. But Goullart wrote of this same water, from the same park, too: in his *Forgotten Kingdom*, we see how the upper reaches of the river with its "sweet, ice-cold water" (sweet, like a pomegranate) were kept pristine, and subsequently polluted in the ancient town itself:

It was only further down the valley, where the current became slow and opaque, that one noticed how unclean the river was. Whilst the people were indifferent to the dumping of rubbish into the water in the city, they were careful about upper reaches of the river and tried to prevent pollution by all available means. This was not difficult as the river originated in a beautiful park, a quarter of a mile away, at the foot of the Elephant Mountain – a name derived from its resemblance to a sleeping elephant.

Here, out of the mouths of subterranean caverns, rushed sweet, ice-cold water from the glaciers of the Snow Range.

GOULLART *Kingdom* 62

In CXII, the waters actually begin their journey in the air above Lijiang: the snow range (“in the clear air / over Li Chiang”). Pound combines Rock’s detailed ethno-geography with Goullart’s more lucid description in the latter half of the above quote. Pound re-introduces Chinese language via transcriptions for “elephant” and the dragon king, but retains the idea of the “sweet” water flowing from the snowy mountains down to the jade river below. Pound’s ideogrammic composition of the landscape maps onto the real geography, recreating the flow of the water in particular – notably cutting off before it reaches the old town, where people habitually dump waste into the river.

This is all connected to the “Muan Bpo” (*mee biuq*) ceremony – the sacred rite where the earth and the heavens themselves are worshipped. It is a paradisaical description of a Himalayan landscape enriched with cultural particulars; but as Said noted, these eastern cultures possess “a brute reality obviously greater than anything that could be said about them in the West” (5), that is, there is a reality behind the poetry, the reality of a place that Goullart would have described to Pound, and reminisced about with Rock. The Naxi-inspired cantos thus represent a contribution to global literary heritage, a marking on the world literary map long before China ratified the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage in December 1985.

4 Conclusion: Lijiang, Book Culture, and Modes of Reading

Since being declared a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1997, Lijiang has changed almost beyond recognition: “The Lijiang that Rock and Goullart documented has now become a distant memory, a hazy ‘magic kingdom’ of the past” (Zhu 10). But this memory has also been preserved in Pound’s *Cantos* – if not the most accessible way for readers of English to approach Lijiang, certainly the most notable of its literary references. Just as “Western and Japanese tourists travel to Lijiang – now a World Heritage town – in conscious homage to the likes of Rock and Goullart” (Zhu 11), Pound’s literary tourism led to him remaking Lijiang as a conscious homage to both men; a place we can travel to vicariously via the *Cantos*. A case in point: Bruce Chatwin’s 1986 Lijiang travelogue that appeared in *The New York Times Magazine*, titled “Rock’s Kingdom” (a conflation of Pound’s “Rock’s world” with Goullart’s *Forgotten Kingdom*), is interspersed with quotes from Pound, becoming a travelogue in dialogue with

Pound's late poetry. Chatwin's essay was retitled "Rock's World" when it was published in his essay collection "What Am I Doing Here?" further showing Pound's influence. Indeed, Pound acts almost as a guide for Chatwin's retracing of Rock's footsteps in Lijiang, as he quotes directly from four different cantos: CXIII, CX, CXII, and CI throughout his essay.

Goullart's influence within Lijiang now extends beyond the *Cantos*, as this Chinese commentator tells it: "It is said that at the beginning of China's reform and opening up period, many foreign tourists who came to Lijiang because of its reputation carried this book [Goullart's *Forgotten Kingdom*] with them. Just like the arrival of Peter Goullart more than 60 years ago, in 2007, the Chinese version of *Forgotten Kingdom* quietly returned to Lijiang, coinciding with Lijiang ancient town's successful application for World Heritage status" (Zhou, 154, my translation). In the 21st century, *Forgotten Kingdom* (in both its original English and in Chinese translation) has become an iconic (and ironic) fixture of the city's very own bookshelves, taking pride of place in the local state-run Xinhua Bookstore, at a time when Lijiang, almost splitting at the seams with tourists, has been rebuked by UNESCO for its over-commercialization.¹² Pound's attribution of the Naxi "land" to Goullart was, then, ultimately prophetic, despite this attribution not making it into his *Cantos* as published.

Rock and Goullart's Lijiang, their "Forgotten Kingdom", exists as an orientalist ideal, deeply rooted in what Beth Notar has labelled "colonial nostalgia" (Notar 25). Certainly, Pound's twin descriptions of Lijiang – the published "Rock's world" and in draft form "Rock's land and Goullart's" – harken to a form of colonial nostalgia, the illusion being that these were the people who "discovered" this sacred land, and that it further somehow *belonged* to them (with the possessive apostrophe "s"). This nostalgia is clearly propagated in their correspondences after leaving Lijiang, the fact they could never return cemented its place as an eternal, unchanging Shangri-la in their mind. Even so, Lijiang *was* their spiritual home, a home they never wanted to leave, but were forced to by geopolitical circumstances. In the *Cantos*, Pound recreated the land for them, and for generations of future readers to discover. Rock and Goullart were never able to return to Lijiang, but in Pound's recreation of it, they can still be found, standing amid the rarefied air of those pine and spruce forests.

¹² Uncontrolled tourism in Lijiang's old town led the UNESCO World Heritage Committee to issue a warning to Lijiang's authorities in July 2007.

Just as Pound's *Cathay* contributed to the discussion of Chinese poetry as world literature, I believe the late *Cantos* (in their published *and* draft forms) can be seen as the siting of Lijiang and the Naxi as part of world literary heritage (years before the Naxi manuscripts were inscribed in UNESCO's Memory of the World Register in 2003). Rock invented "Naxi-land" in English via his obscure scholarship, and Goullart brought Lijiang to life in his popular memoir. Pound turned these sources into world literature in the *Cantos*: in short, Pound, purely by nature of his literary status, became the default interpretation of a literary Lijiang – at least in the Occidental halls of world literature. Lijiang as world literature is therefore read through the lens of Pound, in turn influenced by the presence of Rock and Goullart on those forested hillsides. Despite the focus on the two Lijiang exiles of European descent, Pound's Lijiang is not Eurocentric. While Rock and Goullart exist in Pound's paradise, it is also populated by Naxi chieftains, ritualists, and in the handwritten drafts even the heroine of the suicide Romance, "2K'a 2ma 1gyu 3mi 2gkyi" (*Facsimile Notebooks*, Notebook No. 2), whose name occupies its own line, introducing the Naxi elements that would end up marking the beginning of CX. The paradise is ultimately multicultural; it belongs to the world.

In February 1963, after Rock's death, Goullart wrote in a letter to Paul Weisich, Director of the Honolulu Botanical Gardens: "I have lost all my mementoes of Likiang and its Nakhi people, whom both Dr. Rock and I loved." The paradise that Pound created is exactly that, a memento that lives on in the mind. But could it not be something more? Pound's project was, after all, one of cultural renewal. While Byron has written that Pound's "*paradiso terrestre* is, in the end, strictly a possibility of the mind: it lives in the memory (*dove sta memoria*) and makes a home at the far reaches of the world" (49), I would say it is not "strictly" a possibility of the mind, because Lijiang was still a real place as described by Rock and Goullart. I have attempted to show how what was a state of mind (the Lijiang sentiment found in the letters), could, when combined with the anthropological textual sources, have "resurrected" Lijiang in poetry. After reading the first of Pound's Naxi cantos in 1958, Pao-hsien Fang wrote to Pound in January 1959, saying "I wish more cantos from you will resurrect 麗江 [Lijiang]" (Qian Pao-hsien Fang 75). Pound's *paradiso terrestre* is analogous to Goullart's Lijiang; they are both reclaimed by literature. At the end of *Lost Horizon*, the narrator wonders whether the protagonist Hugh Conway ever made it back to that hidden paradise: "We sat for a long time in silence, and then talked again of Conway as I remembered him, boyish and gifted and full of charm, and of the War that had altered him, and of so many mysteries of time and age and of the mind, [...] and of the strange ultimate dream of Blue Moon. 'Do you think he will ever find it?' I asked" (262). Pound answers that final question, one that we

could also ask of Goullart and of Rock. Do you think they ever found it? In his poetry, Pound allows a return to Shangri-la for them, and for his readers all over the world.

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