Lost Calligraphy or Reinvented Motif:

Chinese Pictograms in Western Fashion

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Abstract

This thesis investigates the complexity of cultural translation of visual language, considering writing systems both a profound shaping force and microcosmic reflection of the central elements of its culture. It focuses on the case of Chinese pictogram in Western everyday fashion; fashion is treated here as a site where the conceptual, aesthetic and cultural dynamics vividly interact with one another. This work probes what tensions are lost and added to the pictograms' cultural meaning in the process of translation, bearing in mind the two different aesthetic philosophies underlining Western and Chinese calligraphies. Seeing the complexity in the change of tensions, the thesis argues that nothing remains "authentic" in cultural translation, but the value of the encounter lies in the possibilities for each culture to reconsider itself in the corrective mirror of the Other.

Résumé

La présente thèse étudie la complexité de la traduction culturelle du langage visuel, percevant les systèmes d'écriture à la fois comme un profond mode de façonnage et un reflet microcosmique des éléments centraux de sa culture. Elle se concentre sur le cas des pictogrammes chinois dans la mode occidentale de tous les jours; la mode est traitée ici comme un site où les dynamiques conceptuelle, esthétique et culturelle interagissent de façon frappante les unes avec les autres. La thèse étudie les tensions qui sont perdues et qui viennent s' ajouter à la signification culturelle des pictogrammes, en tenant compte des deux différentes philosophies esthétiques qui soustendent les calligraphies occidentale et chinoise. Compte tenu de la complexité du changement de tensions, l' auteur de la thèse soutient que rien ne reste authentique dans la traduction culturelle, mais que la valeur de la rencontre réside dans les possibilités qui s' offrent à chaque culture de se réexaminer.

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Introduction

This thesis investigates the complexity of the cultural translation of visual language on the site of fashion. Through a close examination of the adaptation of Chinese pictograms in Western fashion pieces collected through fieldwork, this thesis inquires into the cultural context of language and calligraphy, text and image, and the conceptual significance of writing systems. It probes the profoundly different aesthetic philosophies of Western and Chinese calligraphies, and analyzes how the cultural meaning of Chinese pictograms is changed in their translation into a Western setting. In this work fashion is treated as a site where the cultural translation takes place.

Written language, as both the main method and main form with which human civilization has accumulated its knowledge and passed it on to subsequent generations, is entrenched in the civilization itself. Harold Innis (1950, 1951) was one of the first communication scholars to point out that civilizations with different writing systems should be expected to have comparable differences in thought patterns. Marshall McLuhan (1964, 1980, 1967) articulated that the principal *means* or *media* of communication used by a civilization molds it more than the *content* of the communication. The medium is the message. The form is the content. The compelling and ubiquitous nature of visual language is the very cause, and the very focus, of this study.

Since 1999, my first summer in Montreal, I have been startled by how frequently Chinese pictograms are used in everyday fashion. It seemed that not a day would go by without my noticing such Chinese pictograms applied as a visual decoration on fashion items. Chinese pictograms have also become a popular tattoo motif. This trend

manifests itself in mass media as well. In an episode of the popular TV sitcom *Ally McBeal* in August 2001, the heroine Ally, having the birthday blues in her late twenties, wears a T-shirt with a tiger and the Chinese pictograms 絕命虎 *jue ming hu*, the killing tiger, on her chest. In another example, the tattoo seen on the neck of a National Basketball Association player is the Chinese pictogram representing loyalty, 忠*zhong*. The front page of the Arts and Entertainment section of *The Montreal Gazette* on August 25th, 2001 shows a Canadian animator Cordell Barker wearing a polo shirt with a reprint of an original Chinese painting with calligraphy.

What intrigued me initially about this phenomenon was that such application of Chinese pictograms would not seem "appropriate" in a Chinese context. The pictogram in Western fashion apparently is an adaptation of Chinese calligraphy, as they both use pictograms as visual decoration. However, they do not appear and feel quite the same to a native Chinese speaker and writer. What happens when the symbol from one culture is placed in the context of the other? In what ways are both affected by this transposition? What kind of hybrid expression (cultural, aesthetic and linguistic) is created in this process?

In this study fashion is the site where the cultural translation of the visual language occurs in daily practice. Fashion is a stage, a forum and an intersection where many cultural, aesthetic, and social dynamics encounter one another directly, simultaneously, intuitively, and frequently. Chinese pictograms are also often applied onto Western household objects, like furniture, stationary, pottery and cards. In Western experimental literature, the juxtaposition of Chinese ideographic language and Western alphabetic language are created to "pursue a mediation upon the nature of the reading

and writing experience, both Oriental and Western" (Hellerstein 1991, 329). But fashion is a better site to observe the cultural translation than household objects and experimental literature. It is everyday fashion, this thesis proposes, where the dynamics of cultural translation are most vivid. First, fashion is more intimate to the person than the household objects, both physically and psychologically; fashion has become inseparable from one's identity. Second, fashion is worn by everybody everyday everywhere; it forms a ubiquitous medium of constant interpersonal non-verbal communication. And third, the use of pictograms on fashion is visual language practiced in its moment and its place, but research on an artistic literary experiment will likely fall into the *recording or representation* of the visual language.

Some of the studies of visual language are engaged largely with alphabetic languages with a tacit assumption that the findings and conclusions are applicable to *all* languages. Most of the Western works, especially the earlier ones, were written from within the Western ethnocentric position that sees their own language as "normal" and others as abnormal ¹. Those with a cross-cultural approach mainly rely on archival material and secondary sources rather than the Chinese visual language contextualized in contemporary everyday life (either the everyday life in the West or the East). This

¹ For example, Albertine Gaur in *A History Calligraphy* (1994) considers Western, Arabic and Chinese calligraphies as "the three great traditions" (Chapter 2), but once she enters theoretical discussion in Chapter 3 to define "calligraphy" as an art form, the criteria are applicable only to alphabetic language. Linguist Geoffrey Sampson (1985, 12) criticizes that Western works on writing systems are "ethnocentric" and their treament to relatively "alien" systems "is at best cursory and, in some cases, full of factual errors". *Chinese Language: Fact and Fantasy* (1984) by John DeFrancis is one of such examples for factual errors. Jack Goody (Goody and Watt 1963; Goody 1977) ultimately asserts that ideographic writing is inferior as a medium of culture. Robert K. Logan (1986, 21) holds the preconception that it takes less time to become literate in English than in Chinese, since one contains only twenty-six letters and the other thousands of pictograms, however, one having learned the twenty-six letters can not necessarily read and write, while somebody having learnt several thousand Chinese characters can. To be literate in an alphabetic language is not to know the alphabet, but to be literate in thousands of words and phrases, which is not substantially different from ideographic languages.

should not be surprising since there are few opportunities for Chinese visual language to be utilized in Western society to directly interact with the cultural dynamics in everyday practice. Now Western fashion creates that opportune forum for first hand research, where the investigator can actually interview the "participants" of the cultural translation, as I did with most of the fashion wearers in the fieldwork.

With a cross-cultural subject such as Western fashion with Chinese pictograms, it is very easy to make interpretations based on little actual observation of the objects of study itself. For instance, the interpretations can be made of: 1) the authenticity (therefore superiority) of Chinese calligraphy as opposed to the use of pictograms in Western fashion; 2) the commercialization of art work; and 3) the eroticisation of the East by the West. This thesis deliberately avoids employing these interpretations; instead, it aims to articulate a more intricate understanding of the object itself at a crosscultural level. All examples, therefore, will be described in detail before a cultural or social analysis is executed, and attention is given to the visual language and writing system of both cultures.

Since this work deals with Chinese pictograms as visual language (a writing system), Chinese pictograms as a visual art (calligraphy), and fashion (a site of cultural translation), it implicates literature in three fields: visual language studies, calligraphy (both Chinese and Western), and fashion studies. A rich body of scholarship has been written in each of these three fields. The theoretical framework of this thesis brings together certain aspects from these fields while privileging a theoretical approach different from most of the sources and thus analyzing the subject from a new position.

The theoretical framework of this paper can be summarized as following: based upon the notion that the writing system is both a profound shaping force and microcosmic reflection of the essential elements of its culture, this thesis investigates the complexity of the cultural translation of Chinese pictograms in the Western everyday life on the site of fashion. This study probes the kinds of changes that occur in Chinese pictograms when employed as a visual decoration in Western fashion and ultimately explains these changes in the light of philosophical difference between Chinese and Western calligraphy.

The work is structured in five chapters. Chapter I builds up the theoretical ground for later analysis and discussion. First it reviews the existing literature in the three fields that are covered in this interdisciplinary work: visual languages studies, calligraphy (both Western and Chinese), and fashion studies. Then it situates the theoretical framework of this study within the existing literature. The core concept, "tension", is borrowed from Entwistle (2000), but redefined for this work as the conflict and negotiation between contradictory limitations and principles in the making and appreciation of cultural objects. Tensions are both the pausing points of anxiety and generative points of meaning. A tension may remain ambivalent and unnoticed in its native cultural context, but becomes palpable in another culture, just like one will discover a word's intricate meaning when hearing a foreigner using it in a grammatically correct but culturally peculiar way. The cultural translation of visual language, as demonstrated on the site of Western fashion, will inevitably result in the loss, adding or distortion of tensions within it; when the adopting culture does not have an equivalent art

form of expression, which is the very case of Chinese calligraphy in Western culture, the changes of tensions become extraordinarily rich.

Entwistle discusses tensions in modern fashion practice, while this thesis is concerned with the *change* of tensions in the cultural translation of *Chinese pictograms*. Since fashion is the core setting of these pictograms, the tensions in fashion practice certainly will influence what tension in the pictogram is lost or added and how it happens. Therefore, the consideration of fashion as the site of the change in tensions will run through the whole work. Finally, a section on fieldwork methodology explains how fashion examples used in this thesis were collected and organized.

Chapter II takes up the discussion of the two different aesthetic philosophies of Western and Chinese calligraphy. To demonstrate that the English term "calligraphy" is a mis-translation of the Chinese art 書法 *shu-fa*, the art of writing, three approaches are employed: a discussion of the etymology of the terms "calligraphy" and *shu-fa*; a history of the two practices; and a comparison of the social status of calligraphers in the two cultures. This chapter aims to clarify some long-held ambiguities regarding Chinese calligraphy and Western calligraphy, so as to give the reader a more contextualized understanding of the two sides that are involved in the cultural translation before discussing the complexity of the translation itself.

Chapters III and IV are symmetrical analyses of the translation of the pictograms. Chapter III explores those tensions that exist in the Chinese context but are lost in Western fashion, and Chapter IV looks at the tensions that are newly added to these pictograms in the Western context. Here fashion is studied more as an embodied object in practice than as an item separated from the human body.

Chapter V probes further the subject by a close examination of three specific fashion items that use Chinese pictograms in a creative way. Fashion with Chinese pictograms, like other hybrid forms of expression, provides the fashion-maker with a new vocabulary and the art form with new possibilities. The Chinese pictogram acquires more freedom as a pure visual motif in a Western setting; it also tends to integrate with the maker's native culture.

Based on the analysis of complex changes of tensions, as presented in Chapters III, IV and V, this thesis argues that nothing remains "authentic" in the process of cultural translation, and any misinterpretation is accompanied by new dynamics which shed light on the visual language itself as well as on the cultures involved in the exchange. Visual language, hand-written or printed, has the capacity to reflect the most exquisite spirit of the time and the most profound conception of a culture. Such capacity makes research on cultural translation of visual language essentially valuable, for it intrigues us to contemplate our native culture from the outside and examine the tremendous diversity of human creativity. In an age of increasing globalization and cross-cultural communication, such research is of particular importance to the field of communication studies.

I. Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

This thesis takes as the subject of investigation the use of Chinese pictograms in Western fashion in order to analyze themes -- conceptual, linguistic, and aesthetic-- that come together in the process of cultural translation. All the analysis and hypotheses are based on examples collected through fieldwork. Although a fair amount of attention is given to a review of the literature written on visual language and writing systems, Chinese and Western calligraphy, and fashion studies, an engagement with the real fashion pieces penetrates the analysis.

Two major groups of theories and approaches can be found to elucidate the subject of this thesis. One is focused on the commercialization of artwork, with capitalism in relation to art and humanism as its underlying concern. The second can be grouped around the post-colonial theory and the eroticisation of non-Western cultures by the West; this can be represented by Edward Said (1978). Both groups of theories have been highly influential in almost every field of humanities and social science, and have shaped the ways we view and analyze the society and its practices. It can also be argued that while the first theoretical approach has accomplished the shift from academic avantgarde into the "collective consciousness" of the whole society, the second approach is being integrated into the mainstream intellectual agenda. Either of the two perspectives, it seems, would have been a natural place to position a subject like Western fashion with Chinese pictograms. This thesis, while acknowledging these two theoretical approaches as able to provide powerful insight, deliberately chooses to focus elsewhere. What intrigues me in the pictograms used in fashion is the intimacy of interaction between different visual languages and different cultures, and the tremendously rich dynamics

that would not appear without cross-cultural interaction. This thesis provides a close analysis of the visual language itself and focuses on elucidating the meeting of two very different cultural mentalities within the forum of fashion, bringing to the surface what one may be unlikely to notice within one specific culture alone (either Western or Chinese). If there is going to be any insight into the dynamics of cultural translation, it must be supported by actual evidence from this cultural discourse.

1. Literature Review

The subject of this thesis falls within the sphere of three fields: 1) visual language studies; 2) calligraphy (both Western and Chinese); and 3) fashion studies. The field of visual language studies needs to be contextualized within the critical "linguisticturn" of Western scholarship in the 20th century which saw a large number of studies on language systems. That century may be characterized by the "self-awareness" of language. The "self-awareness" of language refers to the phenomenon that intellectual discourse begun to contemplate its own *medium* or, actually, *itself*; much research was conducted in language on language itself. Linguistics and semiotics not only emerged as new fields, but also, more profoundly, became a tool, a paradigm, and a perspective for other fields in humanities and social sciences to reinvestigate their own academic agendas. Never were the social sciences and humanities so clearly aware of the fact that the overwhelming majority of human knowledge is accumulated in, through, and with language. However, as Geoffrey Sampson (1985, 11) points out, most of the linguistics of the 20th century has almost entirely neglected writing in being preoccupied with speech. Similar criticism is noted by Jacques Derrida (1967, 44) and Harvey Minkoff (1975, 194). F. W. Householder (1969, 886), as Sampson notes, "lists eight propositions accepted as axiomatic by the followers of the American linguist Leonard Bloomfield, of which the first is 'Language is basically speech, and writing is of no theoretical interest'" (1985, 11). The tide began to turn in the second half of the century, when visual language and writing systems gradually gained ground as a much-deserved field of interest.

Considerable research has surveyed various writing systems, both contemporary and historical (Sampson 1985; Mason 1920; Gelb 1952; Coulmas 1976; Robinson 1995). Sampson (1985), in *Writing System: A Linguistic Introduction* offers an excellent introduction to modern linguistic studies on writing systems, as well as -most relevant for the purpose of this thesis-- a fine discussion of Chinese visual writing in comparison to alphabetic writing. *A History of the Art of Writing* by William A. Mason (1920) is one of the earlier systematic endeavors exploring various writing system. Although much of Mason's argument is hindered by the Western ethnocentricism prevalent in his time, the study offers fine documentation of the original archeological evidence. Some contemporary studies of the subject (Drucker 1995) rely on much earlier scholarship like Edmund Fry's *Pantagraphia*, an encyclopedia of alphabets and typefaces published in London 1799, and Isaac Taylor's authoritative work *The Alphabet*, London 1899.

Other studies expand their inquiry beyond written language to signs, icons and symbols, and often investigate them as a communicative language as well. In their *Signs, Symbols and Icons: Pre-history to the Computer Age*, Rosemary Sassoon and Albertine Gaur (1997) collect a wide range of examples from various cultures and various fields of human activity, such as religion, visual art creation, bilingual education, music and dance. The growing scholarship within the field of new media technologies manifests a

renewed interest in the written language systems, particularly pictographic languages (see, for example, Paul Honeywill *Visual Language of the World Wide Web*, 1999).

Classic studies of the visual language of art, like *Visual Thinking* by Rudolf Arnheim (1969) and *Iconology: Image Text Ideology* by W. J. T. Mitchell (1986), are concerned with pictures, signs and symbols not written language, however, much of their analysis is applicable to writing systems as well.

There seem to be a growing interest specifically in the Western alphabet as evidenced in the works of scholars such as Robert K. Logan (1986) and Leonard Shlain (1998). In his popular work *The Alphabet Effect: the Impact of Phonetic Alphabet on the Development of Western Civilization*, Logan describes the dramatic role the phonetic alphabet has played in the development of Western civilization, in contrast to the pictographic writing systems in China and elsewhere. He attributes all the achievements conventionally associated with Western civilization – such as the modern science, logic, Western codified law, monotheism, rationality and individualism – to alphabetic writing. Shlain (1998), in his *The Alphabet Versus the Goddess: The Conflict Between Word and Image* proposes causal linkages between the writing systems (particularly alphabetic writing) and patriarchal power structure². Deep in this work is Shlain's concern with the imbalance between the feminine *yin* energy and masculine *yang* energy in today's world, especially in the West (1998, 2, 431-32).

Logan and Shlain's attitudes toward Western civilization and a possible alphabet effect are quite different. For example, Logan privileges Western monotheism and posits a causal link between monotheism, universal law, and then modern science (1986,

² See Sandra F. Witelson (1989) "Hand and Sex Differences in the Isthmus and Anterior Commissure of the Human Corpus Callosum", *Brain* 112:799-835

112-14).³ Shlain on the other hand attributes Western religious intolerance to alphabetic writing (1998, 341-361)⁴. Despite their differences, both Logan and Shlain provide a compelling argument for how deeply written language is entrenched in Western civilization and how profoundly it has shaped the civilization in which it is embedded. A civilization is both the soil and the fruit of its writing system. Both Shlain and Logan attribute much of their work to Marshall McLuhan (1964, 1980, 1967) who in the 1960s articulated that the principal *means* or *media* of communication employed by a civilization molds it more than the *content* of the communication.

Another scholar whose work is concerned with the Western alphabet is Johanna Drucker, a printer, typographer and scholar. In *The Alphabetic Labyrinth: the Letters in History and Imagination* (1995), she focuses on the distinct visual characteristics of alphabet and investigates the "alphabet symbolism" in Western cultural history "which interweaves with the domain of philosophy and religion, mysticism and magic, linguistics and humanistic inquiry" (13). She deals mainly with Western European alphabets within the alphabetic writing system and covers the origins of alphabet to the 20th century. Although when the alphabet originated is ambivalent, the origination is crucial to the understanding of it. In *Figuring the WORD: Essays on Books, Writing, and Visual Poetics* (1998), she explores the visual presentation of language. In *The Visible Word: Experimental Typography and Modern Art, 1090-1923* (1994) Drucker provides an analytical documentation of the revolutionary episode in Western visual art history when letters, literature and writing language was discovered as a "sign", an abstract visual motif and materials for inventory experiment by the avant-garde artist.

³ "Universal Law" and "Why Science Began in the West"

⁴ See Chapter 31 "Faith/Hate"

Some of the artistic experiments covered in *The Visible Word* were part of the International Concrete Poetry movement of the last century, best exemplified in the works of French poet Stéphane Mallarmé. The essence of Concrete poetry, in the words of Jean-Francois Bory, is "real writing only writing writing itself" (quoted in Bowler 1970, 13). The manifesto of concrete poetry is perfectly applicable to Chinese calligraphy, "the art of writing about writing itself".

This thesis considers the above themes of discourse, but it is primarily preoccupied with the interaction of two writing. Its ambition is not to determine which writing system is superior, but to seek the possibility of a bridge in an investigation of their encounter. The thesis would rather set aside the question of cultural superiority, when much effort can be done in explaining and understanding different writing systems. When Chinese pictograms are utilized in an English environment, all the linguistic, cultural and social aspects of the two writing languages encounter and interact with each other intensively. This encounter provides an ideal site for the observation of the cultural translation of a visual language. As a consequence, the characteristics or the nature of each visual language is revealed better in the comparison with the other. Another uniqueness of this thesis from the previous works lies in the field work. Most of the existing works on visual language, particularly writing systems, are based on historical literature and secondary sources such as archeological evidences and historical documentation, while this study is grounded in the first hand examples set within contemporary everyday practice. They are visual language in its original time and space, rather than the documentation of it. Studies on visual language and writing systems based upon historical literature are naturally short of the "real-timeness", where all the

people, social atmosphere and cultural settings are not necessarily documented together with the visual language, or simply impossible to be documented. Focusing on one specific forum of fashion, the field work in this thesis attempts to demonstrate how visual language is deeply set into its space, time and cultural environment.

Let us now examine the field of calligraphy. In many ways, the subject of visual language studies and calligraphy studies overlap with each other. The difference between the two is that of focus: visual language studies seemed to be largely concerned with the literature as a *writing system*, while calligraphy studies is preoccupied with the visual beauty of written language. One sees visual language as words; the other treats it primarily as an image.

Among other existing works on Chinese calligraphy, a classic is Yee Chiang's (1973) *Chinese Calligraphy: An Introduction to its Aesthetics and Technique*, first published in 1938. Chiang, himself a calligrapher, intended this book as both an introduction to the aesthetics of this art form and a practical manual for Westerners. This work combines aesthetic description and theoretical analysis, with numerous plates and text illustrations. More than one third of the work is devoted to detailed description of the training process. Chiang's introduction of the training process is valuable not only for those who aim to practice calligraphy but also those who only intend to learn about it, because it is hardly possible to appreciate Chinese calligraphy without being able to visualize and experience its *making*. Yu-ho Tseng's (1993) *A History of Chinese Calligraphy* is a later systematical research of the subject. Jean François Billeter (1990) in his *The Chinese Art of Writing*, investigates Chinese calligraphy from a Westerner's point of view. His understanding of Chinese calligraphy develops from its comparison

with Western visual art, therefore acquiring a compelling clarity for the Western reader who is unfamiliar with this art form. He articulates the nature of Chinese calligraphy in many ways that a Chinese scholar or speaker never could. Billeter aims to help the readers actually *feel* the art by relating to their bodily experience such as their sense of balance or motion and the structure of the human body with which everyone is very familiar, despite his cultural background. By setting aside the literacy obstacle and temporarily bracketing the history of Chinese calligraphy, he successfully leads the reader directly into the very essence of Chinese calligraphy.

As an attempt at philosophical analysis, the article by John Hay (1983) draws attention to the microcosmic nature of the human body in Chinese calligraphy, and Lothar Ledderose (1984) connects calligraphy to Taoist religion. Research on specific styles, calligraphers or historical eras does not seem significant in Western scholarship; Ledderose (1979) and Peter Charles Sturman (1997) both concentrate on one calligrapher Mi Fu (1051-1107), who was not only an accomplished calligrapherpainter-poet, but also a devoted art theorist and art historian of calligraphy.

The exhibitions of Chinese calligraphy and museum collections often serve as the basis for publications with abundant illustrations of the actual artwork. Here we should mention works such as: I-kuo Chang (1998) of Miriam & Ira D. Wallach Art Gallery; Joseph Chang, Thomas Lawton and Stephen D. Allee (2000) of Freer Gallery of Art in Washington D.C.; Yi-mei Liu (1997) of the Shanghai Museum; and Shen C. Y. Fu (1977) of Yale University Art Gallery.

In the Chinese context, painting and calligraphy are enmeshed into each other with the same brushwork, in the same hand of the calligrapher-painter. This close-knit

relationship between Chinese calligraphy and painting is dramatically different from the one between Western calligraphy and painting, where Western calligraphy is never given the same weight as painting. Several works explore the merge of calligraphy and painting in Chinese culture., Robert Hatfield Ellsworth (1987) discusses both Chinese painting and calligraphy between 1800 and 1950. Michael Sullivan in The Three Perfections: Chinese Painting, Poetry and Calligraphy (1974) echoes Robert E. Harrist in his "The Two Perfections: Reading Chinese Poetry and Calligraphy" (1999). They both explore how Chinese poetry and Chinese calligraphy have persistently influenced each other and how they ultimately share the same aesthetic philosophy, which is in contrast to the clear differentiation and relatively separated development of Western literature, calligraphy and painting. In his Beyond Presentation: Chinese Painting and *Calligraphy* 8th-14th Century (1992), Wen C. Fong, then a visiting curator at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, delves deeper into theoretical and philosophical exploration of Chinese visual art. Another study published by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Words and Images: Chinese Poetry, Calligraphy, and Painting (Murck and Fong 1991) collects multidisciplinary essays by scholars and calligraphers in the US, China, Taiwan and Japan.

In Western literature on Chinese calligraphy, a theme, which is not as significant in conventional calligraphy studies in China, emerges: calligraphy and politics. Ledderose (1986) posits that Chinese calligraphy has always been used to help the literati "foster the social cohesiveness of their class, which in turn was a prerequisite for political cohesiveness and stability" (35); evidently, "those men who created and developed the calligraphic tradition were the same men who created and developed the

political traditions"(50). Amy McNair (1998) focuses on calligraphy's significance in Chinese politics in the historical period of the late Tang Dynasty to the Northern Song Dynasty (about the late 9th to early 12th century) when calligraphy developed rapidly, and Richard Curt Kraus (1991) investigates this theme in contemporary China.

What we need to bear in mind is the fact that in Chinese scholarship, the connection between calligraphy and politics is never given as much attention as it is by the Western scholars, for calligraphy in a Chinese context is first and foremost an art from. Another fact we need to take into account is that in Western scholarship Chinese calligraphy is a fairly new field, as Philippe de Montebello, the Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, points out, until the 1950s Chinese calligraphy and painting still remained "little-understood fields" (Murck and Fong 1991, ix). Whereas, almost right upon the "discovery" of Chinese calligraphy in Western scholarship, the relationship between brush and power has been systematically explored, and such works make up a much higher proportion of the total amount of Western publications than in Chinese scholarship. Such intellectual sensitivity certainly adds new insight to further study of the subject and provides interpretations that Chinese scholars are less likely to have because they may be too used to the political system to see its existence. However, this sensitivity in politics, in contrast with the indifference toward some more essential themes like the comparison of writing systems, indicates that to certain degree China and Chinese culture remains for the West an object first loaded with political meaning. The political interpretation certainly has its consequence in intellectual understanding, however, what is important to highlight is that the political image of China may overshadow the culture, the very essence of the subject.

The literature on Western calligraphy indicates that the boundaries of this art of writing can be ambivalent. Besides hand-written beautified script, the following skills or objects are discussed under the name of "calligraphy": letter design/lettering, font, typography (Gaur 1994). In this thesis, Western calligraphy refers to all these visual arts that utilize written and printed language to create a visual effect. Albertine Gaur in A History of Calligraphy (1994) provides a brief lineage of Western lettering and the calligrapher's status in Western history. Her discussion of writing tools reveals how technological changes affected writing experience. Nicholete Gray in his A History of Lettering, Creative Experiment and Lettering Identity (1986), offers a detailed history of the art of letter design in Western culture. Williams Roberts (1843) and Michelle P. Brown (1990) discuss the development of Western lettering in different historical periods since antiquity. Anthologies of calligraphic works of Western calligraphy includes Buss Spector, Reagan and Roberta Upshaw's (1981) Words as Images and Berjouhi Bowler's The Word as Image (1970). An exhibition at Portland Art Association in 1958 produced Calligraphy: the Golden Age and Its Modern Revival.

As handwriting is declining in Western practice, some scholars are attempting to explore the new possibilities for calligraphy in a post-typewriter age. Such engagements are Heather Child's *Calligraphy Today: A Survey of Tradition and Trends* (1963) and Paul Standard's *Calligraphy's Flowering, Decay and Restoration with Hints for Its Wider Use Today* (1947). Drucker (1994) discusses the new possibilities of typography exemplified in various avant-garde groups' *manifestos*.

Most of the literature on calligraphy deals exclusively with either Chinese or Western calligraphy; if there is a reference to the other, it is mostly cursory. Although

Gaur (1994) includes Western, Islamic and Chinese calligraphy, the three are merely in a juxtaposition, thereby failing to address the profound philosophical differences between them. The subject of this thesis is the complexity of cultural translation of visual language; therefore the differences in the aesthetic philosophies of Western and Chinese calligraphy profoundly underlies my analysis presented below.

In the field of fashion studies, a large body of literature deals with such aspects as fashion history, cultural meaning and the fashion industry. Much literature has been written to systematically preserve the history of Western fashion. Canonic works include James Laver's *Taste and Fashion, from the French Revolution to the Present Day* (1945), *Style in Costume* (1949), and *Costume and Fashion: A Concise History* (1982). Valerie Steele (1988) record the history of Paris fashion. Doreen Yarwood's *The Encyclopedia of World Costume* (1978) is one of the first attempts at fashion history on a global scale.

The cultural meaning of fashion is taken up in numerous works. Turner R. Wilcox's *The Mode in Costume* (1958), and Alison Lurie's *The Language of Clothes* (1992) both fit into Barthes' semiotic approach toward fashion (1983). Amy de la Hay and Elizabeth Wilson (2000), Fred Davis (1992) and Diana Crane (2000) discuss fashion and its social agenda, and how fashion forms our gender, class and cultural identities, while shaping and reflecting the culture it is in. John Fiske (1989) terms fashion as a "popular text" whose meaning is completed only in the "contextualization" in reference to other popular texts. Joanne Finkelstein's *The Fashioned Self* (1991) is preoccupied with how the human *body* is molded by artificial materials and technologies according to fashion norms and trends. P. Braham (1997) locates fashion in the whole cultural

industry and considers fashion as a cultural product (to be produced, distributed and consumed) rather than as a popular text (to be composed, read and responded to). E. Wilson (1985, 1991)pays close attention to fashion's setting, which enables dress to become *fashion*. Ted Polhemus and Lynn Proctor in *Fashion and Anti-Fashion: An Anthropology of Clothing and Adornment* (1978) turn their anthropological lens to both Western and non-Western cultures, modern and pre-modern societies, in order to find out a universal fashion system.

The most articulating distinction between "fashion" and "clothing" is found in *Fashion as Communication*, in which Malcolm Barnard (1996) concludes that "fashion" is a properly postmodern phenomenon rather than a universal phenomenon throughout human history, for only in postmodern society does the value of a piece of garment depend more on its "meaning" than its practical function. This "meaning" can only derive from the "complicated network of similarities overlapping and criss-crossing" with other garments (1996, 9). This network of the meanings, instead of an aggregation of some garments, is what we call "fashion". Therefore there are two critical distinctions between clothing and fashion according to Barnard. The value of clothing depends mainly on its practical function, while for fashion, value resides in its "meaning". Then, clothing exists by pieces, while fashion only exists as a network; each fashion piece deprives its meaning from others. This thesis is written in the light of Barnard's distinction between fashion and clothing.

Among diversified approaches within cultural studies, feminist theory has been particularly prolific, partially due to the fact that fashion has conventionally been regarded as a "feminine" domain. Angela McRobbie (1991, 1999) is a foremost

feminist scholar in the field of fashion. H. Robert (1977), J. Gaines and C. Herzog (1990), and Colin McDowell (1992) probe how gender hierarchy is practiced and experienced in fashion, and how fashion has become an accurate mirror of the society's perception of gender.

Feminist theory often overlaps with post-colonial theory in fashion studies, since both are concerned with revealing power structures and the voice of the marginalized . Wendy Chapkis and Cynthia Encloe (1984) demonstrate that woman in different countries experience similar oppression and marginalization. J. Lown and H. Chenut (1984) are concerned with power structures within the global fashion industry. Reina Lewis (1996) synthesizes post-colonial theory and feminist theory in *Gender Orientalism: Race, Femininity and Representation.* Ruth B. Phillips and Christopher B. Steiner (1999) address the post-colonial issues manifested in fashion. Since this thesis covers fashion as well as East-and-West relations, it is necessary to explain why it does not utilize post-colonial theory. Post-colonial theory is largely generated by scholarship from the territories and cultures that were colonized by the West. China, though invaded and exploited, has never been colonized institutionally. What is especially meaningful for this work is that never has a Western language been imposed on China; the Chinese language has not been suppressed or marginalized⁵. Therefore, post-

⁵ There were two waves of simplification and alphabetization of Chinese written language, but both are advocated by Chinese themselves, see Cathy Lang Ho (1996). For a greater context of these two waves, see Immanuel C. Y. Hsü (2000) "21. The Intellectual Revolution, 1917-23" and "26. The People's Republic of China: Its First Decade" in *The Rise of Modern China*. These two waves of simplification are more out of psychological panic than actual inefficiency, particularly the second wave in Mao's reign. Numerous reasons result in the two simplifications, but the most profound one, is that this civilization lost its sense of confidence and security in the violent confrontation with Western civilization. Most of the cultural destruction to China in the 20th century is done by Chinese. For the simplification of Chinese, see Cathy Lang Ho "Reforming the Chinese Soul" *Metropolis* June 1996.

colonial theory is not applicable to Chinese culture without significant modifications to its precepts. Given the prevalence of post-colonial theory in contemporary scholarship, this work aims to explore the actual encounters of cultures for the sake of a more thorough understanding of each other rather than hide itself in the insightfulness of a grand theory. By no means does the avoidance, or the lack of post-colonial theory hint the disagreement with it. In fact this thesis is motivated by similar political goals that aim to clear up misunderstandings or a lack of understanding between cultures for a more balanced global cultural system. It also tried to avoid the over-politicization or simplification of the subject.

Much scholarship on mass media also acknowledges fashion. Jennifer Craik (1994) applies sociological fieldwork to investigate the audience's reaction to the model's face in fashion advertising. In her famous *Watching "Dallas": Soap Opera and the Melodramatic Imagination* (1985), Ien Ang discusses how fashion is presented to promote certain female images in the TV genre of melodrama.

Besides the literature that directly deals with fashion, some works from other fields have significantly contributed to fashion studies. Sociologist Georg Simmel in his 1904 work *On Individuality and Social Forms* (1971, 295-323) provides one of the earliest sociological studies of fashion. Simmel articulates the idea that two contradictory tendencies, the need to belong to the community and the need to differentiate oneself from the others, are essential in the establishment of fashion. Simmel inspires Entwistle's discussion of "tension" in modern fashion practice (2000), which will be discussed more extensively later in this chapter. Another sociologist who has made a considerable contribution to fashion studies is Erving Goffman (1971, 1972,

1976, 1979). Goffman is preoccupied with the order of social interaction, where two or more individuals are physically in one another's presence. He conceptualizes such situations as *co-presence*, drawing attention to the human body, for he argues that normally, any individual in a position to receive an embodied message also makes himself a sender of an embodied message. Goffman's theory on *role* proposes that an individual's performance in another novel identity will be externalized and added to his personal biography. Wearing a fashion piece with a foreign identity is one of the best examples of such performance in a novel role.

Cultural studies of fashion set up the ground for interpreting the cultural meanings of fashion and demonstrate that fashion is a highly meaning-enriched cultural object. These works articulate or imply that fashion is a meaning network, therefore, for this thesis, the Chinese pictograms' location on fashion is determinant to their cultural meaning. The site is involved in the translation. Different from most of the cultural studies on fashion, this work is based on fashion examples collected through fieldwork rather than relying on the representation of fashion from magazines, fashion archives, TV or movies.

In summary, it can be argued that the unique position of this thesis in relation to most of the literature examined above is that: 1) it is based on visual language and fashion pieces in everyday *practice* instead of secondary sources, and 2) it is not mainly concerned with power structure in the East-West encounter, nor is it interested in evaluating which writing system, alphabetic or ideographic, is superior; it is preoccupied with revealing the complexity of the cultural translation of visual language.

2. Theoretical Framework

This cross-cultural study draws on three notions to form its theoretical framework: the cultural significance of writing systems; the anthropological approach toward art forms; and the autonomy of fashion as a complete meaning network. While cross-cultural studies of writing systems tend to juxtapose alphabetic and ideographic languages (such as Logan 1986 and Shlain 1998), this work focuses on the encounter, interaction and translation between the two.

Entrenched in our culture writing systems play a crucial role in shaping our thought patterns, and in shaping the cultures we live in. The recognition of the importance of writing system is indebted to Harold Innis (1951, 1950), and the articulation of media as an active shaping force in communication processes is attributed to Marshall McLuhan (1964, 1980, 1967). From Geoffrey Sampson (1985), I draw the notion that writing language deserves the same linguistic attention that speech has been given. Robert K. Logan (1986) and Leonard Shlain (1998) provide two different but equally useful models to demonstrate the cultural impact of a writing system. It is not necessary for me to accept all of Logan and Shlain's arguments to agree with their belief in writing systems' profound impact on cultures.

In the 20th century, intellectual discourse began to contemplate the very medium in which it was conducted and with which it was accumulated: language. It is not a coincidence that the self-awareness of a writing system in scholarship occurs in the same timeframe as globalization. Increasing cross-cultural communication manifests the difference and diversity of languages and writing systems. The recognition of the other is the prerequisite for the recognition of oneself. The more one knows about another

writing system, the more elaborate one's understanding of one's own will become. The self-awareness of one's own writing system, and the encounter with another, are the two sides of a coin. Logan's "alphabet effect" would have been meaningless if every corner of human civilization were using alphabet.

The second notion of the theoretical framework – to use an anthropological approach to observe the items and base any aesthetic and cultural analysis closely on actual evidences from the items, is proposed by anthropologist Alfred Gell (1998). Because most research in art history is engaged in the aesthetic analysis of the objects from the Western point of view, Gell (1998) proposes an anthropological theory of art. He argues that "the aim of anthropology is to make sense of behavior in the context of social relations. Correspondingly, the objectivity of anthropological theory of art is to account for the production and circulation of art objects as a function of this relational context" (Gell 1998, 11). He claims that any aesthetic abstraction and cultural interpretation must therefore be tightly based on precise examination and description of the art objects. As shown in the Appendix, all the Chinese pictograms and the fashion items in this work are given a detailed description in the same manner.

In his semiotic work, *The Fashion System*, Roland Barthes (1983) treats fashion as a complete system in the sense that languages are complete. Every word in a language is ultimately arbitrary and its meaning depends on its relationship with other words, especially those in close proximity. Bathes' semiotic approach toward fashion highlights the necessity of treating a certain fashion piece as a knot in a network of meaning. This thesis tries to understand fashion pieces with Chinese pictograms by examining other similar, contrasting or relevant fashion examples.

Anne Hollander's *Seeing Through Clothes* (1978) objects to the practice of skipping careful examination of the clothes and treating them as merely a medium to express something else, such as social, economic or cultural ideas. She claims that fashion should be treated as an artistic form with its own power and autonomy just like painting and music. My subject is more about the graphic decoration on the fashion than fashion itself, but Hollander's claim of fashion's artistic autonomy enables me to place emphasis on the integration of Chinese pictograms with the fashion piece and the wearer, rather than treating them as graphic posters that happens to be applied onto a piece of cloth.

The theoretical framework of this thesis is based on the notion that visual language is a shaping force and a microcosmic reflection of its culture. All the discussion in this work is based on careful observation of the examples of Chinese pictograms, as well as attentive consideration of the site of fashion where the cultural translation takes place. Barthes' approach, on the other hand, is the inspiration to visit some traces in Western fashion history, particularly the history since the 1960s.

There is also a need to explain why the fashion pieces in this thesis are predominantly popular or "low" fashion. Contemporary Western high fashion occasionally employs non-Occidental visual languages, including Chinese pictograms, as decoration. The Oriental influence in Western fashion and costume history, particularly in the last century, has been acknowledged in scholarship (Laver 1982, 227, 322; Hung 1995; Hollander 1975, and Lurie 1992, 88-90 and the fourteenth color plate). This influence was, and is, demonstrated in almost every aspect of high fashion, from design, and style, through textile, color, contour, seaming and cut, to the use of motifs

and accessories. This trend reaches its culmination with the emergence of several prominent Japanese designers such as Miyake in the second half of the 20th century and the influence of Zen philosophy on some major Western designers such as Giorgio Armani (see the exhibition album at Guggenheim Museum in New York City, Celant 2000). The attention given to popular fashion instead of high fashion that drives this research is deliberate. First and foremost, the adoption of the Chinese pictogram is far more significant in popular fashion than in *haute couture*. Second, popular fashion has taken the center of the global fashion stage since the 1960s, and most cultural studies of modern fashion are focused on popular fashion, which is the case of most of the works on fashion reviewed just now. Third, popular fashion is more expressive than high fashion of the theme I want to discuss, that is, the cultural translation in daily practice, since popular fashion is part of everyday lived culture, while high fashion is more a set of fictional images formulated in fashion magazines, movies and on television.

3. Core Concept: Tension

The core concept of this thesis is borrowed from Joanne Entwistle (2000). In her broad examination of the literature on Western fashion written in the 20th century, *The Fashioned Body*, Entwistle distills three kinds of "tension" in contemporary fashion practice (2000, 112-139). The first tension occurs between fashion as an expression of the wearer's identity and its disguise. Modern fashion is rooted in the process of industrialization and urbanization. As a result, fashion becomes both an immediate expression of one's identity and the index of communication between strangers, since in the city mingled strangers have just fleeting moments to impress and know one another. Compared with costumes of the feudal era, modern fashion is far more egalitarian and

homogeneous and leaves the traditional class/social division much less. Meanwhile, the increasing accessibility of fine fashion makes it easier than ever for one to create an identity in disguise that does not reflect one's real social, cultural and economic status. The second tension occurs between the artificially-styled self and the natural, authentic self. Fashion on the one hand helps to highlight and reveal the authentic and natural beauty of the human body and human personality, but, on the other hand, it has developed into an elaborate artifice to construct a new self at the wearer's will. Fashion practice, no matter how elaborate and artificial its devices may be, never ceases to assert how "real" and "natural" its images are. Therefore, a tension exists between the artificiality and naturalness in the images created by fashion. The third tension in fashion practice is between an individual's desire to imitate others and to differentiate oneself from others, or the desire to belong to a group and to stand out in the crowd. One's dress sends out one of the first signals in interpersonal communication and acknowledges one's membership in a social community. However, with fashion entering the era of individualism in the 1960s (see Laval 1982, Chapter Ten), as we are going to discuss further in Chapter V, the major function of western fashion is to contribute to the making of a self-conscious individual image. Thus, every piece of fashion is a negotiation between one's uniqueness and communal identity.

Entwistle does not define the term "tension", but she seems to conceptualize "tension" as a conflict between two aspects within one cultural object. Here I will borrow the term of "tension" for my discussion. I will reframe this term and apply the new definition to a set of similar but broader subjects.
There are certain limitations and principles in a cultural object, which often point in different and even contrary directions. What is a limitation and what is a principle? For the purpose of this thesis, limitation refers to the natural limits imposed by the medium and the fundamental form of the art form or the cultural object. For instance, a painting is engaged in reflecting a three-dimensional world in a twodimensional medium; it can only represent but can never be three-dimensional. Unlike limitation, principle refers to the culturally, socially constructed conventions in the making and appreciation of cultural objects. An example is how nudity is interpreted in different cultures. Nudity represents the natural beauty of the human body in classic European paintings, and is an homage to human being during the Renaissance, while in classic Chinese paintings nudity is viewed as mostly pornographic and sexual. In another example, blankness or empty space is an essential component of Chinese painting; a painting full of ink and color everywhere would be considered unbalanced and in poor taste, while Western painters have been filling up the entire canvas for centuries to accurately portray the objective world⁶.

The conflict and negotiation between contradictory limitations and principles causes difficulty, ambiguity and anxiety in the producing and consuming of the cultural commodities. The difficulty, ambiguity and anxiety are the psychological "pausing spot" in art production and consumption where the artist and audience can feel something not going very smoothly. Such a point can be summarized as *tension*.

⁶ At least until the development of modern abstract painting; see Leonard Shlain 1998, Chapter 12 "East/West".

Tension can arise between different limitations, between different principles, and between a limitation and a principle.

Tensions can result in rich layers of meaning in a cultural object, layers which attract an audience's gaze. The major tension essentially marks each type of cultural objects. Tension can be found in literature between the comprehensiveness and the novelty of the language, in saying something everyone understands in a new language. In dance, tension can be found between the spontaneity of the body and the highly regulated control of the body, that is, making the highly structured choreography seem spontaneous and effortless. In music, tension can be found between the richness and complexity of emotion and the ambiguity and transience of sound. In classical painting, tension can be found between the resemblance to the real world and the painter's unique observation and presentation, and in modern abstract painting, perhaps between the constantly changing inner world the work aims to represent and the stillness of the colors and lines on the canvas.

Tension not only exists in the making of cultural objects, but also in the appreciation of them. Gell defines "social agency" in art practice as the persons and things that cause a particular event to happen by acts of will or intention (1998,16). When regarded as a social agency, a cultural object reflects its maker's ideas while intriguing the audience. These ideas and expectations, often subtle and intuitive, can be seen as "tacit contracts" between maker and audience, and between different makers and different audience members themselves. When artwork is "misplaced" or "misinterpreted", it means the appreciation conflicts with certain social and aesthetic contracts in the cultural object.

Because the appreciation of a cultural object is highly socially and culturally constructed, the translation of foreign cultural objects is accompanied by changes in these tensions. Because tensions plays a subtle and intricate role in the production and consumption of popular art works, they are often not fully noticed or taken for granted by the maker and receiver, even in their native culture. One can hypothesize that tensions will be inevitably changed in cultural transmission. Three types of changes can occur: the loss of old tensions, the distortion of old tensions and the emergence of new tensions. When it comes to an art form that lacks a real equivalent in the adopting culture, as in the case of Chinese calligraphy, the changes of tensions become particularly complex and rich.

Entwistle's three tensions in modern fashion practice, namely, between fashion as expression and disguise of the wearer's identity, between the artificially-styled self and the authentic self, and between the wearer's communal membership and individuality, will be re-addressed in chapters III and IV. These tensions in fashion interweave with the tensions in the Chinese pictogram/calligraphy on a piece of fashion, since fashion is the site that determines the pictograms' cultural meaning. There are different layers of a cultural object's setting; here, fashion is the first layer of the Chinese calligraphy's setting. Unlike the discussion of the three tensions in fashion, the coming discussion of the tensions of the pictograms aims to discover the change of tensions; it will, therefore, analyze the same pictograms in different cultural settings.

4. Methodology

All the garments presented in this work were observed and documented in downtown Montreal. I carried my camera with me almost every day during the period of March to July 2001, in the area where most of my daily activities occur: downtown Montreal, between Pins Street and Antoine Street, and between Greene and Saint Denis Avenues. This is the busiest area of Montreal where major hotels, banks, theatres, and shopping centers cluster, with small businesses in every corner. It also contains many educational institutions such as McGill University, Concordia University, several buildings of Universitié du Quèbec à Montréal, colleges and high schools. Therefore this area is full of professionals and young students. The average age of the population is fairly young. There is no preference in sample selection. I took photographs of all the garments I saw whenever I had the camera with me, so the selection is a random sample. All the wearers gave me permission to take their photographs and were informed of the intended application of the photographs. The data, whenever specific, were either gathered from the label on the garment or provided by the wearer.

The racial and ethnic background of the wearers was quite diverse, including Europeans, Arabs, Africans and Asians. Only three of the eighteen wearers were of Asian origin, however, they were either born in Canada or immigrated here in early childhood. So no racial tendency was observed in this research; this fashion trend is not particularly significant among certain racial group. There is no visible gender tendency either, as the male and female ratio of the eighteen participants is exactly 1:1. I had brief conversations with most of the wearers when the situation allowed. Chinese is the first language for none of them, except for one subject who immigrated to Canada from

Taiwan in her early childhood. Most of the wearers' first language was English or French, and only for one subject of European origin, was Chinese a second language. Therefore, only two wearers are literate in Chinese. Others, though unable to read Chinese, often knew the pictogram's meaning from the seller or from their Chinese friends. Therefore, there is no evidence that the consumers of these fashion items are of special linguistic or cultural group.

The appendix contains twenty-one fashion pieces and four fashion accessories that were photographed; a detailed description accompanies these twenty-five figures. The twenty-one fashion pieces are organized into three tables according to the visual effect of the Chinese pictogram on them. These are shown in Table 4: Fashion with only Chinese Pictograms (Figure 27-37, page 108-113), Table 5: Fashion with Chinese Pictograms and Other Motifs (Figure 38-44, page 109-116), and Table 6: Fashion with Chinese Pictograms on the Entire Fabric (Figure 45-47, page 117-118). The four fashion accessories are in Table 7 (page 119-120). Within each of these four tables, the data is divided into two categories, about the fashion and about the Chinese pictograms. The first category includes: the time and place I took the photograph, the wearer's identity, the fashion's textile, place of manufacturing and place of purchase, brand name, price range, and style. The second includes the number, meaning, script, color, size, and location of the pictogram on the fashion, as well as the technology with which the pictograms were added onto the clothes. Besides the figures in the appendix, there are three other items that use pictograms in a notably creative way. One table for each item (Table 1-3) can be found in Chapter V, in close proximity to the analysis.

As demonstrated by the photographs and data in the appendix, these fashion items with Chinese pictograms share the following characteristics: natural, soft and thin fabric, often in tight contour; inexpensive price range; casual style. They are worn by young people in their late teens to twenties. In short, these garments are intimate, young, casual and inexpensive. The Chinese pictograms on these twenty-one fashion items are examined and analyzed in Chapters III and IV, but a basic understanding of Chinese and Western calligraphy needs to be established before the discussion, because a solid understanding of the two sides involved in the encounter is necessary to understand the encounter itself. This discussion is presented in Chapter II below.

II. "Calligraphy"?

Before any discussion of the pictograms or calligraphy used in Western fashion takes place, we must examine the Chinese word of *shu-fa* (書法), and its popular English translation "calligraphy". In the West, as a minor art craft, the boundary between calligraphy and other terms such as penmanship, lettering and typography is not clear. In many cases, any forms of art that use beautified visual language as decoration are considered "calligraphy" (Gray 1986; Gaur 1994). Therefore, in the following comparison with Chinese calligraphy, Western calligraphy includes beautified handwriting, lettering and typography.

Each Chinese pictogram is both the smallest visual linguistic unit and a morpheme, the smallest meaningful linguistic unit, or it functions both as the equivalent of a letter and a word in alphabetic languages. There is a systematic shift of perception from alphabetic/phonetic language to ideographic/pictographic language when comparing the written forms of Chinese and English⁷. To look for the equivalent of a pictogram in an alphabetic parameter to judge an ideographic language. As a matter of fact, the choice of words "letter" and "word" as used above to describe the function of a pictogram, is an already inaccurate compromise. Ultimately, there is no linguistic concept of "letter" in Chinese; the right word is $\neq zi$, a combination of some strokes

⁷ About these two major writing systems, an excellent linguistic resource is Geoffrey Sampson *Writing System: A Linguistic Introduction*, Stanford University Press, 1985. A much earlier work is William A. Mason *A History of the Art of Writing*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1920. It contains detailed description with plenty of pictograms as examples, although the author's intelligent analysis was very much crippled by his ethnocentrism – there was no concern about being "politically correct" in the 1920s. He essentially indicates that phonetic writing was the best and that other cultures should adopt it, "in the 20th century of the Christian era" (177).

acting as the smallest unit of both meaning and form of the written language, in a monosyllabic form. The Chinese equivalent of "word", 詞 *ci*, is most often composed of one or two *zi*. Therefore, in Chinese there is a dictionary of *zi* and a dictionary of *ci*, with the *zi* dictionary considered more linguistically fundamental. Chinese *ci* dictionaries are more for knowledge and vocabulary, somewhat close to a Western encyclopedia or thesaurus. Analyzing the Chinese written language, therefore, does not involve breaking a word into sections of syllables and then tracing its Latin, Greek or other linguistic roots, but looking at different parts of the visual graphic and their interrelation.

The most simple and effective method to understand a word in English is to examine its etymology. According to *The New Oxford Dictionary of English* (Pearsall 1998), the origin of "calligraphy" is the seventeenth century Greek word *kalligraphia*, from *kalligrapphos* "person who writes beautifully", from *kallos* "beauty" + *graphein* "write" (260). The Chinese word *shu-fa* (書法) is composed of two *zi*: the first, *shu* (書) means the action of writing, the work of writing or to write; the second, *fa* (法) means the rule, the law, the way and the method. So literally *shu fa* means "the rule and method of writing". Classic Chinese merely uses *shu* (書)instead of *shu-fa* to refer calligraphy. The most authoritative resource for the earliest origin of *zi* is the book *Shuo Wen Jie Zi* (說文解字), "talking (about)-literature-explaining-*zi*". *Shuo Wen Jie Zi*, written during 100-222 A.D, is the first systematic Chinese *zi* dictionary, providing the

origin of more than nine thousand *zi.*⁸ Today's version was edited by Xu Xuan in 998 A.D.. The following pictograms in Figure 1 (page 38) are copied from *Shuo Wen Jie Zi*; the contemporary writing is in a smaller size below the original one. They are in the writing style of the Qin and Han Dynasties (about 221 BC to the first century AD), called the seal script, *zhuan shu*, first found engraved on stone and bronze. In Figure 1, pictogram 1 means "to write", and pictogram 5 means "to draw, to paint". As we can see, "to write" and "to draw" share the same upper part---pictogram 2, which means "the swiftness and skillfulness of hand" (Xu, 65, upper section). Pictogram 2 is composed of two parts, pictogram 3 and 4. The upper part represent "*you*, a hand; three fingers listed here are hand's; when the items are many, the list does not go over three" (64, upper section). The lower part looks like a piece of drapery, "*jin*, the handkerchief or tower worn on the body" (156, lower section). When a hand handles a piece of fine fabric, it must be swift and skillful.

⁸ This book also clarifies the six methods in which Chinese pictograms are composed and structured. For more in English about the six basic methods of Chinese pictogram's composition, see chapter II: "The Origin and Construction of Chinese Characters" in Chiang Yee, *Chinese Pictogram: An Introduction To Its Aesthetic and Technique* (Harvard University Press, 1973). Chapter 8 "A logographic system: Chinese writing" in Geoffrey Sampson, *Writing System: A linguistic introduction* (Stanford University Press, 1985) can help an alphabetic speaker understand the Chinese writing system.



Figure 1: The etymology of the Chinese word *shu*, to write/writing, usually translated as "calligraphy". (Xu, 1963)

The English word "calligraphy" is composed of *kallos* ("beauty") + *graphein* ("write"); the essence is the beautiful appearance of the writing, with a focus on the result, the pleasant appearance and the artwork-as-a-final-product. While the Chinese word *shu*, "write/writing" is the skillfulness and swiftness of the hand, the motion and spontaneity of the body; the focus here is on the sequence, the motion and the art-in-themaking. When we look at Western calligraphy, we can hardly perceive the sequence of the motion, the spontaneity of the body, the pulse of the artist who creates the letters. The final product appears mostly static, frozen and still. In contrast, Chinese

calligraphy accurately displays a sense of motion, the sequence, the breath and ultimately, the *artist as a person*.

A letter in Western calligraphy is often the product of tens and hundreds of motions: calculating, drafting, writing, correcting, polishing, and decorating. Chinese calligraphy must be executed all at once, not allowing any correcting nor polishing. (When a Chinese calligrapher is unsatisfied with his work, his only choice is to start over on another piece of paper.) In other words, the smallest unit in Western calligraphy is each *letter or word*, whereas in Chinese calligraphy the unit is each *movement* of hand, each *breath* of the calligrapher. The former highlights the sculpture of written words and the latter the dancing of them.

Because the letter is the basic unit in Western calligraphy, typography that engages in producing various forms of letters have achieved much higher diversity than that of Chinese typography. Meanwhile, because each motion, each line is the basic unit in Chinese calligraphy, and only hand-produced ones are regarded as artistic, endless effort is paid to making one line with one stoke, whereas in China typography never develops to the same level as in the West.

The two different perceptions of writing conveyed in the etymology are also supported by the history of Western and Chinese calligraphy. In *A History of Calligraphy*, Albertine Gaur (1994) compares three traditions of calligraphy: Western, Arabic and Chinese. Gaur categorizes Western calligraphy into two types, " book hands and documentary hands":

The first, used foremost for the copying of literature, aimed at clarity, regularity and (to some extent) impersonality. Usually the work of professional scribers, deliberate stylization can give these hands an

element of imposing beauty. Documentary styles cover a much wider range of purpose; they include chancery hands as well as the workaday writings of officials and private persons. For this type of script the ability to write quickly is of great importance, and to achieve this, the pen should be lifted as rarely as possible from the writing material. This in turn can lead to ligatures (cursive appearance), loops and an increasing number of abbreviations. (Gaur 1994, 47)

Though different styles of Western calligraphy are all rooted in the Roman system of scripts used in the Roman Empire between the reign of the Emperor Augustus (31 BC-14 AD) and the papacy of Gregory the Great (590 – 604 AD), the systematic study of Western calligraphy in many ways started with letter designing in the 15th century (Figure 2 page 42). The art of letter designing, or lettering, aims to regularize the visual appearance of the smallest unit of writing language, "in which very often mathematical principles were brought to bear on the structure of Roman letterforms". Lettering is always the base of Western calligraphy, and "with the advent of typography it was felt that the rules had to be codified to safeguard excellence. In this way the introduction of printing helped to stimulate and protect fine writing" (Gaur 1994, 47-48). As Michelle P. Brown in the book A Guide to Western Historical Scripts from Antiquity to 1600 (1990) documents, the history of Western calligraphy is mainly composed of the development of different script systems and lettering. Chronologically, they range from the Old Roman System of Scripts, the New Roman System of Scripts and an Insular System of Scripts, to Carolingian (or Caroline) minuscule in Charlemagne's reign, the Humanist Book Script and the Humanist Cursive Book Script in use from the 15th century onwards. The ultimate aim is to copy these standard beautiful scripts.

Western calligraphy took a turn in the early 20th century, when experimental typography took the stage to record the spirit of avant-garde activity. Though lettering remained fundamental, the focus was now on the creative and bold arrangement of these letters in various fonts and colors, to reflect avant-garde philosophies. In the rapidly growing advertising industry, the visual effect of letters became as significant as, if not more than, the literal meaning of the letters. The advertising industry, in return, provoked production of an unprecedented variety of typographic means. Such art practice of typography is, according to Drucker, "a muddying of distinction between image and language and a subversive attack on their fundamental properties as representation and an even more systematic attack on the conventions of literary and visual symbolic form" (1994, 92). Figure 3 is a map of the France Prussian War, recording the swirling path of auto routes among the mountains and valleys of France. The letters "M" marks the location and size of the mountain, and the letter "V", of the valley. As Drucker analyzes, "The compelling of this work is that it refuses either pictoriality or literary form, sitting precisely between the two, requiring that one shift between the activities of reading for sense and looking for sensation" (1994, 135). Interesting enough, Drucker's comment on Western experimental typography is perfectly applicable to Chinese calligraphy.



Figure 2: The Western art of lettering started in the 15th century, using mathematical principles, from Gaur(1994, 48). Originally an advertisement for Walter Kaech's book, Rhythm and Proportioning in Lettering.



Figure 3: Apprés la Marne, Joffre visita le front en auto (originally titled Montagnes +vallées + routes +Joffre) F. T. Martinette, from Mots en Liberté, Milan: 1919. (Drucker 1994, 133

Chinese calligraphy, contrary to its Western counterpart, seeing the aesthetic value in the spontaneity of the human body, never tried to formulate and regulate writing in mathematical principles. The history of Chinese calligraphy is essentially an evolution of diversified styles with canonic works and maestros. Masterpieces of calligraphy and master's names are well known in China, quite similar to the situation of the history of Western painting. Every style, school and philosophical revolution is first and foremost represented by and connected to certain individual artists. Years of practice are required to copy masterpieces, but the ultimate purpose is to accomplish one's own style after imitating the masters. There is no equivalent of the art form "lettering" in China, nor have engineers in Chinese history ever held the sway of type design, as their Western colleagues did, until the end of the 19th century, when artists William Morris and Edward Johnston put calligraphy and lettering into British art schools' curriculum (Gaur 1994, 183-186).

Further evidence of the profound difference between "calligraphy" and *shu fa*, is the calligraphers' social status in their native cultures. According to Gaur, the Western calligrapher is "neither an artist in harmony with nature, nor a mystic looking for the hidden face of Allah in a combination of letters, but simply a craftsman" (1994, 72). In Imperial Rome, the calligrapher was mainly a scribe, that is, a copyist. After the sack of Rome by the Goths in 410 AD, book production and the continuation of literacy passed into the hands of the newly emerging Christian Church, whose very existence depended on the authority of written Biblical texts. Soon, all the large monasteries in Europe had some dedicated and often gifted monks who worked not only as scribes, but also as illuminators or bookbinders; Gaur states that "these scribes were, however, first and

foremost copyists; they were never considered artists" (1994,73). Their names usually were not recorded: "(H)owever arduous the task and however important the work, pride in one's skill and achievements was rigorously discouraged" (1994, 73). In the 12th century, with the decline of the Church's monopoly on scholarship and the secularization of society, the position of calligraphers/scribes drastically changed, from religious servants to commercial craftsmen, but "their status was on the whole fairly low" (Gaur 1994, 77), for "the pay of a 14th century scribe was generally the same as that of a common farm labourer, only half that of a carpenter" (78). The 16th century saw a steady increase in bureaucracy, which in turn created a need for officials and secretaries who could write in an appropriate manner, and therefore, in the late 15th and during the whole of the 16th century the writing master gained importance. By the 18th century, the great overseas trade and colonial expansion of England created a need for a large army of clerks. This again changed the position of the writing master:

No longer a member of a respected community, or part of a team of sought-after craftsmen, he began to rank somewhere between a lawwriting 'scrivener' (tainted in public esteem because of a perceived association with money lending and fraudulent costs) and a mere schoolmaster (never a popular figure)" (Gaur 1994, 81).

Overall, Western calligraphers were not regarded as artists, but mainly practical craftsmen whose social and economic status remained fairly low.

Chinese calligraphers, by way of contrast, have always been highly respected artists and members of the cultural elite. Calligraphy has been considered a significant part of the education. At the elite level, it is a very spiritual art practiced entirely for the art's sake. "Many Chinese Emperors and dignitaries were not only accomplished calligraphers but also well-known collectors" (Gaur 1994, 129). At the popular, more humble level, it is still a highly respected and admired artistic skill; calligraphy is well paid and the work is maintained for its artistic value:

In China (and in the Far East which follows Chinese traditions) calligraphy was never just a leading visual art form; it was, and is, the most important of the "three perfections" – poetry, calligraphy and painting. To be a "master of the three perfections" has always been the mark of a truly cultured, truly educated, indeed truly superior human being. Being a medium of direct communication between performer and onlooker it allows deep insight into the personality of the practitioner. ... The calligrapher is thus in many ways a role model. He is part of an elite because of personal inner merit and not simply as the result of inheritance of birth. (Gaur 1994, 135)

Such perception has rendered calligraphy a tool of political and cultural hierarchy in Chinese society (Ledderose 1986). Many politicians, if not great calligraphers, have beautiful handwriting. Today, walking in the Long Corridor in the Summer Palace in Beijing, one can still see the elegant calligraphy of the empress dowager *Ci-xi* (1835-1908) who controlled the court for 48 years until her death (Hsü 2000, 262). Mao, who was a recognized calligrapher for his grass cursive, wrote all the names of the most important universities in Beijing, as well as the title of *The People's Daily*.

In opposition to the fact that traditional Western calligraphers were discouraged or even forbidden (in the Middle Ages) to take pride in their skill by signing their work, Chinese calligraphers must put their signature and personal seal at the colophon to authenticate a piece of work. The importance of artistic authenticity in Chinese calligraphy contributes to the fact that seal engraving in China has developed into its own autonomous art form⁹. The vastly different social status of Western and Chinese

⁹ For more on Chinese seal engraving, see Jason C. Kuo (1992) Word As Images: the Art of Chinese Seal Engraving.

calligraphers reflects the fundamental inequality between the two kinds of art of writing in the two cultures.

In summary, the discussion above on the differences in the etymology of the terms, the history of the art form and the social status of calligraphers, demonstrates that the English word of "calligraphy" is not an appropriate translation for the Chinese *shu-fa* or *shu*, the art of writing. Jean Francois Billetter in his *The Chinese Art of Writing* asserts:

...Chinese calligraphy has very little to do with what is called calligraphy in Europe, where it refers to a stylized, painstaking, highly regular penmanship prettified with flourishes or other superadded ornaments; or else it may refer to fanciful typographical effects of the kind of exemplified by Apollinaire's *Calligrammes*. This calligraphy is a minor art; it is a matter of careful workmanship, of taste, of happy finds. On the whole, Western calligraphy is impersonal: it gets rid of individual traits, it curbs those elemental impulses which set the seal of personality on writing and give it its spontaneous character.

Chinese calligraphy is neither painstaking nor prettified writing. It rules out any arbitrary stylization of forms and even more any decorative additions. The Chinese calligrapher's one concern is to endow the characters with life, to animate them without straining them in any way. He puts his sensibility in the service of writing, and then, by a subtle reversal, contrives to use writing to express his personal sensibility. Thanks to this reversal, Chinese writing becomes a medium of expression of great richness and delicacy. (1990, 11)

Why did Western calligraphy not develop into a major art form like painting, music and literature in Western art history, while Chinese calligraphy has long become a "perfection" in Chinese culture? One reason is that Chinese pictographic writing offers an almost inexhaustible repertory of form, and another more philosophical root is in the different perception of "writing". As the etymologies of the terms conveyed, by focusing on the static final product and by setting up standard calligraphic letters, the

Western art of writing leaves little space for individualistic expression. Any art form must offer a lot of room for artistic individuality as well as a sufficient "language" to present this individuality. The writing art in the Western context closest to Chinese shu fa, is not what has been called calligraphy, but is perhaps contemporary graffiti, and some modern calligraphy influenced by the Chinese. Contemporary graffiti shares the following common aspects with Chinese calligraphy: the spontaneity of the human body; the movement and sequence in the writing; and the significance of artistic individuality (shown in the ubiquitous signatures). Just as the Chinese calligrapher sees writing as a life-long hobby and has to write every day no matter how accomplished he already is (Chiang 1973, 193-196), a graffiti "writer" keeps working in spite of the fact that most of his work will be cleared or covered by others. The pleasure is in the making, in the movement of the hand, in the rhythm of the breath, more than in the final products. It does not bother either the Chinese calligrapher or the Western graffiti artist that most of their works are not going to be preserved, because after developing their skill and personal style, they carry their "work" within their body wherever they go. Another interesting similarity between Chinese calligraphy and contemporary graffiti is their strong spatial sense. Chinese calligraphy is restricted to a limited piece of paper which requires high capability in spatial organization. The work of calligraphy is mounted into a scroll and placed in an architectural space. Graffiti has similar limitations. Therefore, they both have to pay much attention to the spatial arrangement of graphic elements and the architectural environment.

Though the English phrase "the art of writing" would be much more suitable than "calligraphy" for *shu-fa*, I am still going to use the English translation of "calligraphy"

in the rest of the thesis, for the same reason as Billeter who claims that "'calligraphy' is a handier term and has derivatives like 'calligrapher' and 'calligraphic'" and these derivatives are difficult to dispense with" (1990, 12). Nevertheless, it would be necessary to remind readers to keep in mind the significant differences in meanings between "calligraphy" in this work and the English connotation of the term "calligraphy", and not to associate the word with the images of the Western system of writing¹⁰.

¹⁰ For more on Chinese calligraphy, see Ecke, Tseng Yu-ho (1993) *A History of Chinese Calligraphy*, Hong Kong. For complete resources in both Chinese and Western literature, check the bibliography of Billeter (1990) *The Chinese Art of Writing*. The bibliography of Chiang (1973) *Chinese Calligraphy: An Introduction to its Aesthetics and Technique* (third edition), provides some most important literature in Chinese history. A good calligraphy dictionary is Fujiwara Kakurai (1970) *Shogen*. For more about the integrity of Chinese painting and Chinese calligraphy, check Alfreda Murck and Wen C. Fong (Ed.) (1991) *Words and Images: Chinese Poetry, Calligraphy, and Painting*, and Wen C. Fong (1992) *Beyond Presentation: Chinese Painting and Calligraphy* 8th-14th Century.

III. The Lost Tensions

After the clarification of the differences between Western calligraphy and Chinese calligraphy, it is also necessary to note that there are two types of Chinese calligraphy, the low and the high, or the popular and the elite. The popular type is used mainly for decoration and sign marking. Within the Chinese context, ordinary, nice handwriting is used widely for daily significant signs such as a store's name, an ornamental hanging scroll in the living room, or the couplets on two sides of a gate. The second type, elite calligraphy, is considered high-class artwork intended to express the spirituality and individuality of the calligrapher. The prime purpose of popular calligraphy is to please the eye and also to mark geographic signs for the public, while the core intention of elite calligraphy is to convey artistry and spirituality. Some styles of the elite type are beyond most people's recognition, such as *cao-shu*, the grass script (see Chiang 1973, 93-105), so they cannot function as a public sign. Authorship remains mainly anonymous in the former group, but is essential for the latter. Though the two groups of calligraphy have different purposes and styles, they share common aesthetic criteria. In certain circumstances, these two types mingle as well. Famous calligraphers are often invited, with great respect and admiration, to write the name for a store or a newspaper.

The Chinese pictogram used on Western fashion is comparable to the popular or low group of Chinese calligraphy, since they both serve as decoration on daily objects, and the artist remains anonymous. Since most of the literature on Chinese calligraphy concerns the elite type, in order to help the reader understand the idea better, some references have to be drawn from writing on high or elite calligraphy. These references,

although written about elite calligraphy, are equally applicable to the popular group. Now, let us look at the tensions that exist in Chinese calligraphy that are lost in its adaptation by Western fashion. These lost tensions include: 1) the tension between explicit literature and abstract visual beauty, 2) the tension between calligraphy's permanent intention and its temporary carrier, paper, 3) the tension between literal expression and restricted space, and 4) the tension between the fixed patterns of pictograms and artistic individuality

1. The tension between explicit literature and abstract visual beauty, or between words and images

Chinese calligraphy is a combination of literature and abstract drawing, brushing and painting. The content of the writing is mostly classic literature, either ancient or contemporary. Even when it is as practical as a restaurant's name, the name must be elegant or subtle, with a certain literary beauty. In other words, not any Chinese word deserves to be written as calligraphy. In his article "The Two Perfections: Reading Chinese Poetry and Calligraphy", Robert E. Harrist Jr. (1999) traces the history of the close dynamic between poetry and calligraphy in Chinese history, stating that calligraphers transcribe poetry in every conceivable format and style: "The alliance of the two arts was reinforced by the aesthetic theories that treat poetry and calligraphy as uniquely powerful means of self-expression." (281) Many calligraphers, both historical and contemporary, are also accomplished literati and scholars. Among the most acclaimed figures – in terms of achievement in both fields – are Su Shi, or Su Dongpo (1037-1101), Huang Tingjian (1045-1105), Mi Fu (1052-1107), and Dong

Qichang(1555-1636). Regarding the lower, popular calligraphy, often the anonymous calligrapher is a local authority on culture with a substantial background in literature. Often the calligrapher needs to compose a piece of poetry on the spot or memorize a piece while he is writing in public as a kind of performance. As shown in Figure 1 (page 38), the Chinese pictogram "write" and "draw/paint" share the same upper part that represents a skillful hand holding a piece of fabric, which demonstrates that calligraphy and painting are closely linked in Chinese art history. Many calligrapher-literati are accomplished painters as well, including the five literati listed above. Figure 4 and Figure 5 are two examples. In Figure 4 page 52, the painting and the calligraphy are in an ensemble, both containing similar brushes and strokes with rough corners, and display a similar balance-in-asymmetry, and a kind of untamed beauty. Figure 5 page 53, a painting with calligraphy by Zheng Xie, conveys the idea that the artist employs his painting brush to his calligraphy, or applies his calligraphy skill to his painting. In his pictogram we find bamboo and orchid leaves. If we look back and forth at the painting on the left and the calligrapher on the right, the pictograms start to turn into orchid, bamboo and stone. These two paintings convey the inseparable relationship between calligraphy and painting in the Chinese context; this relationship has no equivalent in Western painting and calligraphy.



Figure 4: "Chinese Orchid Flower" by Li Shan, c. eighteenth century. Copied from Chiang Yee (1973), Plate XVII. (Courtesy of the Art Institute of Chicago)



PLATE AVIII Therefore with Collingian' by Chang Histor (ISTA), a superconte contary Planation of Matrix Millingian, San Francisco)

Figure 5: "Bamboo with Calligraphy" by Zheng Xie (Cheng Hsieh), demonstrating the resemblance between the brushwork of the calligraphy and the painting. Copied from Chiang Yee (1973), Plate XVIII. (Collection of Rudolph Schaeffer, San Francisco) In the adaptation of Chinese calligraphy by Western fashion, the tension between graphics and literature is largely lost. As shown in Table 4-7 in the appendix, most of the items limit the number of pictograms to five; four are merely a single character, thus decreasing the possibility for literary meaning and aesthetics. Some of the pictograms' literal meanings lose their initial sophistication and become excessively casual and tasteless, according to the criteria for Chinese literature. For example, in Figure 41 page 115 (*meiyou zhanzheng*, "No Wars"), situated as a political slogan, would be incomplete and inadequate within its own native context. The six pictograms in Figure 38 page 114 are a random combination without consistent meaning. In Figure 46 page 117 some pictograms are comprised of only the left half of 能*long*, "dragon". Even an audience unable to read Chinese can see this fragmentation if it turns the bigger pictogram on the right about 90° clockwise, then compares it with the thinner part on the left. Here, the fragmentation of one pictogram equates to taking the "mpo" out of "composition", thereby eliminating the morpheme, the smallest meaningful linguistic unit.

Most Western audiences can only interpret the layer of abstract visual beauty of the pictograms, while missing the layer of literary beauty. The rich tension originating from the *integration* of the two layers is lost. The tension brings abundant and intricate flavor to the images, which relies on appreciating the combination of what the words mean and how they look, or, by reading literature and observing painting simultaneously. In fact, "reading literature and watching painting" is just an explanation, since calligraphy is not literature plus painting, just as Western opera is not singing plus drama. It is an art form with its own autonomy. The appreciation is towards its integration and integrity, towards a self-sufficient world with its own dynamics.

2. The tension between calligraphy's permanent intention and its temporary carrier: paper.

To understand the permanent intention of calligraphy, one must examine the role of calligraphy in daily Chinese practice. Calligraphy is a tremendously significant marker in architectural design, moral instruction and ritual practice, as well as a visual decoration in Chinese culture (Liu, 1999; Ledderose, 1986). In order to serve these functions, any piece of calligraphy is expected to be as durable as possible. On the other hand, the ideal carrier of calligraphy is paper, especially certain kinds of soft paper that absorb inks well, since such paper allows the smoothest motion of the soft brush and reflects the slightest traces of ink. Paper, though, is a fragile material with a relatively short life span. A conflict appears here between the artist's intention that calligraphy be permanent and its temporary carrier. In the Chinese context, this conflict has been resolved in many ways: choosing high-quality, durable paper, mounting and framing the paper, and engraving calligraphy into more durable materials, such as stone, jade, brick and wood. Usually, calligraphy is hung high at the center of an architectural space for audiences to appreciate and respect. This height also ensures that the calligraphy is beyond people's reach. The deliberate choice of the carrier also determines that the material's color and textile should be in harmony with the calligraphy's literary content and graphic style, though with sufficient contrast for the pictogram to stand out. For instance, calligraphy for weddings is in golden or black ink on red paper, while for funerals it must be black ink on white paper.

Two kinds of modern clothing indicate such intention of permanence similar to calligraphy. One is formal clothes in fine and durable materials with exquisite tailoring, but frequently, simple style. Another, at least in colder climates, is the thick, warm winter jackets or coats that are expected to be worn for years. Most Western fashion pieces that adopts Chinese calligraphy does not have this permanence. The pictograms appear on rather homogeneous fabric, cotton, which is relatively cheap and easy to produce. As shown in Table 4-7, fifteen among the twenty-one pieces are 100% cotton. The price range and the casual mode imply here that Chinese pictograms are reproduced on the disposable part of one's wardrobe. The clothing designers do not intend these pictograms on Western fashion to be permanent; consequently, the tension between permanence and the temporary carrier no longer exists.

Pictograms have occasionally been used as decoration on fabric in Chinese culture as well – they were particularly popular during the Qing Dynasty (1616-1911), when they were used widely in both court dress and common people's wear. However, in such cases, the pictograms do not have the status of calligraphy for three reasons. First of all, the choice of the pictogram is restricted to a very few auspicious words, such as: *xi* (喜happiness), *shou* (書longevity) and *fu* (福fortune and good luck). Figure 6 page 57 is an example of a silk fabric with the pictogram *shou* (longevity) on it, made during the Qing Dynasty; the figure is taken from the book *The History of Art of Silk* by Zhao Feng (1992, 188). Furthermore, these few pictograms, when applied on Chinese fabric, have been highly modified, sometimes making their motifs unrecognizable. In such cases, the visual effect substantially surpasses the literal meaning. Figure 7, copied from

Auspicious Motif (China Bookstore 1986, 116, 117), demonstrates that these auspicious words can be so highly modified that they become pure motifs in Chinese visual art.





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Figure 7: Highly modified pictogram "longevity" as a pure motif

Figure 6: Chinese silk fabric with pictograms of "longevity"(Zhao, 1992)

Other than on fabric such abstract motifs derived from Chinese pictograms are also widely used on architecture and household objects, such as the armchair with "longevity" (*shou* 壽)in Figure 8 (Interestingly enough, the auspicious motif derived from pictograms, like those in Figure 7, is actually closer to the concept of Western

calligraphy or lettering than Chinese calligraphy, for both Western calligraphy and these motif-pictograms are static, are mathematically regulated and later added ornamentation.) The third reason for claiming that these pictograms on Chinese fabric is not a form of Chinese calligraphy lies in the fact that they are used often in repetition. They are not given any more significance than other repetitive visual motifs, such as the gourds and pomegranates in Figure 6. The Chinese pictogram on the Western fashion items in this work are comparable to a painting of a rose on a wall, while the pictograms on Chinese fabric are comparable to the repetitive rose motif on the wall paper. It is for these three reasons that the Chinese pictogram on fabric has never been considered comparable to calligraphy, and clothing is never a conventional medium for calligraphy in China.



Figure 8: A traditional Chinese armchair with "longevity" 壽on the back

3. The tension between literal expression and restricted space.

The quantity of paper she or he uses is rarely a concern for a writer; however, a calligrapher always works within a limited space on the paper to express a certain literal content. A landscape painter may add some small objects to fill a blank corner or skip part of the lawn if he finds there is no space for it on the paper; however, a calligrapher cannot add or skip one or two pictograms, for they make up a complete piece of literature. Calligraphy, like design and architecture, is a spatial art. Most of the time the calligrapher is given one piece of paper in a fixed size and shape. One of the essential tensions in Chinese calligraphy is how the artist arranges pictograms in such a restricted space. The location of the whole body of writing on the paper, the relationship between the main body and the auxiliary parts (such as the calligrapher's signature and seal), the space between each line or column, the space between each pictogram and each stroke within a pictogram – all require deliberation. As calligraphy does not allow any correction or embellishment, the tension of spatial arrangement becomes vital.

In Western fashion, though the sense of space still exists, it is reduced to the level of a basic concern in any form of visual art. Some examples show pages of text printed onto the fabric, a design which treats the text as a background instead of a language with explicit meaning (Figures 45, 46, 47 in Table 6, page 117-118). Such abolition of space restrictions creates two risks. One is that the pictograms appear upside down when the fabric is sewn into clothes. Another is that the pictogram does not appear complete when fabric is cut, as in Figure 47. In Figure 9 page 60, at the back hem the phrase "plume blooms five happiness" in the red tablet is cut in the middle. The format that features several pictograms vertically stacked in a square is an adoption of a popular presentation of Chinese calligraphy. This format is used in the couplets for events such as the Spring Festival, or in the paper slip used to present riddles at Lantern Festival garden parties, and in a wooden tablet at a gate to indicate the name of the owner or the name of the building. The way in which different pictograms cooperate with one another within a limited space creates tension, but also provides the calligrapher with unlimited possibilities to create and express individuality through the interaction between the substance (the strokes or characters) and the void (the emptiness or space). In Figure 9, the larger pictogram "plum" overlaps with smaller pictograms in the tablet. This looks disturbing to eyes familiar with Chinese calligraphy, for it appears too tight, with too little room for each pictogram to "breathe"; it looks like one pictogram is suppressing another.



Figure 9: Larger pictogram "happiness" overlaps with smaller ones in the red tablet.

When pictograms are cut at the edge of the fabric, the integration of calligraphy as one piece of work, as one autonomous space, is lost. Here, the arrangement of pictograms in a certain space is no longer a restriction for the fashion designer.

4. The tension between fixed patterns of pictograms and artistic individuality

Essentially, the patterns of each Chinese pictogram are regulated in the same manner as the twenty-six letters of the English alphabet. Even the strokes within each pictogram should be written in a certain order. This causes one of the substantial differences between calligraphy and abstract painting; the latter has no restriction on graphic pattern and does not need to be "recognizable". However, the expressive capability of Chinese calligraphy is not restricted by the fixed nature of its patterns since thousands of Chinese pictograms provide a nearly inexhaustible repertory of visual effects for artists to express their individuality. The writing tool for Chinese calligraphy is also critical to this expression. The flexibility, absorption and elasticity of the Chinese brush permit much more variety in width, shape, thickness and depth of the color of its stroke than the hard tips of Western pens¹¹. As Billetter describes in *The Chinese Art of Writing* (1990):

¹¹ Albertine Gaur (1994) gives an insightful discussion of the writing tool's impact on Western calligraphy in Chapter 1 "The Tools for Writing" of *A History of Calligraphy*, New York: Cross River Press. He argues that whatever its technical and commercial advantages, calligraphically the metal pen could never match the quill, but "the final horror", as far as calligraphy is concerned, occurred after 1945 with the increasing use of the ball-point pen. Because a ball-point pen is generally based on a ball revolving in the mouth of a tube, "it glides over the page producing thin lines of unrelieved, equal thickness, hardly different from the lines made by a stylus, but often a good deal less tidy"(1994, 30).

[B]ecause the brush is not a rough tool like the pen, but an instrument which registers every move of the hand, however slight or sudden, with the exactness of a seismograph. The Chinese calligrapher uses it to record forces arising from the depths of his being... (Billetter 1990, 11)

In this sense, Chinese calligraphy is an art form that limits artistic individuality with its highly fixed patterns while reflecting his or her individuality perfectly by recording every intricate trace of the motion and spontaneity of the artist.

In Chinese Calligraphy: An Introduction to Its Aesthetic and Technique,

Chiang Yee (1973) writes that printed letters are considered "lifeless" in the eyes of the Chinese, ultimately because they are fixed in the same mathematically accurate pattern and reflect no individuality. There are two other reasons for this "lifeless" critique that Chiang does not mention. First, typography is still and frozen, and reflects no trace of motion, of the sequences between strokes, the speeds and strengths of the hand that vary one second from another during the course of writing. Second, typography is so easy to produce in a massive quantity that it no longer has anything to do with the maker's physical, spiritual or mental development. As a highly performative art, every piece of calligraphy is an instinctive co-ordination of the artist's inner world, breath and muscular strength. It requires years of strict training, but is executed in such a short time that it allows for no hesitation. Therefore, only calligraphy written by a person has the power of "enchantment", as Gell (1992) discusses in his "The Technology of Enchantment and the Enchantment of Technology".

As described earlier in this chapter, the low, popular type of calligraphy does not emphasize authorship as much as the high elite type. Does this contradict the claim of artistic individuality in Chinese calligraphy? My answer is no. Artistic individuality does

not equal authorship. The former is a characteristic of the art form, and is the general criterion for which a work is evaluated. The latter is the recognition of the former at a higher level. In other words, when an audience of calligraphy does not want to know the name of the calligrapher, it can still appreciate the work through imagining a calligrapher, a person behind the piece of art. A similar instance can be found in the art of performance. When we watch a drama on the street, we don't necessarily care to know the name of the performer (the authorship), but we constantly feel the performer as an individual and we essentially judge the performance by the persona (the individual identity of the artist). When the performer's talent and skill are far above average, he or she is recognized as a star (authorship). His or her autobiography is requested by the audience as the evidence that they actually see the star in person (proving the authenticity of authorship). Therefore, authorship is a natural consequence or a reflection of the general artistic individuality of an art form. Western calligraphy does not develop canonic calligraphers as Chinese calligraphy has because the art form as a whole is essentially impersonal.

In Chinese practice, it is often not the calligrapher but the buyer/patron who determines the content of calligraphy. In the Chinese context, since nearly every piece of calligraphy is a significant sign and important decoration, buyers seeking a calligrapher often already have certain ideas about the literature of the calligraphy. Some graceful, positive, poetic pictograms have a better chance of being chosen in calligraphy than others, such as $\exists (yue, ``moon''), \blacksquare (feng, ``wind''), 香(xiang, ``fragrance''), 雪(xue,$ ``snow'') and 清 (*qing*, ``clear, pure, clean''). This increases the fixity of the pictograms,consequently increasing the form's contradiction with artistic individuality. Another fact

is that some literary masterpieces have been written by numerous calligraphers again and again, thereby increasing this tension, though in a more minor way. Although theoretically there are more than ten thousand Chinese pictograms, and eight thousand are often used in modern literature, the amount often used in calligraphy is much smaller, perhaps four to six thousand (unfortunately there are no authoritative statistics available on this subject).

In Western fashion, most pictograms are machine-printed on a massive scale. Furthermore, the fact that most pictograms are directly copied from typography proves that artistic individuality is nonexistent here. The images Figures 27, 30, 33, 34, 37, 39, 43, 44 in the appendix all have typographic fonts. In the most extreme example shown in Figure 27 page 108, "Love" is not only in a typographic font, but a very mechanistic font, with strokes in an accurately even width, smooth edges and sharp ends. The audience unable to read Chinese pictograms are unaware that the artistic individuality of Chinese calligraphy lies in the handwriting of various individuals. For them, the Chinese pictogram in typography seems exotic and unique enough, in contrast to alphabetic languages.

Since graphic design has become a significant art form since the late 19th century in the West, its influence on Western fashion must be taken into consideration. In the West, the font and faces of letters have developed into an art form with a large number of varieties; these are multiplied by lower and upper case and Roman and Italic styles. By way of contrast, "the Chinese did not go in for a variety of type-faces; they were never interested in typography as an art, probably because the virtues prized in calligraphy – which was a major art-form – were just the properties of spontaneity and
unmechanical irregularity which cannot be reproduced in type"(Sampson 1985, 165). The variety of font and typeface Chinese printers use today are mainly adapted from Western fonts. The rapid development of graphic design in the 20th century raises the significance of typography to a higher level in Western visual art, as in his *Graphic Design: A Concise History*, Richard Hollis describes:

> Most usually words and images are used together; either text or image may dominate, or each have its meaning determined by the other. Some of the most sophisticated examples of graphic design have relied on the precision of words to give an exact meaning to an ambiguous image. When printed, the word, as a form of recorded speech, loses a whole range of expression and inflection. Contemporary graphic designers (and particularly their precursors, the Futurists) have tried to break this limitation. Their work gives sound to typographic expression through the size, weight and position of the letter. Indeed the urge to do more than merely convey a message, to give it a unique character, is instinctive. (Hollis 1994, 7)

Hollis states that "graphic design is the business of making or choosing marks and arranging them on a surface to convey an idea". Chinese pictograms, as a set of "newly discovered" marks, appeal to Western graphic designers, who in arranging them, naturally, use the principles of graphic design rather than the aesthetic principles of Chinese calligraphy.

This chapter explores the four tensions that are lost in the cultural translation of Chinese pictograms into Western fashion. Chinese calligraphy generates its beauty from the tension between its explicit literary meaning and abstract visual appearance, while Chinese pictograms on Western fashion are not read as a written language anymore but mainly as a graphic symbol. In the Chinese context calligraphy is conducted and preserved as a respectable sign with a permanent intention, while the carrier of

calligraphy is the fragile material of soft paper. This tension between permanency and fragility is manifested in various measures to preserve and protect the calligraphic piece. In the Western context, Chinese pictograms appear mainly on disposable fashion pieces that do not carry permanent intension. The third tension in Chinese calligraphy is the literal expression and the restricted space. Normally literature is written with no limitation of the shape and size of the paper, while Chinese calligraphy is designed to complete a piece of literal work within a piece of fixed paper. In Western fashion, however, the pictograms are placed with little relation to the shape and size of the clothing. Finally, the core tension of Chinese calligraphy lies in the fact that calligraphy thrives to express artistic individuality with highly fixed patterns. The Chinese pictograms in Western fashion are ultimately treated as another kind of font rather than individual expression conducted by a human body. These four tensions are lost in the translation due to the different writing systems, the different status of calligraphy and the calligrapher in the two cultures, and more profoundly, two different aesthetics. However, simultaneously new tensions that do not exit in the Chinese context display themselves in Chinese pictograms once planted into Western soil.

IV. The Added Tensions

In the adaptation of Chinese pictograms by Western fashion, the major tensions in Chinese calligraphy are lost, but some new ones are added. Four new tensions can be discussed in the new Western context: between a foreign language and the English/French setting; between rebelliousness and mainstream values in a society; between the expanded cultural horizon of the wearer and the shortage of knowledge of this new horizon; and between the common style of this fashion and the exotic pictograms on it.

1. The tension between a foreign language and its English/French setting: alienation

As Table 4-7 in the appendix shows, all the photographs for my thesis were taken in a dense urban area in downtown Montreal where Chinese written language is alien. Among all visual media, including paintings, motifs, signs and written language, written language is the most explicit and precise. In a society with high literacy rate, writtenlanguage always immediately invites reading and therefore delivers expressive messages in a far more accurate manner than a pure visual decoration. An alien motif or a symbol in public can cause a similar tension, but not as significant as the one caused by an alien language.

These fashion items inevitably cause an action: one is, after all, wearing an expressive message that the overwhelming majority is unable to decode. These fashion items act as "social agents" according to Alfred Gell's definition in his *Art and Agency, an Anthropological Theory* (1998):

Agency is attributable to those persons (and things, see below) who/which are seen as initiating casual sequences of a particular type, that is, events caused by mind or will or intention, rather than the mere concatenation of physical events. An agent is one who 'causes events to happen' in their vicinity. ... The idea of agency is a culturally prescribed framework for thinking about causation, when what happens is (in some vague sense) supposed to be intended in advance by some person-agent or thing-agent. (Gell, 1998, 16-17)

Gell differentiates between the terms "happenings" and "action": the former is caused by "physical laws", the latter by "prior intentions". He realizes that "the ways in which social agency can be invested in things, or can emanate from things, are exceedingly diverse"(18). These depend on the strength of the intention or "will" in the thing as a social agent, or the effectiveness and efficiency of the agent in causing action. If various agencies are divided into "strong agents" and "weak agents", fashion ranks quite high among the strong ones, for the following reasons.

First of all, fashion is made to be worn on the human body. This attachment is integrated into the identity of "fashion"; a garment is not "fashion" when it is not worn on a body. Joanne Entwistle (2000) argues that "fashion is all about body: it is produced, promoted and worn by bodies" (1). In much research on historical costume – where the real wearer has long died out – researchers put a costume on a human body or artistic model to view its effects (see the illustrations in Hollander 1978). Fashion unmistakably initiates the action of wearing and carrying it everywhere we go. It has become a part of both our body and our social identity; you are what you wear is both believed by the wearer and the viewer in modern urban life¹².

¹² See an issue of *The New York Times Magazine*, November 14 1999, *It's So You, What Clothes Reveal, and Mask, about Identity.*

Secondly, fashion may be worn for many hours because of its protective function and the social norms in most cultures. The time people spend with their garments is probably longer than with most of other "thing agents".

Thirdly, fashion has increasingly become an individualistic statement in everyday practice since the 1950s. James Laver points out, in his classical Costume and Fashion: A Concise History (1982, Chapter 10 "The Era of Individualism"), that the ready-to-wear fashion industry celebrated a boom almost at the same time as the young revolution in fashion was afoot in the late 1950s. By the 1980s, individuality in fashion practice had become "a personally individual style of dressing" with the ready-to-wear fashion pieces and accessories. In other words, today's individualism in fashion practice is not to invent or make one's own look, but is to choose from the large selection of ready-made pieces. John Fiske (1989), in his "The Jeaning of America" also articulates the idea that "popular culture is necessarily the art of making do with what is available" (15). On one hand, there is a strong attempt to create one's unique style in modern individuals; on the other, most fashion items one wears are ready-made by others without wearer's involvement. Naturally, now fashion items have more "responsibility" to initiate the action of choosing, which means that the fashion designer and manufacturer have to put more effort on imagining the consumers' individual preference and putting the design intention into the fashion. The contradiction between strong individualism and the mass availability of ready-made products requires that fashion manufacturers try their best to make today's fashion a social agent as strong and efficient as possible so as to cause the consumer's action of *choosing a given piece*. Besides,

most fashion is sufficiently inexpensive that it can cause the "action" of impulsive buying. Impulsive buying is convincing evidence of fashion as a strong social agent.

As a consequence of fashion being a strong social agent in modern life, any significant decoration, or *accent*, on fashion must contain a strong intention to cause a certain action on the part of the wearer, as well as a reaction from the viewer. When we consider the Chinese pictogram as a thing by itself, it also becomes a social agent. This does not mean to disregard the fashion item that the pictogram is on, but rather to view the fashion as the stage where the pictogram as a social agent exercises its intention.

What kind of action does the pictogram on the fashion cause? It invites wearing it and integrating an alien language into one's identity; therefore, the wearer somewhat alienates himself from the environment. Subtly, in such action there is a certain amount of recklessness or a lack of consideration toward viewers, perhaps only a secondary consideration for a native speaking a foreign language aloud in public – "Keep them guessing!" In the early 1980s, when China had just opened its doors to the world after more than thirty years of isolation, Latin letters and words, predominantly in English, became a popular decoration in young people's fashion, though often the wearers had no clue what the words they were carrying with them meant. For those Chinese who frowned upon those letters, part of the reason might be that they felt insulted or teased by being forced to look at a banner that they could not read.

2. The tension between rebelliousness and mainstream values in a society

From the information in Table 4-7, it is obvious that the North American wearers of clothing featuring Chinese pictograms are all young people, in their late teens to

twenties. Most of the items are tight, stretchy tops, in direct contact with the body. People take off their jackets, gloves and scarves when the temperature or activity changes, but not the clothes in direct contact with their upper bodies. The former can be considered "long-distance fashion" and the latter "short-distance fashion". Chinese pictograms rarely show up on long-distance fashion like jackets or coats. Based on the appendix, we can see that all the materials are relatively thin and soft, providing a pleasant feeling. The style of the fashion is casual; the material mostly 100% cotton, so it can be said that these fashion items are intimate, natural and casual. They are more like a part of the body rather than an additional decoration or protection of the body.

The messages of the pictograms include love, anti-war, nature, mysterious strength and peaceful imagery. The strongest message that stands out is love. Figure 27, 28, 32 (page 108, 110) are all "Love", and the "woman, man, big" in Figure 31 page 110 contains sexual and emotional indications as well. An interesting case is Figure 37 page 113. The word "Spring" has a highly sexual connotation in Chinese literature. The Chinese word for pornography, 春宮 *chungong*, literally means "spring palace". The "spring" on the chest lies over a pine tree, with a rising sun in its branches. The whole motif can be interpreted as the coming of spring as well as the awakening of one's sexuality. Being perceived as the essence of human vitality, the pursuit of freedom, the intimacy with nature and the pulse to create, in 20th century Western literature, fine art and pop music, sexuality has been utilized as a weapon against the increasing formalization and restrictions of an industrialized and commercialized society. Within such cultural context the location of the pictograms can not be considered sexually neutral. In women's fashion, the location is most often on or between the breasts (Figure

27, 28 page 108, Figure 29 page 109, Figure 32 page 110. A pictogram there literally invites gazing at the motif and the sexual zone. In men's fashion, pictograms are mostly on the chest (Figure 18 page 93, Figure 30 page 109, Figure 31 page 110, Figure 34 page 111, Figure 37 page 113, Figure 40 page 114) where the developed masculine muscle acts as a "sexy" symbol as well. In Figure 51, the young man is showing both the tattoo and his muscles of the upper arm.

The pictogram *Xingfu*, "happiness", in Figure 30 can be seen as the contrary or alternative of "success". The word *yongheng*, "eternity", in Figure 31 is in harmony with the moderate color, soft material and relaxing style of the long skirt. In Chinese literature and philosophy, the idea that success, fame, wealth and prestige are not everlasting and will eventually turn out void has been contained for centuries. "Eternity" here is a subtle reminder of an alternative value. Figures 25, 36, 38, 41 have a dragon motif, and Figures 36, 38 have the pictogram of *long* "dragon" too. The dragon is the symbol of mysterious power and authority in Chinese culture, and in Western society it has come to be identified as an Oriental sign, especially depicting China.

Interestingly, Figure 28 page 108 and Figure 11 page 73 present two very Western messages for those literate in Chinese. Figure 28 is a very feminine sleeveless top with spaghetti straps. The pictograms say, "I love you", but the word "you" here is feminine. Does the designer intend to make a statement in favor of homosexuality? There is not enough information available to make a credible conclusion, but what matters here is that an audience literate in Chinese in a Western setting can easily read the message of homosexuality from it, suggesting that the transformation of context results in a new interpretation. In Figure 11 the fireball from the dragon's mouth is a

Tai-chi motif of Taoism. In the standard Tai-chi motif (Figure 10), the white half with a black dot represents *yang*, and the black half with a white dot, *yin*. *Yang* should be at the top and *yin* at the bottom. In Figure 11 *yin* switches to the top, over *yang*. It could humorously, perhaps unintentionally, indicates a kind of feminist message.





Figure 10: Standard *Tai-chi* motif, or *Tai-Chi*

Figure 11: Detailed motif of dragon with a Tai-chi fireball

Overall, the messages of the pictograms and motifs are opposite or alternative values to established mainstream society. They are about love, sexuality, nature, peace and mysterious/sensual power. They are rarely about mainstream values in Western culture (increasingly in the whole global culture as well) such as power, money, materialism, politics or industrialization.

During the conversation with the wearers while I was taking the photographs, some told me that they were not sure whether the pictograms were Chinese or Japanese, and they did not appear to care about this issue. Some call the pictograms "Asian characters", though there is no such linguistic category. In a way, the attraction of these

pictograms is more about what they *are not* rather than what they *are*: they are not English or French, not North American mainstream symbols, and they are not concurrent with mainstream values; they are Chinese language and calligraphy.

Having discussed the tension caused by rebelliousness in the Western context, I will examine a similar case in the Chinese context, where pictograms are used on clothes to express aggression. Here, the pictogram on Chinese clothes is different from the examples of Chinese silk fabric discussed in Chapter III (see Figure 6, page 57). In this case, the pictogram is not repetitive motif woven into or printed onto the fabric, but functions as an independent sign on the clothes. In the traditional Chinese way of thinking, it is considered too aggressive, also somewhat vulgar, to put a banner like "No War" or "I love you" on one's chest, for words are so expressive that writing on one's body is almost like visually screaming in public. The phenomenon that written language is considered too aggressive on clothing in Chinese culture is very similar to the invasion of public space by ubiquitous advertising.

There are very few cases in the Chinese context where large pictograms are written on clothes, and all are used without exception to express the professional aggression of police, soldiers and guards; one example is the huge $\not\approx zu$, "soldier" on the front or back of a soldier's uniform, as shown in Figure 13 page 76. It is an illustration by famous contemporary illustrator Dai Dunbang (1998) for *Shui Hu*, a novel set during the Northern Song Dynasty (960--1127). In Figure 14 on page 77, also by Dai for the same novel, the huge pictogram on the two private guards' chests, $\not\approx Zu$, represents the family name of their master. Today in Canada I found a similar case.

Figure 12 a strikingly huge 勝 *sheng* (victory) at the back of the Nike basketball shirt expresses another type of professional aggression—not in military but in sports. A yellow edge increases the image's contrast against the Prussian blue background.

Though in both contexts the huge pictograms on clothes express the wearer's aggression, the two types of aggression are not exactly the same. In the traditional Chinese context, it is not an individual choice but a professional requirement. The Canadian wearing the "Victory" basketball shirt asserts himself by choosing and wearing a certain piece of fashion on the basketball court, so the assertiveness and aggression is not professional but individual. In the Canadian context, the student wearer knows the meaning of the pictogram and he chose this piece of Nike T-shirt mainly for the pictogram, so the aggression expressed by the pictogram is an individualistic declaration. The huge "soldier" on Chinese clothing does not express individuality, but actually denies it. A soldier possesses multiple identities: fighter, son, father, somebody from a certain village or province, etc.. By aggressively claiming just one identity, the pictogram practically eliminates the wearer's other identities, because other identities such as a loving husband will appear inappropriate to the person in uniform. When the same single identity is imposed on numerous soldiers, individuality is abolished. It can be concluded that a similar application of the Chinese pictogram in the two figures serves the same function of expressing the wearer's aggression and strength, but in a traditional Chinese context it is an abolition of the wearer's individuality, while in a modern Western context it is a vigorous statement it.

Table 1: Basketball Shirt with "Victory"

Figure No.		12	
Time		02/10/2001	
Place		University of Waterloo, gym.	
Textile		100% cotton	
Manufactured		United States	
Purchased		Unknown	
Brand		Nike	
Price		Unknown	
Wearer's identity		University student	
Style		Loose short-sleeve basketball T-shirt for men	
Description of the Chinese pictograms	Number & meaning	l;"Victory"	
	Script	Typographic standard script, in fat strokes with soft edge.	
	Color	In white with wide solid yellow edge, against Prussia blue background.	
	Size	27cm x 30cm / pictogram	
	Location	At the center of the back.	
	Technology	The pictogram is printed, and the yellow edge is artificial material pressed onto the fabric.	



Figure 12: Nike sports T-shirt with huge "victory" on the back



Figure 13: An army uniform in the Northen Song Dynasty, with the pictogram 卒 zu "soldier" on the chest, by Dai Dunbang (1998)



Figure 14: Private guards in the North Song Dynasty, with their master's surname *Zhu* on the chest, by Dai Dunbang (1997)

The location of the pictograms also reflects the tension related to individual rebelliousness. Most of the pictograms are placed on the center of the chest, which is a key focus of attention on the human body after the face. The location of pictograms and motifs is similar to tattoos: the chest, the shoulder, the arm, and the upper to central back. The fabric is often stretchy, tight, thin and soft, highlighting the contour of the body like an artificial skin. The close-fitting contour of these tops and T-shirts parallels the tattoo. In some cases, motifs are directly copied from traditional Oriental tattoos.

Figure 24 is a perfect "printed version on fabric" of a Chinese or Japanese tattoo. Tattoos, both in China and the West, were historically used to brand prisoners. To endure the pain for hours certainly demonstrates one's courage and physical strength. So tattoo is considered a symbol of a strong personality and rebelliousness both in the Chinese and Western culture. In fact, one of the trends in North American tattooing is the use of Chinese and Japanese pictograms (Figure 50, 51 page 120), as well as typical Chinese motifs such as the Chinese dragon and Tai-chi motif.

In his Oriental Enlightenment: The Encounter between Asian and Western

Thought, John James Clarke describes such cultural phenomena in the West:

Inflated enthusiasm for Oriental ideas and practices has often been associated with the counter-culture movement of the 1960s with its youth against the orthodoxies of modern bourgeois life, but what will become clear is that orientalism has for the three centuries assumed a counter-cultural, counter-bourgeois role, and become in various ways a gadfly plaguing all kinds of orthodoxies, and an energizer of radical protest, and in doing so it has often been in the business not of reinforcing Europe's established role and identity, but rather of undermining it. (1997, 27)

Western fashion with Chinese pictograms, in a way, is the lingering sound or a recall of youth fashion of the1960s.

3. The tension between an expanded cultural horizon and a relative

shortage of knowledge of this horizon

Modern mass media have brought much raw information about foreign cultures,

remote countries and highly professional and sophisticated topics such as space travel

and human genes. We deal with a much broader set of issues in our daily

communication; we may feel our horizons have been expanded, but mass media do not

bring sufficient knowledge or a more insightful perspective. We know about more things, have more information, but we do not necessarily understand them better. It can be said that modern men are talking about more things that they have not experienced and do not understand than they did before the era of mass media.

To carry on one's clothing a foreign language with a non-mainstream message signifies intelligence, open-mindedness and critical capability. However, most wearers are unable to read Chinese, which causes a subtle risk of being fooled or even insulted by wearing words they do not understand. The words on Figure 43 and 44 page 116, says "I am not ocean ghost, loosen/release" on the left, "Ghost guy and long nose, release/relax" on the right. The phrase "ocean ghost" was initially a discriminative and offensive term for Westerners, for most Westerners arrived in China by sailing across the ocean, and they probably seemed like "ghosts" because the "unusual" colors of their hair and eyes are similar to those of ghosts in Chinese painting. The word 鬼gui, "ghost", also has the connotation of being smart and naughty, so to call a child xiao-gui, "little ghost" is the equivalent of the English phrase "little monster". In today's colloquial Chinese, a Westerner is most often called 洋鬼子 yang gui-zi, "ocean ghost", between Chinese themselves, usually in a joking manner with no discriminatory intent, although it is still not a formally polite term¹³. The lack of cultural capital puts Western wearers of clothes with Chinese pictograms in a powerless position. This anxiety does not disappear even though most of the wearers I interviewed know exactly what the

¹³ Many Chinese using the word "ocean ghost" or "ghost" mean no discrimination or offense, just because it is a handy word in the language. However, today Westerners are unlikely to use "chink" in conversation between themselves, for there is a concern of being "politically correct". Such concern has not registered in many Chinese minds yet, showing that racial issues have not been discussed in the racially homogeneous Chinese culture.

pictograms mean. The girl who allowed me to photograph the tattoo on her shoulder (Figure 50 page 120) tried to confirm with me whether the pictogram really meant "wolf". She told me that she had confirmed this with somebody literate in Chinese before allowing the pictogram to be tattooed on her body. The tension was so strong that she had to confirm it once again with me.

Many of the fashion items in the appendix were made outside of Canada or the United States, which again could heighten the wearer's anxiety. The phenomenon of anxiety over foreign goods actually happens on a global scale, when people use merchandise made in other countries by people they have little contact with. The personal connection between the manufacturer and consumer is demolished bit by bit when the chain of material-manufacture-delivery-consumption is stretched longer and longer both spatially and over time.

Along with a combination of the wearers' illiteracy in the Chinese language, a lack of knowledge about the native culture from which the art work originates, and the fact that the fashion is made in a foreign country, a fourth aspects raises the tension to a higher level: the stereotype of Chinese culture in the Western as subtle, mysterious, sophisticated and sometimes sly. As Clarke (1997) summarizes, the West has developed an age-old ambivalence towards the East, perceived as "an alien region of looming threat and impenetrable mystery", a culture completely segregated from the West that has been respected and admired for its glorious civilizations but has been put into the inferior, backward and subordinate category on the global map since industrialization in the West and the East's colonization by the West. More and more work is being done that demonstrates that the West and the East are not absolutely segregated, that Chinese

culture and especially technology influenced Western history and there has always been some interaction; such opinion is demonstrated by Clarke (1997), Jack Goody (1996) on intellectual history and Joseph Needham (1954- and 1978-) on the history of science and technology. Nevertheless, the dominant perspective in the Western academy and public still remains ambivalent, the imagined segregation and the admired-but-inferior syndrome. This myth surrounding the East on the one hand provides the consumer with a fantasy that is essential for taking pleasure in the embodiment of a mysterious image; on the other hand the myth increases the anxiety and the tension between being intelligent, fashionable, open-minded and being naive.

The utilization of foreign ingredients, which used to be available exclusively to the economic and cultural elite in pre-democracy Western society, creates another exquisite satisfaction, the imitation of "the aristocrat in the old time", or a general sense of "doing well". In the West most of the foreign goods used to have a strong association with wealth and prestige until 19th century, such as Chinese silk and China, India spices and Africa ivory. Such illusionary pleasure cannot develop without modern mass media. Mass media constantly deliver bits and pieces of knowledge and information about diverse foreign cultures, about remote and dangerous places most of the audience will never set foot on in their whole life. The information in mass media is more about a phenomenon, an unusual, perverse part of the whole scene, the surface of events rather than a complete picture of a theme with its historical dimension. Watching TV, "following developments of situation day by day" and then talking about it with one's neighbor creates the illusion that one really knows the situation in a foreign country, and that the issue has become part of one's life. Western countries don't have a monopoly on such illusions – they are an increasing part of people's attitude around the globe.

4. The tension between the common style of fashion items and the exotic pictograms on them

This tension may be interpreted as "exoticism", and somewhat blurs with the first tension of "alienation" that was discussed earlier. According to *The New Oxford Dictionary of English* (Pearsall, 1998), the word "alien" has the connotation of "unfamiliar and disturbing or distasteful"; it comes into Middle English via Old French from the Latin *alienus* "belonging to another", which is rooted in *alius*, "others" (43). The word "exotic" originated in the late 16th century, via Latin from the Greek *exōtikōs*, foreign, which is rooted in *exō*, "outside"(646). It has the connotation of "attractive or striking because colorful or out of the ordinary". More specifically for this thesis, "alienation" refers to "misplaced, therefore disturbing", and "exoticism" connotes "from far, therefore interesting". The tension of exoticism arises between the common style of the fashion and the exotic imagery of the Chinese pictograms, together with the oriental motifs.

As can be seen in table 1-6, the fabric used for the clothing is the most common cotton, an inexpensive and practical fabric commonly used in clothes for physical labor and work-out. Most of the clothes in the sample are casual and intended to be worn directly over the body in warm or hot weather. Yet the pictograms and motifs on the clothes represent images set apart from ordinary, daily routine. To situate the pictograms on ordinary fabric and styles renders the exotic effect more significant.

The Chinese written language placed on the wearer's body creates a contrast with the English/French alphabetic writings and signs common in an urban setting, displaying its own graphic beauty. Sometimes the pictograms are accompanied by a painting or drawing. In Figure 37 page 113, the pictogram of "spring" is displayed on a pine tree with a sun rising between its branches. In Figure 41 page 115 an eagle and a dragon are hovering together in the sparkling radiance of the sun. Whether the eagle and dragon are fighting against or playing with each other does not alter their physical beauty and mysterious strength. The motif of the dragon and the eagle reminds the initiated audience of another Chinese art, paper-cut (Figure 15 page 84). Paper-cut has been a traditional folk art in China for centuries. It is especially popular as a window decoration during the Spring Festival. The artist – often a peasant – uses scissors to cut, and a knife to carve a piece of paper to create images. The whole motif is composed of one continuous curve. Each and every part of the motif must be connected; in other words, no open end is allowed unless it is very minor. The choice of color merely relies on the contrast between the paper and the background where the paper-cut is pasted, usually window glass, which is similar to woodcut.

Among the ten figures in Table 5 and 6 page 113-118, Figure 39, 41, 43, 46 all have paper-cut style motifs. Among them 41, 43 and 46 are dragons and 39 is a motif with repetitive tigers. It is hard to believe that such strong preference in paper-cut motifs is merely the result of the designers' personal taste. Certainly, the dragon has long been a symbol of Oriental cultures, particularly Chinese but this does not explain why the dragon is in this kind of graphic form. These motifs are chosen out of thousands of available Chinese/Oriental motifs, partially because they reflect some "spirit" of the culture. What kind of "spirit" can be found in the paper-cut-like motifs on these Western fashion items? The fundamental philosophical aspects of paper-cut echo with those of the Tai-chi motif (see Figure 10, page 73). They both have: 1) the continuity of the curve; 2) the absence of a distinctive boundary between parts of the image; 3) the line starting from nowhere and ending nowhere; 4) the wholeness in evolution and the evolution within wholeness; and 5) the simplicity of contrast between two colors.



Figure 15: Chinese paper-cut. (The collection of the author)

The romanticized image of Chinese/Oriental culture as peaceful, cursive, natural and mysterious is closely associated with the function of these clothes: decorative, leisurely and entertaining.

In *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism*, Colin Campbell (1987) extensively discusses the romantic pursuit in modern consumerism. Campbell defines "romantic" as "remote from everyday life", "imaginative or suggestive" of "grandeur" or "passion"(1). In the footsteps of Max Weber, as can be seen in the title of his book, which refers to Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1930), he challenges the long-held assumption that modern cultural development is best characterized by ever-increasing rationality (13). Where the assumption among academics prevails that it is the advertisers who choose to use romantic materials, Campbell asserts that:

[T]he reverse relationship should also be taken seriously, with the 'romantic' ingredient in culture regarded as having had a crucial part to play in the development of modern consumerism itself; indeed, since consumption may determine demand and demand supply, it could be argued that Romanticism itself played a critical role in facilitating the Industrial Revolution and therefore the character of the modern economy. (Campbell 1987, 2)

He theorizes that in modern consumption activity individuals employ their imagination to construct mental images that they consume for their intrinsic pleasure. He describes this practice as "daydreaming or fantasizing", "the ability to create an illusion which is known to be false but felt to be true"(1987, 77-78). Such imagination for pleasure-seeking is ultimately different from the artistic creation of an "illusion" or image, for daydreaming is motivated by a desire for contact with a *given* pleasure source, which is something remote from everyday experience. Campbell only mentions that such materials are mostly likely taken from history, yet with globalization and people's growing but still fragmented knowledge of other cultures, foreign materials start to serve such fantasy more than before. Campbell points out that: It is possible, as we have seen, to gain pleasure from pure imaginary situations, whilst, on the other hand, there are real-life activities which yield enjoyment. Bringing these two together requires envisaging different forms of real experience from those so far encountered, one which include existing pleasures whilst corresponding more closely to the contents of one's 'fantasies'.(1987, 85)

In agreement with Campbell's idea, John Fiske (1989) describes modern commodities as serving two types of function, "the material and the cultural"; the material function is to meet practical needs while "the cultural function is concerned with meaning and values"(11). This is exactly the case with the fashion items in this thesis. With their inexpensive price range, a consumer can easily indulge oneself in one of the most common secular pleasures in modern urban life: to put on a new item of clothing and go out. The Chinese pictogram on the garment, which is exotic, "remote from everyday life", "suggestive of grandeur and passion", forms the ingredient "corresponding more closely to the contents of one's 'fantasies'". The T-shirt is like a dish, then, and pictograms are the spices. The combination of fantastic pleasure and realistic pleasure in the same piece of fashion heightens the tension of exoticism.

Barthes (1983) regards fashion as a complete language with each fashion detail or style as a vocabulary. Fiske (1989), too, uses literature and language to describe popular cultural commodities. Reading a popular cultural commodity as a "text", he argues that one text of popular culture contains impoverished meaning in itself: its meaning can be completed only in the circulation of meanings. Such a situation is conceptualized as "the textual poverty and intertextuality of popular text"(Fiske 1989, 123-127). Therefore just like language, a fashion vocabulary derives its meaning within

a network of words. In Fashion as Communication, Malcolm Barnard (1996) quotes

Baudrillard to articulate this idea:

The item of fashion, like Baudrillard's sign, exists only within a network of differences. It is different from all the garments that exist at the same time, that could be worn with it (syntagmatic difference), and it is different from all the garments that come before and after it (paradigmatic difference). On Baudrillard's account, it might be said that this play of difference is where the item's identity and meaning as fashion comes from. ...He points out that neither long nor short skirts have any natural or absolute value: it is only the relation of difference between them that generates any meaning they might have. As he says 'the mini-skirt has nothing whatsoever to do with sexual liberation; it has no (fashion) value except in opposition to the long skirt' .(Barnard 1996, 157)

If Western fashion items with Chinese pictograms in 2001 is a vocabulary, what other fashion vocabularies act as its synonyms and antonyms? In other words, to understand the complete meaning of the fashion-with-Chinese-pictograms-in-2001, we need to study other fashion vocabularies that make up the vicinity of. At least two should be taken into account in the study, the "attitude T-shirt" with a slogan or explicit sign popular since the 1960s, and the ubiquitous brand-name logo in Western fashion.

To compare "Chinese pictogram fashion" with attitude T-shirts, we can borrow a recent observation on a Chinese version of attitude T-shirts. In his recent study *In the Red: On Contemporary Chinese Culture*, Geremie R. Barmé (1999) records the "cultural shirts" phenomena in Beijing 1991: T-shirts "bearing humorous, ironic, and, some claimed, political silk-screened statements and illustrations that were sold at street stalls and in shops throughout the city" had become a runaway success. He sees a link between the Western "attitude T-shirts" since the 1960s and the Chinese "cultural shirts" in 1991. He states that "'Attitude T-shirts' have been common since the 1960s, and they

became highly marketable item starting in the 1980s" (Barmé 1999, 425)¹⁴. Barmé's observation of these Chinese "cultural shirts" is certainly applicable to the "attitude T-shirt": a streetwise product which empowers the consumer, for "various sections of the population could see the shirts as a way to make some kind of personal statement while not having actually to verbalize their thoughts directly", and "the act of consumption-display would allow people to engage in a voiceless exchange, a silent dialogue between like-minded individuals" (1999, 145-156).

The similarity between Western attitude T-shirts and Chinese pictogram garments lies in the embodied personal statement, the silent communication between individuals and their participation in meaning-making. The difference between the two, which is exactly the origin of pictogram fashion's intricate meaning, is that Chinese pictogram fashion is more subtle, milder, and it functions more as visual decoration than political statement.

If the attitude T-shirt is a synonym of Chinese pictogram fashion, then contemporary fashion bearing brand name logos are its antonym. The increasing appearance of brand logos on fashion is a significant phenomenon since World War Two (a trend that may be under-addressed in the literature on fashion). Brand name logos represent commercialization, advertising and marketing, materialism, gigantic transnational companies; they also represent a new kind of class division by unmistakably advertising a garment's price range. With an understanding of the international division of labor and the exploiting behavior of some companies, people

¹⁴ For "attitude T-shirt", Barmé (1999, 425) lists the following readings: See the entries of 'Coed Naked' and 'No Fear' in Steven Daly and Nathaniel Wice, *Alt. Culture* (London: Fourth Estate, 1995), pp. 49 and 163. See also Rosalie Grattatori, Ed., *Great T-Shirt Graphics* (Rockport, Mass.: Rockport Publisher,

also start to read into logos the increasing economic gap between countries. Some consumers have started to boycott certain brands of fashion because the companies use child and/or slave labor. Another kind of brand logo on fashion is not the brand of clothes but that of some other commodity, which is often given away for free by big companies with certain purchases such as a hat with McDonald logo. Such logos of other commodity on fashion are even more intentionally aggressive. The fashion logo in a way confirms the practical function of the garment (this T-shirt is in good quality for wearing), but the logo of non-fashion commodity overwhelms the practical function of the garments and therefore turns the garment into a moving billboard and demolishes the original identity of the garment as a clothing piece.

Like logos, the Chinese pictogram in Western fashion is a language and explicit sign as well, but it does not try to sell something or declare one's economic affluence. Opposed to the idea of commercialization and materialism in logo fashion, Chinese pictogram fashion proposes an alternative value and spiritual life . Opposed to the engagement with daily material activity in logo fashion, the items with Chinese pictograms endeavor to disengage daily life and to connect with something remote and exotic. Opposed to the fact that the brand name logo often has little to do with visual decoration and mostly is a mere form of literary publicity, the emphasis on the Chinese pictograms is the image instead of the word.

The set of oppositions between brand-name logo fashion and those with Chinese pictograms is displayed in two examples of brand fashion bearing Chinese pictograms.

^{1993).} Japanese weird-slogan T-shirts have also been popular for decades. See, for example, Sally Larsen, *Japlish — Photographs by Sally Larsen* (San Francisco: Pomegranate Artbooks, 1993)

Figure 12 page 76, on the Nike basketball shirt the "victory" on the back is incomparably bigger than the Nike logo on the left chest. On a basketball court, the back becomes the best place for display since the athletes' upper limbs are in constant motion and they bend their bodies forward from time to time. The most significant displaying spot is given to the pictogram instead of the Nike logo, which might be the most aggressive and recognized fashion logo in global popular culture¹⁵. This manifests the conflict between the two motifs; here, the unique meaning of this piece of fashion depends more on the "victory" than the Nike logo. Figure 47 page 119, a Tommy Hilfiger shirt, does not bear the blue-red-white square logo on the exterior that is wellrecognized and ubiquitous in his collections. The audience cannot tell its brand from the outside. When I asked the wearer to check the label, his female peer let out a cry, "Oh! It's a Tommy!" However, in this design the marketing point is given to the casual, exotic and soothing effect of the Chinese pictograms over the brand logo. The reduced aggression and publicity of the brand logos in the two examples manifest that, profoundly, logo and Chinese pictograms possess conflicting meaning and values, and that the designer has to choose one as the priority for marketing.

By defining Chinese pictogram fashion using a fashion thesaurus, we are able to see clearly how a certain piece of dress derives exquisite connotation from the meaning network of fashion, and how fashion acts as a unique reflection of the spirit of the times and the "circulation of meanings" in popular culture as John Fiske (1987,124) suggests.

¹⁵ Nike's brand-name and logo was substantially advertised in two recent Hollywood movies. In *What Women Want*, released in 2000, the whole plot develops around a career woman's first project at her new position: the marketing of "Nike-for-Her". "Nike-for-her" represents female liberation and female heroism. In *A Knight's Tale*, summer 2001, the Nike logo is engraved into the knight's armor. Set in 14th century England, the hero is a peasant boy who takes on an alias in order to attend sports exclusive to nobles. A female blacksmith invents a new forge method that is laughed at by the other (all male)

V. Three Creative Pieces

Gauvin Alexander Bailey in his *Arts of the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542-1773* (1999) points out that hybrid artwork formed by two or more traditions is often regarded as inferior, and thus is neglected by art history. Instead of resorting to aesthetic evaluation, Bailey explores how cultures in exchange view each other, why certain parts of Western visual art are chosen for adaptation, and why so many different cultures reacted to the Renaissance visual tradition in such similar ways. The hybrid art produced for the Jesuit missions in Asia and Latin America from 1542 to 1773 is, for Bailey, nothing inferior, but rather "the catalyst for a very compelling example of human cooperation" (16), because:

> Far from being a product of a single proactive Self, Jesuit mission art was a global partnership with the other. The story is not about the triumph of Western culture but of cultural encounter. ... The encounter involved intimate contact among the widest spectrum of peoples, representing different races and religions as well as political, social, economic, and cultural traditions. (Bailey 1999, 4)

For exactly the same reason, Western fashion with Chinese pictograms or calligraphy are not considered in this case study as evidence of the "triumph of Oriental/Chinese culture", but a triangular prism to reflect the cultural encounter and cross-cultural communication in the early 21st century. My earlier discussion of the lost aesthetic tensions of Chinese calligraphy in this encounter might seem to cast an unfavorable light on these hybrid objects, with the pictogram/calligraphy on the Western fashion items perhaps appearing somewhat inferior to the original calligraphy in the

blacksmiths. The courage of youth, the optimism to change the world and the breaking down of gender and class hierarchy are the meanings projected onto the Nike logo in the movie. Chinese context. However this is not the intention of this work. The following three cases may help to clarify my position.

Figure 23 is a reversible nightgown for men, photographed at the owner's apartment in downtown Montreal. It is made of silk, and an identical pair of images is embroidered on both sides.

Figure No.		23	
Time		04/11/2001	
Place		An apartment on Peel street, downtown Montreal	
Textile		100% silk	
Manufactured		Unknown	
Purchased		New York City, United States	
Brand		Unknown	
Price		Unknown (a present)	
Wearer's identity		University student	
Style		Reversible two-sided nightgown for men, loose, half- sleeves, deep cuffs, with a black cotton belt. Two hidden pockets at the bottom on both sides.	
	Location	At the center of the back	On the front
Description of the Chinese pictograms	Number & meaning	1 "double- happiness". There are two sets of identical pictograms on both sides.	2 identical pictograms of "longevity" symmetrically on the left and right chest. There are two sets of identical pictograms on both sides.
	Script	Hand-written standard script with a sense of spontaneity and carelessness.	Hand-written standard script with a tendency of running script, sharp sword-like strokes, and some strokes are missing.
	Colors	Black against scarlet on one side, and scarlet against black on the other side.	Black against scarlet on one side, and scarlet against black on the other side.
	Size	9 cm ² /pictogram	5 cm ² /pictogram
	Technology	Embroidery with silk thread.	Embroidery with silk thread.

Table 2: A Reversible Nightgown



Figure 16: The reversible nightgown, the back of the black side



Figure 18: The front of the black side



Figure 17: The back of the red side



Figure 19: The front of the red side

As shown in Figure 16-19 on page 93, on one side there is a scarlet pictogram set against a black background, and on the reverse side, a black pictogram against a scarlet background. This is an imitation of a Chinese seal engraving, which is both an autonomous art form and an integral part of Chinese calligraphy. Chinese seal engraving has two basic formats: the *yang* motif in which the pictograms stand out from the stone surface and touch the ink to print, and the *yin* motif in which the pictograms are engraved into the surface and appear as blank within a square of ink (See Figure 20).



Figure 20: The Yang format and Yin format in Chinese seal engraving. (Collection of the author)

The nightgown creatively uses this *ying-yan* dynamic in seal engraving to make a special fashion statement. (Another example of using two colors to create a complex *yin-yang* dynamic would be the white-blue porcelain.) The pictogram on the back is a traditional Chinese motif connecting two identical 喜 pictograms into one, usually called "double-happiness". "Double-happiness" in a Chinese context is exclusively used for weddings. For the Chinese, love, wedding, marriage, childbirth, etc. are all regarded as 陰阳調和*Yinyang tiaohe*, "the harmony of *yin* and *yang*". Therefore the reversibility is not simply employed for visual variety; the sensibility of having and knowing another

"double-happiness" hidden between the silk and one's skin, is highly intimate and sexual. The reversible presentation of the pictogram, the literal meaning and cultural connotation of the pictogram "double-happiness", along with the silk fabric and intimate style of the fashion, integrate with one another. This integration of the three elements expresses rich, sexual implications accurately, exquisitely and subtly.

The second piece, a red-and-white tight top for a woman was observed at the bookstore of Concordia University (see Figure 29 page 109). Here Figure 21 page 96 shows the detailed graphic design on the chest. The large pictogram means "love". The long thick brush at the bottom, running upper-left toward lower-right, is the last stroke in the character. The English word "Concordia" is lined above the last brush, closely following the flow of the brush, conveying the impression that "Concordia" was written after the pictogram's last stroke. The order of the text is clear: (To) Love Concordia.

The combination of pictogram and alphabetic signs are quite similar to one of the most famous modern graphic designs, "I Love New York" (Figure 22 page 96). Their color-settings are in the same scarlet and white, for scarlet stands for blood, life, vitality, heart, and emotion. The originality of this graphic design rests in a creative play of graphic symbols, where the old conventional graphic vocabulary ("Concordia") and the new exotic vocabulary (\mathfrak{G} , *ai* "love") cooperate with each other's visual form and literal meaning. Here the pictogram "love" obtains the status of a pure motif like the heart in "I Love New York". Such perception of a *zi* is hardly conceivable for a Chinese whose brain is likely doomed to "read" it as an articulated word.



Figure 21: Detailed graphic design of "Love Concordia" on a top for woman



Figure 22: The famous "I Love New York" graphic design, New York State Department of Commerce promotional logo, by Charles Moss, Wells, Rich, Greene



Figure 23: the seal scrip of "love" and the "heart" in "love" (Xu, 1963, 112, 1)

The last fashion piece, shown in Figure 24-25 page 99, demonstrates how the artist can use any available form, or artistic vocabulary, to express his creativity. Strictly speaking, there are no Chinese pictograms on this T-shirt, since the seven motifs around

the hem of the sleeves are not Chinese characters with specific meanings. However, they appear more like Chinese pictograms than alphabetic letters, for they are composed of typical Chinese calligraphic strokes. It is the word "E N E R G I E", but it is also composed of some parts and strokes of Chinese pictograms. The designer also added some extra strokes such as the dot under the last "E" to enhance the "Chinese/Asian effect". The integration of two languages, just as with the integration of literature and painting in Chinese calligraphy, results in the rich flavor of the artwork. Perhaps this designer did not know how to write Chinese pictograms, but Latin letters there would be in discord with the Asian tattoo. He found a solution that a literate Chinese may not have been able to conceive. For the designer who cannot read the Chinese word, he reads the strokes in a new way, and integrates Chinese strokes with his own language.

Figure No.	Figure 24-26			
Time	04/11/2001			
Place	An apartment on Peel street, downtown Montreal			
Textile	100% Poliamide-Nylon, Polyamid-poliamida			
Manufactured	Italy			
Purchased	Nice, France			
Brand	"AYOR, At your own risk. Energie"			
Price	About \$80			
Wearer's identity	University student			
Style	Elastic long-sleeve shirt for men, with identical motif on two shoulders and arms, very thin.			
The decoration	Pictogram	Motif		
Location	Around the two sleeve-hems, seven-letter "ENERGIE" circles ³ / ₄ of the hem.	Covering the two shoulders and arms, and ³ / ₄ of the arm is circled.		
Description	Each letter is composed in Chinese calligraphic strokes, giving each letter the appearance of one Chinese pictogram. Hand- written.	Two flying dragons among waves, clouds and peony. There are two identical motifs on both shoulders and arms.		
Color	Black against white, with red circle around each letter.	Very extravagant colors against white, one dragon is purple and another green, waves and clouds in brown, peonies in yellow, blue, leaves in green		
Size	1 cm each letter, or pictogram; whole, 1 cm x 14 cm	Covering the entire two shoulders and arms, about 24cm x 64 cm each side		
Technology	Print	Print		

Table 3: T-shirt with tattoo motifs and Latin Letters in Chinese strokes





Figure 24: T-shirt with dragon tattoo motif, the front

Figure 25: T-shirt with dragon tattoo motif, the back



Figure 26: The sleeve hem of the same T-shirt, with "ENERGIE" composed in Chinese calligraphic strokes.

As exemplified by the three fashion items, Chinese pictograms are becoming part of the artistic vocabulary of popular culture that artists and consumers apply individually in the new Western context. John Fiske (1989) suggests that the study of popular culture requires researching not only the cultural commodities out of which it is made, but also the way that people use them, and "the latter are far more creative and varied than the former"(15). His suggestion inspires me to investigate the fashion designer and the wearer's creativity in the assimilation of Chinese pictograms in Western fashion, instead of being blinded by an obsession with the "authenticity" of Chinese calligraphy.

I would like to close this part of the discussion with an episode from a novel. The novel is *A Warrior's Journey* (俠客行)by Jin Yong (1994)¹⁶, the most widely-read living Chinese writer and a newspaper entrepreneur in Hong Kong. Jin Yong integrates nearly every form of traditional Chinese art into his fiction, from painting, music, literature, architecture to medicine, cooking, wine connoisseurship, gardening, and of course, martial art. This story is about calligraphy. Two strangers appear on the mainland every year, proclaiming themselves to be messengers from a remote island in the ocean. They always take with them several first class Kung Fu masters to the island. Nobody ever comes back. The hero of the book, Stone, is an ignorant and genuine boy from the countryside. By pure chance, he is taken to the island together with others. At

¹⁶ Warrior fiction has been a popular genre in Chinese fiction. *WuXia* (武俠) translated as warrior or paladin, means those who help the disadvantaged and the suppressed, and carry out justice with their martial art. Chinese warrior fictions are mostly set in China's historical past, in a fictional world of *Jianghu* (江湖) with its own logic, while often projecting the real contemporary world. The closest work in Western literature might be Dumas' in France. Another important work by Jin Yong, 笑傲江湖*XiaoAo JiangHu*, *A Haughty Laughter Toward Jianghu*, is a metaphor for the Cultural Revolution. Lee Ann's *Hidden Dragon Crouching Tiger* is adapted from one such novel written in early 20th century by Wang Dulu.
the welcoming banquet, the messengers reveal the secret that in a cave on this island exists the last handwriting of the greatest Kung Fu master from generations ago. It is a piece of a poem. A Warrior's Journey by Li Bai (李白701-762 A.D.), one of the greatest poet of the Tang Dynasty (618 to 907 A.D.), and the master had claimed that his highest mastery of Kung Fu was coded in this poem. All those who did not return to the mainland are obsessed with decoding the cipher. The newcomers start to join the decoding club, except Stone, who is not at all qualified for such an intellectual task since he is illiterate. He has no choice but to wander around on the island since there is no ship returning to the mainland. Everybody copies the poetry most carefully, goes back to their residence and starts to study it and discuss and debate with one another. The cave regains its quietness. One day when Stone walks into the cave alone, he starts to look at the lines, strokes, brushes and dots on the wall. His breath, before he knows, starts to follow the rhythm of the strokes and brushes... Gradually he feels a tremendous stream of strength rising from the depth of his body... Yes, the cipher is composed of the visual image of the text instead of its literal meaning. This story reveals the strong link between breath and Chinese calligraphy¹⁷, but I bring it up here to show that those who are literate in a language or a culture are sometimes doomed by their literacy, while the "ignorant" ones may be free to see other sides of the subject.

¹⁷ For more about Chinese calligraphy and breath, see Tomoko Kodama (1989) Oriental Calligraphy and Painting: the 3 B's, Body, Breath and Brush, and H. Hiyoshi (1990) "A Way to Write Chinese Through Movement and Rhythmic Breathing" Revue de Phonetique Appliquee 1990, 95-97, 225-229.

Conclusion

This thesis has investigated the complexity of the cultural translation of visual language. Western fashion with Chinese pictograms has been discussed as a catalytic site of cross-cultural communication within which the widest spectrum of linguistic, conceptual, and aesthetic dynamics interact with one another. The notion of visual language and writing system's role as an active shaping force of a culture, and my interest in hybrid forms of cultural objects are what underlines all the analysis presented in this work. Thus the focus of this work has been on how people from different traditions make meaning out of one artistic vocabulary rather than on the evaluation of the two writing systems, alphabetic and ideographic.

In order to explain why the specific tensions are lost or added in the translation, a comparison of Western calligraphy and Chinese calligraphy has been carried out, probing the aesthetic philosophies of the two art forms. Western calligraphy, relying on mathematical regulation of letters, and then beautification, ornamentation of them, is basically tacit and impersonal, while Chinese calligraphy, with many more visual possibilities enabled by thousands of pictograms, relies on the spontaneity of the human body and reflects the slightest trace of the calligrapher's sensibility. The Western calligraphy is ultimately an impersonal craft and Chinese calligraphy strives to express artistic individuality. On the other hand, Western culture develops a large variety of fonts and typefaces that Chinese has no comparison with. This complimentary relationship in the written-language-based visual art forms in Western and Chinese cultures, is essentially rooted in their polarized writing systems.

Fashion, as the site for the cultural translation, is determinant of the composition of the pictograms' new cultural meaning in the Western context. Following Gell's anthropological perspective on art history, this study bases cultural analysis on a close observation and description of the pictograms and fashion pieces. Attention is given to the embodied nature of fashion. Acknowledging the autonomy of fashion proposed by theorists such as Hollander and Barthes, this thesis has positioned the Chinese calligraphy/pictogram as an integral part of the fashion and the wearer's identity, instead of viewing these pictograms as merely coincidentally applied to a piece of cloth. The Western fashion items with Chinese pictograms are read as, to use John Fiske's term, pieces of "popular text". Since the meaning of a popular text can be completed only in its intertextuality with other popular texts, the Western-fashion-with-a-Chinesepictogram is compared to its synonym (the attitude T-shirt) and its antonym (the brandname logo fashion).

As discussed in Chapter III, Chinese calligraphy has lost many of its aesthetic and social "tensions" in the process of its integration into Western fashion. The integrity of the Chinese pictogram as word-and-image in Chinese calligraphy is deconstructed, for it is not legible to its audience in the Western setting. Its rich visual possibilities that originate from the spontaneity of the human body have been stripped away as handwriting has been replaced with typography. Calligraphy's core value of individual artistic expression is lost. In addition, many traditional principles of Chinese calligraphy such as the spatial arrangement of elements, choice of material and literal content, are ignored. However, Chinese pictograms gain more freedom to manifest their abstract visual beauty in a foreign setting: fashion. In the Western context, pictograms' aesthetics

as graphic symbols stand out more than in the Chinese framework. With its linguistic layer removed by "illiterate" readers, it achieves the status of a pure motif.

Western and Chinese calligraphy have fundamentally different aesthetic philosophies, which is not fully realized by most of the studies on Chinese or Western calligraphy or on calligraphy in general. Western calligraphy relies on the mathematical regularity of the letter, its absolute legibility, and the stylistic formation of different fonts. Chinese calligraphy relies on the human body's spontaneity, its natural and unregulated beauty, and the expression of artistic individuality. Western calligraphy is essentially frozen and static, while Chinese calligraphy is all about movement and sequence. When we trace back the etymology of the English term "calligraphy" and Chinese term $\ddagger shu$, "to write, writing", we see that "calligraphy" means "beautiful writing", while *shu*, "write", means "a skillful hand holds a tool". While Western calligraphy focuses on the final product, Chinese calligraphy is concerned with art-in-the-making. The Western perception of calligraphy results in reducing Chinese pictograms to the status of a font, which is the application of the Western lettering technique to another kind of written language.

When some old tensions of Chinese calligraphy are lost, new ones are added in its Western setting. Non-mainstream messages such as love, sexuality, nature, peace and mystery are presented in both the pictogram and accompanying oriental motifs, which causes the tension of rebelliousness against the main stream value. Embodying a foreign written language is a gesture of open-mindedness and a broad cultural horizon; however, when the wearer's actual knowledge does not catch up with his or her employment of the cultural object, a tension is created. As the analysis shows, the adaptation of Chinese

pictograms has largely been integrated into Western consumerism and North America's youth culture as a symbol of alternative value. On the other hand, the added tension of exoticism largely reflects and supports the stereotypical image of Chinese culture in the West: alien, mysterious, decorative, exotic, leisurely, and entertaining.

In the process of adapting a foreign cultural object misinterpretation and mistranslation are inevitable. Nothing remains completely authentic in cultural translation. Authenticity is becoming an increasingly relative concept in the growing exchanges between cultures today. If a type of cultural object is more or less like a language with its own coherent system, then the aspects of this type such as medium, form, style, canon and terminology can be regarded as the "vocabulary". More and more "local" artistic vocabularies are becoming available to foreign producers and consumers, as in the case of Chinese calligraphy. The translation not only brings new meaning to the importing side, but also changes the meaning of the original text.

What matters in cultural translation or cross-cultural communication is not the question of authenticity or the accuracy of message reception. Excessive political interpretation does not bring a more elaborate understanding of the cultures involved in this exchange, either. To confine ourselves to this power/control focus alone is ultimately limiting in its pessimism; as John Fiske suggests (1989), it offers little hope of progress. The value of the hybrid cultural objects and research on such objects lies in the fact that "Others" provide an inspiring and corrective mirror for oneself. If the 19th and 20th centuries saw the encounter and confrontation of West and East, some signs have shown the possibility that the 21st century will see a higher level of communication, interaction and at some point cultural integration of these two. Of course, there are

numerous other cultures on the map, and "West and East" is just a simplified and convenient division. If West is the "self", then China is an especially significant one among its "others", for Chinese culture exemplifies the longest history with no major Western influence of more than two thousand years, and especially to my interest, its language developed outside of the Western system. As a consequence, literature written in Chinese has been continuously accumulating for several millennia, which offers a large body of materials for a comparison with the West. French philosopher François Jullien (1995) believes that the Chinese ideographic language opens other possibilities than the Indian-European language groups into which he was born. For him, Chinese culture offers the ideal image to reconsider Western culture from the outside. J. J. Clark (1997) quotes Richard Bernstein at a recent East-West Philosophers' Conference, "it is only through an engaged encounter with the Other, with the otherness of the Other, that one comes to a more informed, textured understanding of the traditions to which 'we' belong "(1997, 28). For Chinese culture, the inventive or "unconventional" exploration of the graphic application of Chinese pictograms provides a totally new angle to inspect its own language. How an English speaker applies the pictogram to fashion and graphic design in an English/French environment, as investigated in this thesis, demonstrates how a visual language is interpreted in Western mass culture on its own. Since this cultural translation on fashion happens in everyday practice, it possesses a compelling authenticity and aliveness that are sometimes in short supply in scholarship based upon historical documentation.

As presented in this case study of Chinese pictograms in Western fashion, the encounter, though full of misunderstanding and misinterpretation, carries with it new

dynamics for both sides of the cultural exchange. An encounter with a culture based on a profoundly different philosophy sheds new light on the cultural object itself and the culture it is from. While cross-cultural communication develops rapidly and plays an increasingly significant role in the shaping of our life, academic researchers need to increase the attention they give to this subject. For me, among all the economic, cultural and social exchanges, the most interesting one may be visual language or writing systems. Written language, the very medium through which a culture accumulates and passes on, is both a shaping force and a microcosmic reflection of the essential elements of a culture. It is an extremely elaborate system; every written word or *zi* has the magic of synecdoche. It possesses the flexibility to express the central conceptual underpinning at a scale as small as an individual and as large as a culture. When visual language is utilized as an artistic expression, it is often carried out intuitively. The kind of world-view that produces artistic expression, essentially different from the logical, mathematical or "scientific" one that has become dominant in industrialized and modernized societies, is on the whole under-addressed in the body of human knowledge. Just as Chinese culture may provide the ideal "others" for the West to contemplate itself from outside, a much better understanding of art, as well as the kind of world-view that produces art, will profoundly challenge some core ideas of our present civilization, and accompanying this challenge are new possibilities.

Appendix

Figu	re No.	27	28
Time		03/21/2001	03/21/2001
Place		McGill University campus	McGill University campus
Texti	le	100% cotton	100% cotton
Manu	ufactured	Canada	Unknown
Purcl	hased	Maison Simons, Montreal	Maison Simons, Montreal
Bran	d	Twik of Simons	Genie Generation
Price		Unknown	Unknown
Wear	rer's identity	University student	University student
Style		Semi-tight top with no sleeves, thin straps, for women	Tight short-sleeves top for woman, baby-blue stripes on the shoulders and the sleeves hem
9	Number & meaning	1;"Love"	3; "I love (female) you"
Description of the Chinese pictograms	Script	Typographic standard script, strokes in very even width, smooth edges and sharp corners	Hand-written standard script.
tion of the (pictograms	Colors	Black against dark red background.	Light blue, against white background.
ption pict	Size	10 cm ² / pictogram	2. 5 cm ² /pictogram; the whole: 7.5cmx2.5cm
Descri	Location	At the center of chest.	Vertically line up at the left side of the breast.
	Technology	Print	Print

Table 4: Fashion Items with only Chinese Pictograms



Figure 27: Red top with "Love"



Figure 28: White top with "I love you"

Figu	ire No.	29	30
Tim	e	07/19/2001	07/24/2001
Plac	:e	Concordia University bookstore, downtown Montreal	McGill campus, downtown Montrea
Text	tile	100% cotton	100% cotton
Mar	nufactured	U.S	Unknown
Pure	chased	N/A	Bangkok, Thailand
Brai	nd	DW Authentic	"Ultra Violent Skin Bloc" of Diesel
Pric	e	N/A	N/A
Wea	arer's identity	N/A (targeting Concordia students)	McGill student
Style	e	Semi-fitted long-sleeve T-shirt form woman, white body and red sleeves	Loose T-shirt, elastic black sleeve hems at the neck and arms.
	Number & meaning	1; "Love". The English Word "Concordia" lining above the last stroke of the pictogram	1, "tiger". Identical two at the back and front.
ams	Script	Hand-written standard script, running smoothly, showing the professionalism of a calligrapher	Typological official script, or <i>Li shu</i> with sharp and heavy strokes. This font is often used for government document and signs.
outograms	Colors	Bright red against white background	Black with bronze edge against the red circle, on a bronze fabric.
pictogram	Size	12cm ²	12cm ² /pictogram on a circle with a 16cm diameter
1	Location	At the center of the chest	At the center of the chest and back
	Technology	Print	Print

Table 4: Fashion Items with only Chinese Pictograms (Continue)



Figure 29: White and red T-shirt with "Love Concordia"



Figure 30: Diesel T-shirt with "Tiger"

Figure No.	31	32
Time	03/13/2001	02/11/2001
Place	McGill University campus	Charley's in Place Alexis-Nihon, downtown Montreal
Fextile	Unknown	100% cotton
Manufactured	Unknown	China
Purchased	Unknown	Canada
Brand	Unknown	Unknown
Price	Unknown	Unknown
Wearer's identity	University student	Fashion sales clerk
Style	Long-sleeves casual semi-tight sweater for man	Semi-tight tank-top for woman
Number & meaning	3; "Woman, man, big"	2; "Happiness"
Script	Infantile hand-written standard script.	Hand-written standard script.
Colors	White, against burgundy background.	In black, against white background.
Colors Size Location	2.6cm ² /pictogram; the whole: 13cmx2.6cm	3cm ² /pictogram; the whole: 8cm x 3cm
Location	Vertically lined up on the left side of the chest.	Vertically lined up at the center of the chest.
Technology	Embroidery with cotton thread	Print

Table 4: Fashion Items with only Chinese Pictograms (Continue)



Figure 31: Red sweater with "women men



Figure 32: white tank-top with "happiness"

big"

Fi	gure No.	33	34
Ti	me	03/15/2001	04/11/2001
Pl	ace	Tristan and AMERICA warehouse on St. Catherine, downtown Montreal	An apartment on Peel street, downtown Montreal
Te	extile	100% rayon	100% cotton
M	anufactured	Canada	Portugal
Pu	irchased	Canada	Monaco
Br	and	"Tristan"	"Replay"
Pr	ice	\$79.99 on sale	About \$60
W	earer's identity	N/A	University student
St	yle	Long skirt for woman.	Men's semi-tight long-sleeve T-shirt with round neck.
,	Number & meaning	2; "Eternity"	1; "the sacrifice" or "the sacrifice ceremony"
vescription of the Chinese	Script	Typographic standard script, with brush-like strokes.	Typographic standard script, with brush stroke in soft round end.
	Colors	Black against gray background.	Scarlet against gray purple
pulon ol	Size	12 cm^2 /pictogram; the whole: 12cm x 26.5cm	5.5 cm ² /pictogram
	Location	Vertically lined up on the lower right side of the skirt, on right calf.	At the center of upper chest.
	Technology	Print	Embroidery, surrounded by white- purple thread

Table 1: Fashion Items with only Chinese Pictograms (Continue)



Figure 33: Grey long skirt with "eternity"



Figure 34: Long-sleeve T-shirt with "sacrifice"

Figure	No.	35	36
Time		07/03/2001	
Place		McGill library, downtown Montreal	The Olympic basin, Montreal dragon boat festival.
Textile	•	50% cotton, 50% polyester	100% cotton
Manuf	factured	U.S.	U.S.
Purch	ased	Alberta	New Jersey, U.S.
Brand		Logo T-shirt of a karate school	Jerzees Activewear. Logo T-shirt for a Boston dragon boat team.
Price		N/A	N/A
Weare	r's identity	McGill student	Engineer and peddler.
Style		Loose T-shirt for man	Very loose tank top for man
	Number & meaning	1; "the Tao", literally "the way".	2; "cutting", "wave".
ams	Script	Hand-written standard script in a free style, manifesting the calligrapher's strength and confidence.	Hand-written standard script by a calligrapher. Full of tense and strength to break the tense
or u bgra	Colors	White against Prussian blue	Bright yellow against Prussian blue
pictograms	Size	30cm ²	"cutting", 24cmx13cm; "wave", 12cm ² . The whole: 22cmx 28cm
	Location	At the center of the back	At the center of the back
1 . I.	Technology	Print	Print

 Table 4: Fashion Items with only Chinese Pictograms (Continue)



Figure 35: A logo T-shirt for a karate school in Alberta



Figure 36: Logo tank top for a dragon boat team from Boston

	Figure No.	37	38
Time		03/08/2001	02/04/2001
Pl	ace	Maison Simons, downtown Montreal	Urban Planet in Place Cathedral, downtown Montreal
Te	xtile	100% cotton	100% cotton
M	anufactured	China	Pakistan
Pu	irchased	Canada	Canada
Br	and	"Twik" of Simons	"Snakeeyes"
Pr	ice	Unknown	\$14.99
W	earer's identity	N/A	N/A
Sty	vle	Loose T-shirt for man	Long-sleeve loose T-shirt for men.
5	Number & meaning	1; "Spring"	6; "Happiness, misfortune, harmony, moon, teacher, walk".
Cumese	Script	Typographic standard script, with brush-like strokes.	Typographic standard script, with brush-like strokes.
am in mindi near	Colors	Black, against solid orange background.	Black with red-orange edges, against white background.
TINTIN	Size	11 cm ² /pictogram; the whole image: 24cmx11cm	11 cm ² /pictogram; the whole: 30 cm x 11cm
1122	Location	At the center of chest.	Vertically lined up on the right sleeve, covering the entire length of the sleeve.
a. 	Technology	Print	Print
Other Motifs		A pine tree with sun rising among its branchs, under the pictogram "spring"	On the chest, a balck bird (phenex?) rising its winds in red flame

Table 5: Fashion Items with Chinese Pictograms and Other Motifs



Figure 37: Orange T-shirt with "Spring"



Figure 38: Long-sleeve T-shirt with random Chinese pictograms on the sleeves

Fig	gure No.	39	40
Ti	me	01/07/2001	15/07/2001
Pla	ace	Galaxie Bleue, St. Catherine W276, downtown Montreal	St. Denis, Just For Laugh Comedy Festival, downtown Montreal
Te	extile	Cotton, silk and polyester	100% cotton
M	anufactured	Unknown	U.S.
Pu	irchased	N/A	France
Br	and	N/A	Blend of America
Pr	ice	Unknown	120 francs
W	earer's identity	N/A	French university student
Sty	yle	Loose short-sleeve brown shirt for men, very light and draping fabric.	Unisex white loose T-shirt in fine cotton
ల	Number & meaning	1; " beauty", also means "beautiful".	1; "tie, relate, connect" and "tight"
e Unnese	Script	Hand-written standard script	Hand-written standard script, with traces of running script as well. Elegant and free.
Jescription of the	Colors	Black, at the center of an orange- yellow circle with brush-like balck edges.	Dark-grey against the orange and white.
cript	Size	32cm ²	7cm ²
Des	Location	At the center of the back	At the center of the chest
	Technology	Print	Print
Other Motifs		Orange-yellow tiger motifs along the sleeve hems and the bottom.	An orange hand-paint dot under the pictogram, about ¼ smaller than the pictogram.

Table 5: Fashion Items with Chinese Pictograms and Other Motifs (Continue)







Figure 40: White short-sleeve T-shirt with "tie"

Figu	ıre No.	41	42
Tim	е	03/08/2001	04/03/2001
Place		Face London in Cours Mont-Royal, downtown Montreal	Le Palais du Cadeau on St. Denis, downtown Montreal
Text	tile	100% cotton	100% cotton
Mar	nufactured	Unknown	Thailand
Pure	chased	Canada	Montreal, Canada
Bra	nd	Unknown	"Kada Import and Export"
Pric	e	\$115	\$15
Wea iden	nrer's tity	N/A	N/A
Styl	e	Unisex top, loose, no sleeves	Tight top no sleeves with two straps, and close-fitting waist for woman.
	Number & meaning	4;"No war"	1; "Dragon"
hinese	Script	Handwritten standard script, with brush-like strokes.	Hand-written standard script, with slight clumsiness.
the Cl ams	Colors	In sparkling burgundy, against white background.	Black against white.
ion of the (victograms	Size	11 cm ² /pictogram; the whole: 11cm x 51cm	4 cm ² /pictogram
Description of the Chinese pictograms	Location	Vertically line up from the left shoulder to higher left- rib.	At the lower-left corner of the whole embroidery that occupy the center of the chest and upper stomach.
	Technolog y	Glittering artificial material pressed onto cloth	Embroidery, probably artificial silk.
Other Motifs		A huge eagle and dragon motif occupies the whole front. Very similar to the art of paper-cut.	Repetitive flying-dragon motifs on the whole fabric. The motifs look exactly like paper-cut work.

Table 5: Fashion Items with Chinese Pictograms and Other Motifs (Continue)



Figure 41: Unisex tank top with "no war"



Figure 42: Tight white top with embroidered dragon motif and the pictogram of "dragon"

Fig	gure No.	43	44		
Time		06/08/2001			
Place		St. Laurent Str., St. Laurent Festival, Montreal downtown			
Te	xtile	100% cotton, looks very airy and smooth			
Ma	anufactured	Bangkok, Thailand			
Pu	rchased	Bangkok, Thailand	Bangkok, Thailand		
Br	and	N/A			
Pr	ice	Less than \$15			
W	earer's identit	y N/A			
Sty	le	Long straight wrap skirt for woman			
S	Location	15. Below the knee, on the calves, at the fron	t 16. Around the ankle		
pictograms	Number & meaning	14. The 7 on the left: "I am not Western ghost, release". The 7 on the right: "Western ghost and long nose, relax/release".	11. "People hate evil behaviors, because they love virtue."		
	Script	Hand-written standard script, with over-fanciful strokes.	Typographic standard script, in very regulated calligraphic strokes.		
Chinese	Colors	Red against black	White against black		
Description of the CI	Size	3.5cm ² /pictogram; Each line: about 3.5cm x 30cm. Together with th dragon motif: about 25 cm ² .	e 5cm ² /pictogram; the whole: about 70cm x 5cm		
	Other Motif	A flying dragon between the tow lines of Chinese pictogram, in a joyful and energetic mood. The motif borrows technique from Chinese paper-cut			
Ď	Tech- nology	Print	Print		

Table 5: Fashion Items with Chinese Pictograms and Other Motifs (Continue)



Figure 43: Black skirt with three lines of pictogram and a dragon motif



Figure 44: The back of the black skirt

Fig	gure No.	45	46
Time Place		03/26/2001	04/03/2001
		McGill campus	An Indian merchandise store on St. Denis, downtown Montreal
Гез	xtile	100% Polyamide	100% cotton
Ma	inufactured	France	Thailand
Pw	rchased	France	Montreal, Canada
Bra	and	"Pimkie"	No brand
Pri	ce	Unknown (a present)	\$20, and \$12.95 on sale
We	earer's identity	University student	
Style		Tight long-sleeve T-shirt , black edge at the collar and hem, for woman.	Long, straight wrap skirt for women
pictograms	Number & meaning	About 30 pictograms scattered on the entire fabric; "Plum blooms (and brings) five happiness", "Plum", "Happiness"	About 5 repetitive "dragon" and 5 left-halves of "dragon".
Chinese pi	Script	Hand-written standard script in a feminine style. The trace of ink can be seen.	Hand-written standard script, with slight clumsiness and hesitation with the stroke.
	Colors	Black against red, and black with white edge against gray background.	White against blue.
Description of the	Size	Big single pictogram: 14cm / pictogram; small pictograms four in a group: 2.5cm ² /pictogram	Complete pictogram: 7cm; Half pictogram: 7cm x 3cm
cri	Location	Repeated all over the fabric.	Scattered over the entire fabric.
Des	Technology	Print	Dye

Table 6: Fashion Items with Repetitive Chinese Pictograms on The Entire Fabric



Figure 45: Tight top with "plum" and "happiness"



Figure 46: Blue skirt with "dragon" pictogram and dragon motif

Figure No.	47	
Time	06/01/2001	
Place	Ste. Catherine, downtown Montreal	
Textile	100% cotton	
Manufactured	Unknown	
Purchased	N/A	
Brand	Tommy Hilfiger	
Price	N/A	
Wearer's identity	Unknown	
Style	Casual short-sleeve shirt.	
g meaning	About 200 pictograms lining vertically on the whole fabric. Line 1: "No fear", "to live" or "alive". Line 2: "future youth". Line 3: literally "East", "Beauty", "start to", "fly". Here "East Beauty" is not a usual word but sounds like a company name.	
[6]	not a usual word but sounds like a company name.	
e Chinese pictograms Bioteconstruction Chinese pictograms Script		
Script	not a usual word but sounds like a company name. Hand-written standard script. The balanced structure of each pictogram shows the developed muscle and eye-hand coordination from an adult, while certain characteristics in the strokes reveals that the writer is not a "native writer" of Chinese. It is probably from the hand of a Westerner learning Chinese as	
Script	not a usual word but sounds like a company name.Hand-written standard script. The balanced structure of each pictogram showsthe developed muscle and eye-hand coordination from an adult, while certaincharacteristics in the strokes reveals that the writer is not a "native writer" ofChinese. It is probably from the hand of a Westerner learning Chinese asforeign language for some years.	
Script Colors	not a usual word but sounds like a company name.Hand-written standard script. The balanced structure of each pictogram showsthe developed muscle and eye-hand coordination from an adult, while certaincharacteristics in the strokes reveals that the writer is not a "native writer" ofChinese. It is probably from the hand of a Westerner learning Chinese asforeign language for some years.Black against gray.	

Table 6: Fashion Items with Repetitive Chinese Pictograms on The Entire Fabric (continue)



Figure 47: The casual gray shirt with 200 pictograms.

N	o. of Figures	48	49
Ti	me	02/09/2001	06/01/2001
Place Textile		Metro station in Montreal	McGill Library, downtown Montreal
		100% artificial materials	35% wool, 65% acrylic.
M	anufactured	China	U.S. (?)
Pu	rchased	Montreal, Canada	Eaton Center, Montreal
Br	and Name	Unknown	Zephyr "Cat"
Pr	ice	Unknown	\$40
e .	earer's entity	University student	Newly graduated from McGill
Ту	pe of the bject	Purse with shoulder-strap for woman, with enough space for a CD player.	Prussian baseball hat with fine details.
	Number & meaning	1; "Love"	1; "Cat"
	Script	Typographic standard script.	Typographic standard script, with sharp calligraphic strokes.
	Colors	The same color as the background. Engraved into the metal zipper handle.	Embroidered
	Size	2.5 cm^2 / pictogram	6cm ² /pictogram
Description of the Chinese	Location	At the center of the zipper handle, and occupies most of it.	At the front center, right on the front head.
	Technology	Engraved on mental	Embroidery on fabric

Table 7: Fashion Accessories with Chinese Pictograms



Figure 48: Purse with "love" on the zipper handle



Figure 49: Baseball hat with "cat" embroidery

	and the second		
Figure No.		50	51
Time		02/05/2001	07/23/2001
Place		Pet's Land, Place Alexis- Nihon, downtown Montreal.	Mainsonnoueve Str., near Condordia University, downtown Montreal
Textile		N/A	N/A
Manufactured		Montreal, Canada	Montreal, Canada
Purchased Brand		Montreal, Canada	Montreal, Canada
		Unknown	Unknown
Price		Unknown	Unknown
Wearer's identity		Shop assistant at Pet's Land	University student
Style		Tattoo on a girl's shoulder	Tattoo on a boy's upper arm.
Description of the Chinese	Number & meaning	1; "Wolf"	2; the two pictograms literally "win", "sharp" or "sharpen". The word, "victory".
	Script	Typographic standard script, in sharp strokes.	Hand-written standard scrip, in calligraphic strokes but unbalanced and crowded structure.
	Colors	Black, with a trace of blue against skin.	Purple black against the skin.
	Size	5 cm ² /pictogram	4cm ²
	Location	On the back of her right shoulder.	At the center of his left upper-arm.
	Technology	Tattoo	Tattoo

Table 7: Fashion Accessories with Chinese Pictograms (Continue)



Figure 50: Tattoo on the shoulder, "wolf"



Figure 51: Tattoo on the arm, "victory"

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