

Origins and Poetic Artistry of Du Fu's Gull Imagery

By

Zhao Hua

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
(Classical Chinese Literature)

At the
University of Wisconsin-Madison

2013

Date of final oral examination:

This dissertation is approved by the following members of the Final Oral Committee:

William H. Nienhauser, Jr., Professor, Chinese Languages and Literature
Rania Huntington, Associate Professor, Chinese Languages and Literature
Mark Meulenbeld, Assistant Professor, Chinese Languages and Literature
Hongming Zhang, Associate Professor, Chinese Languages and Literature
Charles Hartman (of University at Albany), Professor, East Asian Studies

University of Wisconsin-Madison

Abstract

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Chairperson of the Supervisory Committee: Professor William H. Nienhauser, Jr.

This dissertation studies Du Fu's poetic artistry in images of gulls, one of the most frequently employed metaphors in his poetry. The introductory chapter points out the importance of imagery and allusions to Du Fu's verse. Chapter one examines the Du Fu's reception and explicates the methodology that will be used in reading Du Fu's poetry. Chapter two then traces the textual history of Du Fu's verse and explains the choice of a base edition. Chapter three examines the history of gull imagery and its relation to landscape-metaphysical poetic traditions, by close reading poems prior to Du Fu. It pinpoints the gulls' philosophical meaning and strong ties to living in seclusion in the Chinese poetic tradition. This chapter lays out the links to the *Chuci* 楚辭 (Songs on the South), and argues that the "roaming motif" started by Qu Yuan 屈原 (B.C.340-B.C.278) serves as an undertone for all these poems. Chapter four then focuses on features of gull imagery of Du Fu's poems, mainly his expansion of its poetic use. It begins with an examination of the subjective use of this imagery by precedent poets, and turns to Du Fu's gull imagery as an autobiographical representation of his changing life, revealing the correspondences between the poet's self-portraits and various characteristics of his gull images. The closing chapter examines three poetic motifs joined to the gull imagery: drinking, farming, and the floating boat. Reading these poems written in the last decade of the poet's life affords an

understanding of Du Fu's discomfort with his reclusion. Although the three motifs seemingly point to a Taoist mode of thinking, a close reading of the gull poems reveals Du Fu's unique attitude towards reclusion differing from other hermit poets, and his reluctance to live secluded as a sojourner far from his homeland.

Two appendixes contain a complete translation of all thirty-nine poems with gull images in Du Fu's corpus and a chronology of Du Fu's life from 758 to 770. This was the period of Du Fu's withdrawal from officialdom and his life in semi-seclusion, as well as the time with most frequent occurrences of gull imagery in Du Fu's compositions.

Table of Contents

	Page
List of Abbreviations	
Introduction	1
Chapter One: The Forming of a Sage	21
Chapter Two: A Textual History of Du Fu's Verse	53
Chapter Three: Gull Imagery and Banished Souls	78
Chapter Four: Gull Imagery: An Autobiographical Representation of Du Fu	107
Chapter Five: Drinking, Farming and the Floating Boat: Motifs Joined to Gull Imagery	133
Conclusions	159
Appendix I: Translations of Du Fu's Poems Featuring Gull Imagery	163
Appendix II: A Chronology of Du Fu's life from 758 to 770	219
Bibliography	233

A List of Abbreviations:

DJXL: Duji xulu 杜集敘錄

Guo: Jiujia jizhu Dushi 九家集注杜詩

HHS: 後漢書

HS: 漢書

JTS: Jiu Tang shu 舊唐書

Jiang Liangfu: Lidai renwu nianli beizhuan zongbiao 歷代人物年里碑傳綜表

Qiu: Dushi xiangzhu 杜詩詳注

QSG: Qing shi gao 清史稿

QTS: Quan Tang shi 全唐詩

XTS: Xin Tang shu 新唐書

SBCK: Si bu cong kan 四部叢刊

SKQS: Wen yuan ge Si ku quan shu 文淵閣四庫全書

SJ: 史記

SS: Song shi 宋史

SYXA: Song Yuan xue'an 宋元學案

Tan Qixiang: Zhongguo lishi ditu ji 中國歷史地圖集

Acknowledgements

First of all, I would like to gratefully and sincerely thank my advisor Professor William H. Nienhauser Jr. for his prudent guidance and support during my years of master and doctoral study. I was fortunate to have the opportunity to come to UW-Madison to start the study of my masters degree right after my graduation from the East China Normal University in Shanghai, and joined the *Shiji* translation group under the supervision of Professor Nienhauser. Since then I was benefited from his profound scholarship and gracious guardianship, which provide me many shortcuts to study a number of genres of classical Chinese literature, including early histories, Tang tales and *shi* poetry. In my doctoral years Professor Nienhauser continues to support my choice of focusing on Tang poetry. He spent hours in reading drafts of this dissertation and provides comments ranging from broad questions to editorial details, which not only greatly contribute to my study of Du Fu, but also is essential to the completion of this dissertation.

My gratitude also goes to Professor Robert Joe Cutter, Professor Tsai-fa Cheng, Professor Nicole Huang and Professor Hongming Zhang whoes instruction during my pre-candidate years help pave my way of conducting serious research. I am grateful to Professor Rnia Huntington and Professor Charles Hartman for providing comments on the translations of various poems and the broad questions of my thesis. Professor Munlenbeld's provision of insights to various Daoist and Buddhist texts and related questions is also unforgettable.

I owe special thanks to Professor Liu Yangzhong in Chinese Academy of Social Science, Professor Zhang Zhonggang in Shandong University, Professor Zhao Minli in the Capital Normal University to provide their expertise related to various problems of this dissertation. I am

also indebted to Professor Satō Kōichi in Waseda University, who were kind enough to send me materials which I had no access to.

Last, but not least, I would love to thank my parents for their understanding and love during the past few years. Their unfailing support has given me the much-needed impetus to continue this research. They also receive my deepest gratitude for their faith in me.

Introduction

The study of “imagery” in Chinese literary history opens new aspects of literary criticism. This approach was neglected in traditional studies of Chinese poetry, and came to the forefront only with Pauline Yu’s seminal study, *The Reading of Imagery in the Chinese Poetic Tradition*.¹ The three implications of the word “imagery” start with the most holistic and religious view. The following passage from one of the most archaic philosophical works in Chinese, the *Book of Change* provides a starting point for our discussion.

When in ancient times Lord Bao Xi ruled the world as sovereign, he looked upward and observed the images in heaven and looked downward and observed the models that the earth provided. He observed the patterns on birds and beasts and what things were suitable for the land. Nearby, adopting them from his own person, and afar, adopting them from other things, he thereupon made the eight trigrams in order to become thoroughly conversant with the virtues inherent in the numinous and the bright and to classify the myriad things in terms of their true, innate natures.

古者包牺氏之王天下也，仰則觀象於天，俯則觀法於地，觀鳥獸之文與地之宜，近取諸身，遠取諸物，於是始作八卦，以通神明之德，以類萬物之情。²

This short passage from the *Book of Change* demonstrates the origin of hexagrams and the aim to create change. It is not difficult to discern in this passage that hexagrams were created to represent all kinds of things and laws in the world. They are a reflection of the world through human cognition. Although this understanding is not achieved through language, it marks the most primitive stage of imagery.

The second dimension of “imagery” is much more related to this topic in literary studies. It also comes from the *Book of Change*. The passage reads,

¹ Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989.

² Cf. Zhou Zhenfu 周振甫 (1911-2000), *Zhouyi Yizhu* 周易譯注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991), p.257. Here I use the translation rendered by Richard John Lynn in *The Classic of Changes* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), p.77.

The Master said: “Writing does not exhaust words and words donot exhaust ideas. If this is so, does this mean that the ideas of the sages cannot be discerned?” The Master said, “The sages established images in order to express their ideas exhaustively.”

子曰：“書不盡言，言不盡意。然則聖人之意，其不可見乎？”子曰：“聖人立象以盡意。”³

This passage shows the importance of language in establishing imagery. However, language itself or its signifier function cannot fully convey meaning. Only by way of association can meaning be revealed, thus the sages apply images to achieve their goals. Though these lines reveal the highest aesthetic conception of traditional Chinese poetry, they focus on the philosophical dimension of the imagery by saying that the “sages” always convey their meanings by setting up images.

Throughout history, this utilitarian view dominated literary writings. It was only in the Wei-Jin 魏晉 period, when literati began to promote the status of literature as a special skill that the third dimension of imagery emerged. After more than two hundred years of literary practice since Wei-Jin period, Chinese literati started theorization in their literary-critical works. In the seminal study of literary criticism, *Wenxin diaolong* 文心雕龍 [The Literary Mind and Carving of Dragons], Liu Xie 劉勰 (465-520) writes,

It is only then that he commissions the “mysterious butcher” [who dwells within him] to write in accordance with musical patterns; and it is then that he sets the incomparably brilliant “master wheelwright” [who dwells within him] to wield the ax in harmony with his intuitive insight. This, in short, is the foremost step in the art of writing, and the main principle employed in the planning of a literary piece.⁴

使玄解之宰，尋聲律而定墨；獨照之匠，窺意象而運斤，此蓋取文之首術，謀篇之大端。⁵

This third dimension comes very close to modern interpretations of imagery. It is one of the most significant poetic artistic devices, especially when it appears in classical Chinese poetry This shows

³ Cf. Zhou Zhenfu 周振甫 (1911-2000), *Zhouyi Yizhu* 周易譯注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991), p.250. Translation rendered by Richard John Lynn in *The Classic of Changes*, *ibid*, p.67.

⁴ This translation is based on Vincent Yu-chung Shih's rendition with a slight revision. Cf. *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), p. 155.

⁵ Cf. “Shensi 神思,” *Wenxin diaolong jiaozhu* 文心雕龍校注 (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), 6.195.

that only by means of employing imagery and following a musical pattern, are writers able to master the art of poetry. This principle has been proved true in later poetic writings from the time of Liu Xie on. With minimal syntax used in verse, traditional Chinese poets often juxtapose images in their poems, and this combined imagery will often render a meaning through readers' perception. Therefore, Chinese literary scholars for centuries emphasize that the most important artistry in composing a poem is to have meaning beyond the words 言有盡，意無窮.

The higher level of Chinese imagery is therefore not only literary artistry, but also the basis of the philosophical representations of poets' understanding of the world. In other words, to appreciate classical Chinese poetry, we neither regard imagery as a mere technical device, nor as an artistic statement of emotions, but rather the key to examining the embedded personalities and profound thoughts of the poet. Du Fu is one of the few poets in Chinese literary history who mastered the full dimensions of imagery in his poetry. His verse often reflects the poet's quest for sublime morality, as the first dimension of imagery aims to achieve. For this reason, he is addressed as the "Shi sheng" 詩聖 [sage of poetry].

The complexity of the implications of imagery in Du Fu's poetics also lies in his ability to develop the systematical use of a single image as a parallel to changes in his life. Du Fu excels at applying animal images in his poetry, including horses and various birds. These images in a certain sense reflect Du Fu's selves in different stages of his life. Among these different animals, gull imagery dominates the verse of Du Fu's late years: thirty-eight poems in total contain this image. In his compositions, Du Fu applies gull imagery in a number of poetic sub-genres, from the most conventional landscape poetry and sub-genres closely related to it, to his poems specifically written about acquaintances and friends.

Besides his masterful artistry, Du Fu's greatness also finds expression in his concern for the Tang realm and his writings about the chaotic time in which he lived. In his gull poems, Du Fu voiced his worries about the central administration and his concern over the military chaos, either overtly or reflected in overtones. To fully understand a patriotic poet like Du Fu, it is more than necessary to examine the cultural context, especially the contemporary historical background. Furthermore, since gull imagery reflects the self of the poet in the last and most productive thirteen years of his life, it is necessary to investigate what caused Du Fu to withdraw from the central court and why the poet could not realize his ambition at that particular time.

Du Fu and the Historical Context, 758-770

In 757 an event taking place in the center of power in the Tang Empire's court changed Du Fu's life path, that is, the demotion of Fang Guan 房琯 (697-763)⁶ by Emperor Suzong 肅宗 (r.756-762). Alongside Du Fu, the sovereign alienated all other officials with the same political standing as Fang Guan, including Zhang Gao 張鎰 (?-764)⁷ and Yan Wu 嚴武 (725-765).⁸ Du Fu, as an advisor to the emperor, bluntly wrote to defend Fang Guan. Enraging his sovereign, he was first sent to prison and then demoted to a sinecure away from the capital. This unfortunate happening directly led to the poet's reclusion for the rest of his life.

After Du Fu's demotion by Emperor Suzong and his subsequent resignation from the central government, his life can be divided into two primary stages: time spent in Sichuan and time spent post-Sichuan. These two stages can be further divided into four phases: the journey from Long 隴 to Shu 蜀, his life in his thatched house in Chengdu, Sichuan, his secluded farming life in Kuizhou 夔州, and his

⁶ Fang Guan was demoted because Emperor Suzong listened to a scandle and mistakenly regarded him as a supporter to his father, Emperor Xuanzong who was forced by Emperor Suzong to abdicate the throne. For more information, see his biographies in *JTS*, 111.3320-6.

⁷ For more information, see his biographies in *JTS*, 111.3326-8.

⁸ For information on Yan Wu, see his official biography in *JTS*, 117.3395-6.

boat journey to the Chu 楚 area. During these stages in Du Fu's life, although he lived mainly in seclusion, the poet never forgot his sovereign and was often well informed on the political and military news of the country, however, Du Fu only hinted at his worries in his allusive and complex poetic artistry. Besides the close connection between his poems and reality, as a scholar-official seeking the opportunity to serve his sovereign and a recluse who always bore the cares of the state, Du Fu's life was severely impacted by the destiny of the Tang Empire. Therefore, it is of great significance to first examine the historical context of Du Fu's time, especially the last thirteen years most related to this study.

For Du Fu, the An Lushan Rebellion that began in 755 was both an opportunity and a challenge. First, it altered Du Fu's path from a single scholar-official seeking recognition among thousands of other similar people to that of a patriotic official whom Emperor Suzong promoted to be his advisor. However, the poet did not climb the political ladder from this position to assist his sovereign in administration as he had expected. After his promotion, Du Fu was soon involved in the power struggle between Emperor Suzong and his father, Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (r.712-756), and was eventually demoted to a sinecure away from the central court.

It is well-known that the An Lushan Rebellion was the turning point of the Tang Empire from its primacy to a scattered state. Before the rebellion, during his Tianbao 天寶 reign (742-756), Emperor Xuanzong, sparing himself the labor of regulation, only favored two chief ministers, entrusting almost all administrative affairs to them as well as granting them mighty powers. For military affairs, Emperor Xuanzong trusted the barbarian generals and bestowed regional autonomy in both economic and military spheres to them. This usurpation inside and outside the central court eventually led to the An Lushan Rebellion in 755 and Emperor Xuanzong's stepping down from the throne in the following year. This long-lasting rebellion continued for eight years, from 755 to 762, and ended only after the

death of the last rebel commander, Shi Chaoyi 史朝義 (?-763),⁹ though its main force had been sopped by An Qingxu's 安慶緒 (?-759) suicide in 759, the fourth year of Emperor Suzong's reign. The aftermath of this rebellion deeply affected the military and political structures of the Tang Empire until the dynasty's demise a century and a half later.

Alongside the replacement of Emperor Xuanzong by his son, the devolvement of the Zhongshu Sheng 中書省 [the Imperial Secretariat Department] and Mengxia Sheng 門下省 [the Imperial Chancellery Department] previously established by Emperor Taizong 太 (r. 626-649) was interrupted in the formation of the temporary government. The gradual accumulation of military and economic power by the local military commissioners eventually led to tensions with the central court. The political structure within the Tang Empire then changed from a highly centralized government to regional autonomy. This regional autonomy featured the rivalry and challenge of the scattered local political unities to the central authority. The An Lushan Rebellion initiated this and threw a prosperous empire towards its decentralization.

Before the Rebellion, the local executive administration was managed through *Cishi* 刺史 [Prefects].¹⁰ They were civil officials appointed by the central bureaucracy and were responsible only to the central government. No armed forces were at their disposal, except for a small number of guards for maintaining public order. Additionally, due to the complexity of the administration of the permanent frontier government, Emperor Xuanzong appointed civil inspecting commissioners in each province. These inspectors successfully exercised authority over the local government under their jurisdiction. In contrast, the An Lushan Rebellion initiated the decentralization of the military administration.

⁹ Shi Chaoyi was Shi Siming's 史思明 (703-761) eldest son. His father served in An Lushan's army in Pinglu 平盧 and became his ally later in the rebellion. In 758, Shi Siming killed An Lushan's son and enthroned himself as the Emperor of Dayan 大燕. Shi Chaoyi succeeded the throne after he murdered his father. Cf. *JTS*, 200.5376-83.

¹⁰ *Cishi* were governors of prefectures, the normal units of local government. For more information on the prefecture system, see Denis C. Twitchett's discussion in his article, "Varied Patterns of Provincial Autonomy in the T'ang Society," *Essays on T'ang Society: The Interplay of Social, Political and Economic Forces* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), pp. 90-6.

A direct effect of reliance on these commissioners after the rebellion was that the central government lost its control over the appointment of local military governors. In 758, taking the opportunity presented by the death of the Military Commissioner of Pinglu 平盧節度使, local officers established Hou Xiyi 侯希逸 (704-765)¹¹ before the central government was able to make an appointment. However, the central government consented to this unauthenticated appointment. The exact reason remains unknown, but given the ongoing military campaign against the rebels in the northeast, it might well be that no suitable commander was available to intervene in this regional turmoil.

This kind of unofficial installation of local military governors often resulted in bloody events initiated by ambitious local officers. In 765, after the death of Yan Wu 嚴武 (726-765), the Military Commissioner of the Eastern and Western Jiannan 劍南東西川節度使, Cui Gan 崔旰, the *Bingma Shi* 兵馬使 [Troops and Horse Commissioner]¹² of Xishan 西山 murdered the new military commissioner in a military coup. In 766 the government sent Du Hongjian 杜鴻漸 (709-769), the Vice Military Commissioner of the Western Jiannan 劍南西川副節度使, to launch an expedition against the rebels. However, the general ended up in diplomatic negotiations with Cui Gan. Eventually, due to his promotion to Governor of Chengdu 成都, Cui Gan sought appeasement. In the end Du Hongjian returned to Chang'an 長安 to recommend that a further promotion, the Military Inspector of the Western Jiannan, be given to Cui Gan. This instance well illustrates the powerlessness of the central government in dealing with regional powers.

¹¹ For more information on him, cf. *JTS*, 124.3533-4.

¹² *Bingma shi* 兵馬使 was a common designation for military officers on duty assignments in troubled frontier zones. The Tang Empire regularly used prefixes such as *Ch'ien chun* 前軍 [Vanguard], *Hou chun* 後軍 [Rearguard] and *Chung-chun* 中軍 [Center Army]. It seems that all forms of *Bingma Shi*'s status are lower in rank than *Jiangjun* 將軍 [Generals], cf. Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, p.383.

The usurping power of military officers and purges among scholar-officials in the central court had a great influence on the scholars' life as an official. Before this turmoil-filled era, scholars could achieve success in a career as an official through a variety of ways.¹³ However, in the time of turmoil their career success largely depended on their association with the military frontiers due to the state's urgent military needs and the usurping of aristocratic privilege in the central court. Another effect that the An Lushan Rebellion had on the Tang Empire's political structure was the official breakdown of the balance between military officers and civil administrative officials. Years before the An Lushan Rebellion, the favor granted to military officers by the emperor allowed them more honor than civil officials. An Lushan and Geshu Han 哥舒翰 (?-757)¹⁴ were both bestowed the title of prince, respectively in 750 and in 753. This favor shown to mighty military officers became more visible in years after the An Lushan Rebellion.

Hanshi 寒士 [scholars from low-level families], who could not avail themselves of the support of powerful political networks, as opposed to aristocrats and successors of high-ranking officials, did not have the privilege of entering the bureaucratic system via family ties.¹⁵ They had to rely on either the examination or recognition from powerful friends. In order to weaken the tension between the limited number of administrative positions and the large amount of scholars who entered the officialdom, the Tang Empire's central government designed a complex examination procedure to select capable officials. Beyond that a huge difficulty also lies in selecting among scholars who passed examination. These examination graduates had to take further specialized examinations in order to be

¹³ Scholars had to take one of the examinations held by *Libu* 禮部 [the Ministry of Rites], eg. *Jinshi* 進士 or *Mingjing* 明經. After passing the examination, they wait to be selected for appointment to a post in officialdom. For more detailed information on the examination system in the Tang Empire, cf. Rotours, Robert Des. *Le Traite des Examens*. Paris: Librairie Earnest Leroux, 1932 and Wang Xuncheng 王勳成. *Tangdai quanxuan yu wenxue* 唐代銓選與文學. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2001.

¹⁴ For more information, see his biographies in *JTS*, 104.3211-6.

¹⁵ Only successors of the fifth-ranking officials and those above could have the privilege of entering the officialdom through family ties. Those who came from the family of ranks below the fifth had little privilege and often had to take the examination in order to enter the officialdom. For more detailed information, cf. Wu Zongguo 吳宗國, *Tangdai keju zhidu yanjiu* 唐代科舉制度研究 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2010), pp.12-8.

given a position in the bureaucratic apparatus. This difficulty prolonged the intervals between passing the examination and starting a career as an official. Many candidates, therefore, before entering officialdom, resorted to building associations with powerful officials to secure their recommendation.

In this context, presenting literary compositions was an effective way to gain the recognition of powerful friends. The special favor toward fine literary compositions by the Tang Empire's imperial family provided scholars plenty of opportunities to showcase their work at banquets. Almost every scholar who desired to enter officialdom had an opportunity to attend banquets held by royal family members. Du Fu also acquainted himself with Prince Ruyang 汝陽¹⁶ and composed poems to ask for recommendation. Taking more aggressive steps, Du Fu presented rhapsodies on three rituals in 750 and a rhapsody on the *Fengshan* 封禪 Ritual in 753 to Emperor Xuanzong. By directly addressing the imperial need for scholars who were well-versed in rituals, these attempts helped him gain recognition from his sovereign. However, the honor Emperor Xuanzong granted Du Fu was no more than giving him a chance to be tested in literary composition by officials from Jixian Yuan 集賢院 [College of Assembled Worthies], one of the imperial colleges designed for the purpose of maintaining and promoting historical writings.¹⁷ Compared to Du Fu's own ambition and the parallel case of his contemporaries, this recognition from the emperor, although a great honor, had little influence on his promotion as an official.

The more successful scholar-officials established their careers through contacts with military frontiers. One type of these scholar-officials established themselves as military commanders during the

¹⁶Prince Ruyang was Li Jin 李璿. He was the eldest son of Li Chengqi 李成器, the elder brother of Emperor Xuanzong. Li Chengqi gave up his position as the heir apparent in favor of Xuanzong. This action helped Li Longji 李隆基, also known as Emperor Xuanzong, a great deal in his battle against Princess Taiping 太平. For this reason, Emperor Xuanzong always showed the highest respect to Li Chengqi and bestowed special favors to him and his family members. Li Jin was a patron of many famous literati, including He Zhizhang 賀知章 (659-744). He was also described as one of the Eight Gods of Wine in Du Fu's "Yin zhong baxian ge" 飲中八仙歌. Cf. Qiu Zhao'ao 仇兆鰲, *Du shi xiang zhu* 杜詩詳注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), p.82. For more detailed information on Li Chengqi and Li Jin, see *JTS*, 95.3009-14.

¹⁷ For the function of this academy, see David McMullen's discussion in *State and Scholars in T'ang China* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 15-16.

turmoil from 755 to 763. Yan Zhenqing 顏真卿 (709-785), the Governor of Pingyuan 平原, mobilized ten thousand soldiers to defend the city.¹⁸ Foreseeing An Lushan's rebellion, he had previously prepared enough supplies and acted swiftly in response to the urgent crisis. Yan Wu, Du Fu's patron in Sichuan 四川, was also a model of military merits. He became the Military Commissioner of Jiannan 劍南節度使 in 764 due to his successful defense from attacks by Tibetans. Although he held one of the most honorable civil official titles, the Vice President of Chancellery, his real career was based solely on the defensive bulwark in Sichuan.

The other way to gain success was to become the retainer of powerful military officers. Gao Shi's 高適 (706-765) career provides a good example.¹⁹ In 753 Gao Shi paid homage to Geshu Han, the powerful Turkish commander who was favored by Emperor Xuanzong. He immediately obtained this general's favor via their common interest in Buddhism and became his secretary on the Longyou 隴右 frontier. Gao Shi's career success later highly depended on Geshu Han's recommendation and court association. In 754 Geshu Han recommended him to an official position and praised him in front of Emperor Xuanzong. Geshu Han was defeated in the Tong Pass in 754 because Yang Guozhong forced him to take the wrong military action. After Geshu Han was captured, Gao Shi went to see the fleeing emperor to explain Geshu Han's failure. Emperor Xuanzong accepted his opinions and bestowed on him an advisor position. Later in the rebellion, even Emperor Suzong consulted him on the military situation. In his later years, he was constantly sent to frontiers to pacify rebellions and foreign invasions.

In such years of turmoil court politics did not cease after Yang Guozhong's death. The struggle deepened in complexity with Emperor Xuanzong and his successor, Emperor Suzong. Since the latter usurped the former by taking his throne during Emperor Xuanzong's journey to seek refuge in Sichuan,

¹⁸For the account of this event, cf. *JTS*, 128.3589-90.

¹⁹For information on Gao Shi, see his biographies in *JTS*, 111.3328-31.

Emperor Suzong immediately faced the question of the legitimacy of his authority as well as tension with Emperor Xuanzong whom he forced to step down in 756. Five months after Emperor Suzong established himself, his brother, Li Lin 李璘,²⁰ who led frontier troops, challenged his authority by trying to establish his own court. This rebellion was pacified, but it suggested Emperor Suzong's unstable position. Although Emperor Xuanzong sent his chief ministers to officially relinquish his throne to his son, Emperor Suzong could not fully trust the ministers in place under his father.

The demotion of Fang Guan 房琯 (697-763) revealed Emperor Suzong's fear of potential rivalry. Fang Guan was one of the three subjects sent by Emperor Xuanzong to acknowledge Emperor Suzong's installment. Emperor Suzong appointed him as his own chief minister. Hearing later that Fang Guan favored other royal siblings, Emperor Suzong demoted him as well as officials who held the same political standing with him, including Jia Zhi 賈至 (718-772), Du Fu and Yan Wu.²¹

Du Fu's demotion illustrates the complicated political environment in the central court and the difficulty entailed in seeking a successful career in such chaotic circumstances for a scholar-official trained in the Confucian tradition. Since the late years of Emperor Xuanzong's court featured the strong dictatorship of its' chief ministers, officials could not be selected solely based on their merit. People were devoted to advancing personal interests rather than the interests of state affairs, therefore, ambitious scholars who saw problems and wanted to restore the order found themselves useless in the central court. Before the Rebellion, officials could either join Li Linfu and Yang Guozhong's faction or be cashiered in court. Yet the military needs of the frontiers during the Rebellion gave the scholars some hope of establishing themselves. The increasing power of local military governors and the

²⁰Li Lin was the sixteenth son of Emperor Xuanzong. His mother died when he was young; thus his brother, Emperor Suzong, raised him. For more information, see his biographies in *JTS*, 107.3264-5 and in *XTS*, 82.3611-3.

²¹Du Fu had befriended Fang Guan since both were young scholars. After hearing of Fang Guan's demotion, Du Fu wrote bluntly to defend him, and his behaviors enraged Emperor Suzong, who thought Du Fu did this because of his personal relationship with Fang Guan. Reasons for Fang Guan and other officials' demotion are further discussed in Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019-1086), *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 (Beijing: Guji chubanshe, 1956), 219.7002.

emperor's favor toward them encouraged many scholars, like Gao Shi and Cen Shen 岑參 (715-770) to become retainers or personal assistants to military commissioners. However, for a Confucian scholar like Du Fu, the An Lushan Rebellion and its aftermath completely shut the door to his successful career as an official. After the Fang Guan scandal, the poet was forced to leave the central court. Realizing the ending of his political life, he decided to take his family to Sichuan to live in seclusion. From then on, Du Fu started a new chapter of his life: living semi-secluded away from the central court, concentrating more on his inner-self, and writing poems.

However, the instability of the political and military situations of the Tang Empire continued to affect his life. During his stay in Sichuan, he encountered Xu Zhidao's 徐知道 (?-762) rebellion²² and was stranded in Mian 綿 Prefecture, about eighty miles northeast of Chengdu 成都, and then Zi 梓 Prefecture, about sixty miles northeast of Chengdu, for more than a year. Other than this combat, foreseeing the disorder caused by Yan Wu's death, Du Fu took his family and left Sichuan to sail down the Yangtze River in 765. In 770 on his way back to the capital in the north, Du Fu took a rout in the opposite direction to Leiyang 耒陽²³ to escape the chaos aroused by Zang Jie's 臧玠 usurpation of the military power in Hunan 湖南,²⁴ and finally died on his journey. Therefore, unlike Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 (365-427), Du Fu never truly took delight in the peacefulness of his secluded life. He always cared about the political struggles taking place in the central court and military turmoil all over the country.

²² In the seventh month of 762, Xu Zhidao, the Troops and Horse Commissioner of Jiannan, rebelled in Sichuan. He led his troops to resist Yan Wu in strategic points. As a result, Yan Wu's troop could not advance. However, this rebellion ended up with Xu Zhidao's death (he was killed by his subordinate, Li Zhonghou 李忠厚) in the eighth month. Cf. Chen Yixin 陳貽焮 (1924-2000), *Du Fu Pingzhuan* 杜甫評傳 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2003), 2:657.

²³ Lei Yang was located about 120 miles south of modern Changsha, see Tan Qixiang 譚其驤 (1911-1992), *Zhongguo lishi dituji* 中國歷史地圖集 (Beijing: Zhongguo ditu chubanshe, 1982), 5:38-9.

²⁴ In the fourth month of 770, Zang Jie 臧玠, Hunan Bingma Shi 湖南兵馬使 [the Troops and Horse Commissioner of Hunan] killed Cui Guan 崔瓘, Hunan Guancha Shi 湖南觀察使 [the Inspector Commissioner of Hunan]. Cf. Chen Yixin 陳貽焮 (1924-2000), *Du Fu Pingzhuan* 杜甫評傳 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2003), 3:1143.

His concerns for the realm and despair over not being able to return to his hometown are either hinted at or expressed overtly through his verses.

Biological Features of Gulls and Their Distribution Areas in China²⁵

Belonging to the family *Laridae*, gulls are heavily built, web-footed seabirds, and are most abundant as breeders in the Northern Hemisphere. Among more than forty species, about three fourths of them inhabit regions with cold weather conditions. Most gull species are migratory, moving to warmer habitats during the winter. Those nesting inland usually go to coasts in winter.

Adult gulls are typically medium to large birds, mainly gray or white, with variable head markings. They usually have harsh wailing or squawking calls, stout, longish bills and webbed feet. In breeding season the head is either pure white or solidly black, gray or brown; it becomes streaked or smudgy in winter. The bill is strong and slightly hooked, showing, in some species, a spot of color. Bill and leg colors help to distinguish species, as do wing patterns. Gulls scavenge for food, taking insects, mollusks, and crustaceans on beaches; worms and grubs in plowed fields; and fish and garbage from ships and along shores. Some of the larger gulls prey on the eggs and young of other birds.

In addition to taking a wide range of prey, gulls display great versatility in how they obtain prey. It can be obtained in the air, on water, or on land. In the air a number of hooded species are able to catch insects on the wing; larger species perform this feat more rarely. Gulls in flight will also snatch items both off water and off the ground, and over water they will also plunge-dive to catch prey. Dipping is common when birds are sitting on the water, and gulls may swim in tight circles or foot paddle to bring marine invertebrates up to the surface. Food is also obtained by searching the ground, often on the shore among sand, mud or rocks. Larger gulls tend to do more feeding in this way.

²⁵ Cf. *Zhongguo dongwu zhi* 中國動物志 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2006), pp. 406-562 and *The New Encyclopedia of Birds* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp.258-63.

Gulls are generally monogamous and colonial breeders that display mate fidelity that usually lasts for the life of the pair. Divorce of mated pairs does occur, but it apparently has a cost that persists for a number of years after the break up. In some species, such as the kittiwake, divorce usually occurs among inexperienced birds, and individuals will seek a new mate if the existing pair-bond proves unfruitful. Gulls also display high levels of site fidelity, returning to the same colony after breeding there once and even usually breeding in the same location within that colony. As the breeding season approaches, gulls typically assemble in large, dense colonies, frequently reclaiming their nest site of the previous year. Many species breed on cliff ledges or atop coastal islands, while inland species often seek the safety of a marsh. *Haiou* 海鷗 (Common Gull) may build their nests on the stump or fork of a tree up to thirty-three feet above the ground, also commonly on stonewalls and buildings. In keeping with their growing use of man's domain, *Yinou* 銀鷗 (Herring Gull) also favor rooftops, chimney stacks and other buildings.

China has a large number of *Laridae* inhabiting both inland and coastal areas, including fourteen species of gull breeding in China. Among them, four species either inhabit or migrate to the Chengdu area and the area along the Yangtze River, places which Du Fu lived in or traveled to. The Common Gull is the most distributed species among the four. They migrate in the winter to the large regions of North China, Central China, East China, South China and Southwest China. The distribution area covers the entire Yangtze River basin from its headstream to the estuary. Another species which can be found in this region is the Herring Gull, who migrate from Inner Mongolia and Xinjiang 新疆 Province to Northeast China, the area north of the Yellow River, Shandong 山东 Province, Jiangsu 江苏 Province, the area south of the Yangtze River and Eastern Yunnan 云南 Province. Herring gulls also inhabit the Chengdu area during the winter. *Heiwei ou* 黑尾鷗 (Black-tailed Gull), similar to the *Haiou* 海鷗 in its shape, can be found in Yueyang 岳陽 in Hunan 湖南 Province. *Hongzuiou* 紅嘴鷗 (Black-

headed Gull), another species with a large area of distribution, can also be found in Hunan Province.

Literature Review and The Need for this Research

Two kinds of studies are closely related to this research on Du Fu's gull imagery. The first are the biographical studies of Du Fu's life based on reading his verse. Among these studies, William Hung, Chen Yixin 陳貽焮 (1924-2000) and David McCraw's books concentrate on the later years of Du Fu's life. Although *Tu Fu: China's Greatest Poet*²⁶ by William Hung and *Du Fu pingzhuan* 杜甫評傳²⁷ by Chen Yixin essentially reconstruct the entire life path of the poet through reading his poems, the majority of these two work overlap the period this study covers, because most of Du Fu's preserved poems were written after his withdrawal from the central court. The benefit of Chen Yixin's book also lies in the historical background delineated in monthly events, provided before his readings of Du Fu's poems. Due to the close connection of Du Fu's verse to reality, this detailed history significantly helps readers to understand the poet's emotions and thoughts. However, this approach makes it harder to comment on the artistry of Du Fu's poetics in a systematical way.

It is David McCraw's book, *Du Fu's Laments from the South*,²⁸ which not only delineates Du Fu's life, but also explicates his poems in different genres. He divided Du Fu's life after 758 and writings into three major stages: "The Sichuan poems," "Du Fu in Kuizhou" and "His Southern Journey." In this book the author also breaks the barrier of reading Du Fu's poems following his life path so that he can go into detailed literary analysis of poems written in different occasions, for particular reasons, or about specific sceneries and expressing certain moods.

²⁶ Hung, William. *Tu Fu: China's Greatest Poet*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952.

²⁷ Chen Yixin 陳貽焮 (1924-2000). *Du Fu Pingzhuan* 杜甫評傳. Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2003.

²⁸ Cf. McCraw, David R. *Du Fu's Laments from the South*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1992.

If David McCraw's work, a transition from the traditional biographical study of Du Fu to the study of the art of his poems, belongs to the category of macro-analysis of Du Fu, the second kind of academic works related to my dissertation concentrate on examining imagery in Du Fu's verse. In 2005, Ye Jiaying 葉嘉瑩 published an article, "The Application of Imagery in Realistic Depictions of Du Fu's Verse."²⁹ This article pinpoints that the specialty of Du Fu's application of imagery lies in his ability to embed his emotions and thought in the images in a natural way. He is not only capable of creating images, he but also understands the difference between artificiality and sincerity. Among thousands of traditional Chinese poets, Du Fu belongs to the few who mastered the art of genuineness.

Besides Ye Jiaying's article, Ou Lijuan 歐麗娟 wrote a book on the imagery of Du Fu's poetry. In her book, *Du Fu shi zhi yixiang yanjiu* 杜甫诗之意象研究 [A Study of Imagery of Du Fu's Verse],³⁰ comparing the traditional Chinese and western definitions of imagery and looking at the linguistic features of Du Fu's verse, she analyzes a number of frequently-used images in Du Fu's poems, including bamboo, flower, moon, gull, whale and vulture. In her section on gull imagery, Ou Lijuan points out that the gull reflects changes in Du Fu's life.

Although these two works above are innovative in the study of the imagery used in Du Fu's poems, they neither explicate the development of imagery in the context of literary history, nor answer why Du Fu has been called "the sage of poetry." They also make little effort to examine what contributed to Du Fu's poetic greatness and who helped pave his way. In order to understand the evolution of Du Fu's application of imagery, this dissertation focuses solely on one image, the gull.

Du Fu did not invent gull imagery. It is present in traditional Chinese poetry much earlier than the Tang Empire, which in turn, is most regarded for poems written in the *shi* 詩 genre. As early as in

²⁹ Ye Jiaying 葉嘉瑩, "The Application of Imagery in Realistic Depiction of Du Fu's Verse 杜甫诗在写实中的象喻性," in *Huazhong shifan daxue xuebao renwen sheke ban* 華中師範大學學報人文社科版, 4(2005):75-84.

³⁰ Ou Lijuan 歐麗娟. *Du Fu shi zhi yixiang yanjiu* 杜甫诗之意象研究. Yonghe: Hua Mulan chubanshe, 2008.

Tao Yuanming's poems, the gull appeared in Chinese poets' visions. Later, in the Six Dynasties, poets further applied this particular image to voice their disappointment at and failure in the political sphere, as well as their quest for spiritual freedom. Some poets in that period used the gull to express uneasiness on their journey, to criticize the unfairness of reality or to gain inner appeasement. However, these poets did not consciously develop a systematical use of gull imagery. Instead, the gull for them was a single image by which they occasionally expressed their emotions and thoughts. This situation did not change until the High Tang. It is during this most productive and creative era in the history of *shi* that poets applied gull imagery more frequently. Zhang Jiuling 張九齡 (678-740) in the early stage and Meng Haoran 孟浩然 (689-740) in the primal stage both expanded the application of this imagery, especially in poetry of excursion, landscape poetry, and genres closely related to them.

Besides these two subgenres, gull imagery also appears in other subgenres that reflect the literati's lifestyle, such as *Yanhui shi* 宴會詩 [Poems about Banquets], *Denglin shi* 登臨詩 [Poems of Climbing High] and *Diaowang shi* 悼亡詩 [Poems of Condolences]. In some other genres, for example, *Yongwu shi* 詠物詩 [Songs to Things] and *Yanzhi shi* 言志詩 [Poems of Voicing One's Intention], the poets reveal the literati's inner thoughts and intentions by applying gull imagery. However, no poets prior to Du Fu incorporate gull imagery in all these genres, neither do they achieve the complexity and artfulness that Du Fu obtains. The gull, for Du Fu, is much more than an ornament that occasionally embellishes his verse. It is one of the most frequently occurring images used to disclose his inner emotions and thoughts during the last thirteen years of his life. Therefore, it is of great significance to explicate how the poet uses gull imagery in order to understand the Du Fu who leaves the central court to live in seclusion.

For Du Fu, gulls are beings with character and thought. He not only borrows the sensitive image of gulls from *Lie Zi* 列子,³¹ but also adopts various representations of gulls from many antecedent poets. The white gull image that occurs eight times in his poems is an extension of Chen Zi'ang 陳子昂 (661-702)³² and Li Bai's 李白 (701-762)³³ application of it as a symbol of high morality. The sand gull is first used in Meng Haoran's 孟浩然 (689-740) verse written on a boat journey,³⁴ on which Du Fu's self representation is based. However, Du Fu's greatness lies in his ability to create distinguished imagery from earlier poems. Gulls in his verse are not the cliché used constantly by previous poets; instead Du Fu's use of this image shows a great deal of coherence and variety.

The coherence lies in that, as poetic imagery, Du Fu does not apply it occasionally in his verse; instead, gull images abound in poems composed during the last but most productive thirteen years of his life. This imagery reflects Du Fu's transition from a scholar seeking recognition in the capital, to demotion by Emperor Suzong, then to his life in Sichuan and in Kuizhou, and finally to his boat journey in the lower Yangtze River. During this vagrant life, gulls on many occasions represent the persona of the poet: a persecuted upright official after his demotion, a poet enjoying his peaceful life in the suburb of Chengdu and a wanderer who is constantly concerned about his state in the lower Yangtze River. The poet's spirit as embedded in these different gull images follows the twists and turns of his life. The gull imagery changes from the untamable white gull, to one who is sorrowful from time

³¹ The text in *Lie Zi* 列子 is the locus classicus of gull imagery, cf. Yang Bojun 楊伯峻, *Lie Zi ji shi* 列子集釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2004), 2.67-8. For a discussion of this passage, cf. Chapter Three.

³² Chen Zi'ang 陳子昂 (661-702) inherited this pure symbolic use of gull imagery in the thirtieth poem of his "Gan yu 感遇 [Stirred by My Experience]," Cf. *QTS*, 83.894. In this poem, the white gull symbolizes the cleansed heart and pureness of the poet, cf. Richard M. W. Ho, *Ch'en Tzu-ang: Innovator in T'ang Poetry* (Hongkong: the Chinese University Press, 1993), p. 119-120.

³³ Cf. "Gu feng 古風, the forty-two poem," *QTS*, 161.1679; Li Bai 李白 (701-762), Qu Tuiyuan 瞿蛭園 and Zhu Jincheng 朱金城 ed., *Li Bai ji jiao zhu* 李白集校注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), p.166. For my discussion of the poem, cf. Chapter Four.

³⁴ Cf. "Ye bo Xuancheng jie 夜泊宣城界 [Berthing at Night at the Border of Xuan City]," Tong Peiji 佟培基 annotated, *Meng Haoran shiji jianzhu* 孟浩然詩集箋注 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2000), pp. 191-2.

to time during the relatively peaceful life in Sichuan, then to a depressed spirit while farming in Kuizhou, and finally turns into a weary traveler in the river.

Apart from coherence, Du Fu's application of gull imagery in a total of thirty-nine poems also shows great variety in the poet's selection of literary devices and artistic conception. This variety is first reflected by Du Fu's choices of different subgenres of *shi* for his gull poems. Before the Sichuan period, the poet situates gull images in *gu shi* 古詩 [archaic style poetry], which often is characterized by narration. However, after this stage, Du Fu always applies gull imagery in *lü shi* 律詩 [regulated octaves]. With the change of subgenres, it is not difficult to discern the alteration from allegorical use to lyrical use. In the first four gull poems, composed before Du Fu settled down in Chengdu, the gull is only an abstract symbolic sign through which Du Fu tells his happenings and emotions. It appears as a simile or a metaphor, the meaning of which is usually quite self-evident. The poem, “Du li 獨立 [Standing Alone],”³⁵ composed in 758, is a good case in point. The whole poem is a metaphor for an upright scholar-official who is persecuted by powerful and wicked people. The whiteness of the gulls in that poem represents the cleansed heart and high moral standards held by righteous officials like Du Fu. Although the white gull image in Du Fu's hands develops a certain degree of complexity, for it achieves the coherence of subjectivity in contrast to Li Bai's intrusion of a first person “I”, it still falls into the simple figurative category.

In contrast to the allegorical use of gull imagery in the first four poems, gulls after Du Fu settles down in Chengdu appear more as part of real life scenes or as an animated being in scenery. Sometimes we see a flock of gulls visiting the newly built thatched house by the Huanhua Xi 浣花溪 [Washing-flower Creek],³⁶ other times a white gull floats on the river thinking of his hometown.³⁷ In the Kuizhou

³⁵ Cf. Qiu, 6.495-6. See, Poem Two in Appendix I. For my discussion of this poem, cf. Chapter Four.

³⁶ Cf. “Ke zhi 客至 [The Guest Comes]” in Qiu, 9.793. Poem Nine in Appendix I.

³⁷ Cf. “Yun shan 雲山 [Mountains Overcast by Clouds]” in Qiu, 9.749-50. Poem Eight in Appendix I.

poems the gull changes into a good companion to the poet farming in the fields.³⁸ When Du Fu takes his boat voyage in the Yangtze River we see the spring gulls washing their wings and crying out in front of his solitary boat.³⁹ Without a close reading, these gull images can be passed over as objective depictions of the scenery. It is by Du Fu's extraordinary artistry however, that the gull imagery's symbolic meanings are delicately interwoven into the texture of his poems. Only the most careful readers are able to discern the embedded implication. Du Fu in this phase of his poetic career has already shown himself capable of applying gull imagery with a free pen to incorporate this allegorical, moralistic, and wise image into the lyricism of his poems. This pursuit of high morality and artistic flawlessness are exactly why his admirers in later generations regard Du Fu as a great poet and sage.

³⁸ Cf. "Kuizhou ge shi jueju 夔州歌十絕句 [Songs of Kuizhou, Ten Quatrains]" in Qiu, 15.1305, Poem Twenty-three in Appendix I; "Xingguan Zhang Wang bu daoqishui gui 行官張望補稻畦水歸 [Traveling Official, Zhang Wang, Returns from His Work of Improving the Irrigation of Rice Fields] in Qiu, 19.1645, Poem Twenty-eight in Appendix I.

³⁹ Cf. "Ji Wei Youxia Langzhong 寄韋有夏郎中 [Sent to Wei Youxia, the Chief Secretary of the Merit-examination Bureau]" in 14.1209, Poem Twenty-two in Appendix I.

Chapter One

The Forming of a Sage

The history of Du Fu's reception is an interesting cultural phenomenon: it not only involves a chronological evolution of evaluations of Du Fu, but also different evaluations in different literary contexts in the same period. The controversy about Du Fu's achievements reveals different methodologies traditional literary scholars and historians adopted to assess him. Although the literary approach and its conclusions prevail in modernity, the traditional historians' evaluations had casted magnificent influences on people's reading of Du Fu for a long time.

The image of a sage poet handed down to modern readers comes from the autobiographical readings of Du Fu's verse beginning to gain increasing popularity since the early stage of the Northern Song dynasty (960-1127). Even modern scholars generally approve this approach of studying Du Fu. William Hung regards Du Fu as an icon who exhibits "the widest sympathy and the highest ethical principles."⁴⁰ This comment illustrates a widely accepted view of Du Fu as a moral paragon. His greatness, according to many scholars, lies in the political and social concerns reflected in his poems. Eva Shan Chou states that "very early on, in 748, with no job and no prospects, Du Fu declares himself willing to serve his sovereign as did Yao and Shun, and he repeats this on the eve of the rebellion, this time comparing himself to Chi and Hsieh of antiquity."⁴¹ In old age, he writes of his willingness to die, if only his death could be of any use [to the emperor]."⁴² However, although scholars like Yuan Zhen

⁴⁰ William Hung, *Tu Fu: China's Greatest Poet* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), p.1.

⁴¹ Chi 稷 refers to Hou Ji 后稷, Chou dynasty's ancestor and Hsieh refers to Qi 契, the Shang Empire's ancestor. Eva Shan Chou here talks about Du Fu's famous archaic style poem, "Zi Jing fu Fengxian yonghuai wubaizi 自京赴奉縣詠懷五百字 [Going from the Capital to Fengxian, Singing my Feelings]." For more discussion of this poem, cf. Stephen Owen, *The Great Age of Chinese Poetry: the High T'ang* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), pp. 194-5.

⁴² Eva Shan Chou, *Reconsidering Tu Fu: Literary greatness and Cultural Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 16.

元稹 (779-831)⁴³ and Bai Juyi 白居易 (772-846)⁴⁴ acknowledged Du Fu's poetic talent, few before the Northern Song recognized the unique morality inherent in Du Fu's work, or saw him as “*shi sheng* 詩聖 [the sage of poetry],” as he would later be known.

At that time the evaluation of Du Fu's morality and that of his poetry had been distinct. In various anecdotal writings and his biography in the *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (*Old Tang History*) composed in the Tang and the following Five Dynasties, Du Fu was depicted as a pedantic petty literati-official hindered by unrestrained, naive behavior. Even the *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 (*New Tang History*) completed in the early Northern Song concurred about this moral blemish. It is therefore necessary to explore the reasons behind the fundamental differences between the reading of Du Fu in literary history and in official historiography. To have a better understanding of the nature of these biographies, it is necessary to review modern studies of Tang biographical writings. Many of these were cited in William H. Nienhauser, Jr.'s study of Ouyang Zhan, examining the systems and conventions used by Tang historians as well as their literary sources, many condemned by later historiographers.⁴⁵ This chapter thus intends to shed a new light on the complexity embedded in the reception of Du Fu by investigating the intertwined historical and non-historical factors, which formed his eventual image as a sage poet.

Disputation about Du Fu's Character

⁴³ For Yuan Zhen's comment on Du Fu's poetry, see the epitaph he wrote to Du Fu in Qiu Zhao'ao 仇兆鰲 (1638-1717), *Du shi xiang zhu* 杜詩詳注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), 5: 2236-7.

⁴⁴ As the initiator and the most important promoter of the New Yuefu movement, Bai Juyi recognized Du Fu's poetic achievement and wrote his evaluation in his letter to Yuan Zhen, “Du Fu's poems are the most numerous. Among them thousands of poems can be transmitted. Moreover, they surpass Li Bai's work in the aspects of historical sense from ancient times to the present, their artistry in rhyming and their excellence. 杜詩最多，可傳者千余首。至於貫穿古今，覩縷格律，盡工盡善，又過於李焉。” Cf. “Yu Yuanjiu shu 與元九書 [A Letter to Yuan Zhen, the Ninth in Line],” *Bai shi chang qing ji* 白氏長慶集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1996), pp. 959-66.

⁴⁵ Cf. William H. Nienhauser, “Literature as a Source for Traditional History: The Case of Ou-yang Chan,” *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews*, 12 (Dec., 1990), pp.1-2.

Since the beginning of recorded Chinese history, literature has always retained a strong poetic tradition. Regarded as the soul of Chinese classical literature, poetry is the only literary genre which produced a book categorized as a “Canon 經:” *Shi jing* 詩經 [*The Book of Poetry*]. *The Book of Poetry* demonstrated the fundamental philosophies of Chinese culture, together with other early canonical works, *Yi jing* 易經 [*The Book of Changes*], *Shang shu* 尚書 [*The Book of History*], *Chunqiu* 春秋 [*The Springs and Autumns*], *Li ji* 禮記 [*The Record of Ritual*] and *Yue jing* 樂經 [*The Book of Music*]. Besides the extreme cultural importance of the poetic genre, the explosion of poetry writing came largely as a result of the *jinshi* 進士 examination, which required poetry writing in order to pass in the Tang dynasty. Due to this pragmatic reason, poetry composition became a skill which members of the literati would necessarily learn as a part of their formative education. Among the many educated in poetry, only an exceptional few obtained everlasting fame. Among these exceptional few, Du Fu is said to be “the greatest” by Yuan Zhen 元稹 (779-831),⁴⁶ whose view was later widely accepted by Song literati and generations afterwards.

Truly distinguished from other poets, the artistic merit of Du Fu’s composition owes much to the contemporary full maturity of the *shi* genre, as well as to his efforts in consciously contextualizing his poems and his ability to create sophisticated imagery. After precedent Tang poets’ practices, the prosodic metrics and verbal parrallism in the *wu lü* 五律 [pentasyllabic regulated octaves] and *jue ju* 絕句 [quatrain] had already been formally established at Du Fu’s time. In addition, the *qi lü* 七律 [heptasyllabic regulated octaves] started to emerge in poets’ writings to be the next matured subgenre. For the content of his poetry, Du Fu benefited from the vast life experience he acquired from witnessing the turning point of a great empire. Before Du Fu, no single person in Chinese literary history had been so devoted to perfecting the art of poetic composition, although not completely

⁴⁶ Cf. Yuan Zhen’s comments in “Tang Jianjiao Gongbu Yuanwailang Dujun muximing 唐檢校工部員外郎杜君墓係銘,” in Qiu Zhao’ao, *Dushi xiangzhu* 杜詩詳注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), 5: 2236.

recognized in his own life time. For these reasons, since the Northern Song dynasty literati had compared him to Confucius, and later generations, beginning at the Ming dynasty, admired and praised him as “the sage of poetry.”⁴⁷ In traditional China, the title of a sage could only refer to those who exemplified the ideals of Confucian morality. These were the same moral qualification required of great rulers. The *Analects* recorded Confucius’ definition of a sage as a “person who must meet the criteria of benevolence” and someone who “must be able to establish others before his own establishment and to enlarge others before his own enlargement.”⁴⁸

Before this honorific title was granted to Du Fu, his poetry had already been elevated to the status of historically significant verse. The ending note of his biography in the *New Tang History* commented: “[Du] Fu excelled at telling the events of his time. His design of rhymes was exquisite and intensive, it never fails even for thousand-word compositions. He was called by generations the ‘*shi shi* 詩史 [Poet-historian].’”⁴⁹ Hu Zongyu 胡宗愈 (1029-1094) explicated this title’s cultural

⁴⁷ Qin Guan 秦觀 (1049-1100) was the first to compare Du Fu to a sage, writing, “For poetry composition, Du Zimei indeed accumulated the strengths of all previous poets and composed poems according to his time ... Confucius was the one of a Sage time. Confucius could be said to have obtained the grand accomplishment. Alas, Mr. Du ... was also a person who obtained the grand accomplishment. 杜子美之與詩，實積眾家之長，適其時而已。... 孔子，聖之時者也。孔子之謂集大成。嗚呼，杜氏...亦集詩文之大成者歟。” Cf. “A Discussion of Han Yu 韓愈論” in Xu Peijun 徐培均 annotated, *Huaihai ji* 淮海集箋注 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2010), 22.751-2. 陳獻章 (1428—1500), a famous scholar and educator in Ming dynasty called Du Fu “*shi zhi sheng* 詩之聖” in his poem, “Sui bi 隨筆 [Casual Words],” cf. Chen Xianzhang 陳獻章 (1428-1500), *Chen Baisha ji* 陳白沙集 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991), 5.39. Wang Sishi 王嗣奭 (1566-1648), the author of *Du yi* 杜臆, praised Du Fu’s sageness in his poem “Dreaming of Du Shaoling 夢杜少陵作,” “Qinglian was honored ‘the Immortal of Poetry,’ and our master was honored ‘the Sage of Poetry.’ Unlike an immortal, a recluse lives loftily away from the mud; A sage, living in the mundane world but apart from it, is the most glorious. 青蓮號詩仙，我翁號詩聖。仙如出世人，軒然遠泥濘。在世而出世，聖也斯最盛。” Cf. *Du shi xiang zhu* 杜詩詳注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), 5: 2294.

⁴⁸ Cf. “Yongye 雍也,” 子貢曰: “如有博施於民，而能濟眾，何如？可謂仁乎？”子曰: “何事於仁，必也聖乎！堯舜其猶病諸，夫仁者已欲立而立人，已欲達而達人。能近取譬，可謂仁之方也已。” *Lun yu zhu shu* 論語注疏, in Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764-1849), *Chongkan Songben shisanjing zhushu* 重刊宋本十三經注疏 [Reprinted Edition of the Song print of the Thirteen Annotated Classics], p. 55-2. 1.

Zigong said, “Suppose the case of a man extensively conferring benefits on the people, and able to assist all, what would you say of him? Might he be called perfectly virtuous?” The Master said, “Why speak only of virtue in connection with him? Must he not have the qualities of a sage? Even Yao and Shun were still solicitous about this. Now the man of perfect virtue, wishing to be established himself, seeks also to establish others; wishing to be enlarged himself, he seeks also to enlarge others. To be able to judge of others by what is nigh in ourselves; this may be called the art of virtue.” Trans. by Legge, James, *Confucian Analects*, in *The Chinese Classics* (Hongkong: Hongkong University Press, 1960), 6.30.

⁴⁹ The original text reads, “甫又善陳時事，律切精深，至千言不少衰，世號‘詩史’。” Cf. Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072) and Song Qi 宋祁 (998-1061), *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 201.5738.

connotations in his “Chengdu xinke caotang xiansheng shibei xu 成都新刻草堂先生詩碑序 [Preface to the New Inscription of the Poetry of the Mr. Thatched House in Chengdu],”

The Master was renowned during the Tang dynasty for his poetry. Each of his comings and goings, his actions, rest, toil and leisure, his emotions of grief, joy, worry and happiness, his loyalty, rage, feelings and reactions, his fondness of the worthies and disgust for the evil, all can be seen in his poems. Reading them, we are able to understand his era. Scholars and literati-officials call him the ‘Poet-historian.’”

先生以詩鳴於唐，凡出處去就，動息勞佚，悲歡憂樂，忠憤感激，好賢惡惡，一見於詩。讀之，可以知其世。學士大夫，謂之詩史。⁵⁰

Calling Du Fu’s work “a history in verse” not only indicated the poet’s incomparable literary accomplishment, but also referred specifically to the historical meanings embedded in his poetry.

However, not all critics had a positive reaction to Du Fu’s verse. He was not likely a favored poet during his own life time or even throughout the Tang dynasty. Hu Zongyu’s preface cited above indicates Du Fu’s fame for poetry during the Tang dynasty, but this comment may only reflect a Song admiror’s biased opinion of taking the broad acception of Du Fu’s verse for granted based on the historical records he had access to, or a typical Northern Song elevation of Du Fu and the historical importance of his poetry for the political purpose of advocating the benevolence of the sovereign in order to achieve a shared governance.⁵¹ Although reliable records of Du Fu’s life and other contemporaries’ comments about his verse are still rare, the fact that his poetry was not widely included in the manuscripts of Tang compilers’ anthologies of poetry makes a persuasive argument for his lack of recognition during the Tang.⁵² Christopher Nugent notes that both purposes of composition and lack of printing during the Tang dynasty were factors that could limit the range of poetry circulation. In most cases, poets sent their poems to acquaintances, friends or family members in

⁵⁰ Cf. *Du shi xiang zhu*, 5: 2243.

⁵¹ For a discussion on the political environment of the emphasis of Du Fu’s poetry as “a history in verse” in the Northern Song dynasty, cf. Hartman, Charles, “The Tang Poet Du Fu and the Song Dynasty Literati,” in *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews*, 30 (Dec., 2008), pp.46-56.

⁵² Cf. Xun Jun 徐俊. *Dunhuang shiji canjuan jikao* 敦煌詩集殘卷輯考. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000. In this seminal study of the manuscript transmission of Tang literature, only *You xuan ji* 又玄集 compiled by Wei Zhuang 韋莊 (836-910) in the Five dynasties selected Du Fu’s poems.

privacy, without the goal of wide dissemination in mind. As a means of transmission, the vast majority of copying was done by private individuals for their own use or that of disciples, friends and family.⁵³ Because he lived in poverty for most of his life, Du Fu outlasted most of his friends, and spent most of his productive years far from the political and cultural center of the Tang capital, Chang'an. Therefore, he did not have the luxury that Han Yu 韓愈 (768-824) or Bai Juyi 白居易 (772-846) had, with friends or students to copy and collect his poetry.

Du Fu did not achieve wide-spread fame until the reign of the Northern Song Dynasty (960-1127), long after his death. Although Yuan Zhen 元稹 (779-831) gave an incomparably high evaluation in his epitaph to Du Fu, few appreciated his work, and even less attention had been given to his virtue until Northern Song literati brought it to the forefront of literary discussion. Various anecdotal writings prior to that era, for example, the *Guo shi bu* 國史補 [*The Supplement to Official Histories of the State*],⁵⁴ the *Tang zhi yan* 唐摭言 [*The Picked-up Words of the Tang dynasty*]⁵⁵ and the *Yun xi you yi* 雲谿友議 [*The Befriended Discussions by Mr. Yunxi*],⁵⁶ portrayed Du Fu as a reckless person who completely disregarded social norms. The *Guo shi bu* first recorded Du Fu's offense to Yan Wu with the following account,

Yan Wu had been well-known for his vigorousness and talents in his youth. When he was in charge of the government in Shu, Du Fu once stepped on Yan Wu's desk with his bare feet. [Yan] Wu adored Du Fu's talents, in the end he did him no harm.

⁵³ Cf. Christopher Nugent's discussion of the written transmission of poetry and the copying practices during the Tang, "The Circulation of Poetry in Tang dynasty China," (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 2004), pp.100-158.

⁵⁴ This book, written by Li Zhao 李肇 (fl. 806-820), recorded the history from Kaiyuan reign (713-741) to Changqing reign (821-824) in the Tang dynasty. Regarded as anecdotal writing which supplements the official histories, it is useful for understanding the social customs and ritual systems of that period. This book recorded Du Fu's reckless behavior during his official post in Yan Wu's government in Sichuan. The above anecdote must have circulated for decades before the appearance of Li Zhao's book. Cf. Li Zhao, the *Guo shi bu* 國史補, in the *Tang Wudai biji xiaoshuo daguan* 唐五代筆記小說大觀 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2000), 1:167.

⁵⁵ This *biji* 筆記 was composed by Wang Dingbao in the Five Dynasties and included many anecdotes about poetry. Wang Dingbao included Du Fu under the category of "Jiu shi 酒失 [Misdeeds after Excessive Drinking]" and "Zi fu 自負 [Egotism]," cf. Wang Dingbao 王定保 (870-954), Jiang Hanchun 姜漢椿 ed., *Tang zhi yan* 唐摭言 (Shanghai: Shanghai kexueyuan chubanshe, 2003), 12. 261 and 12.272.

⁵⁶ *Yun xi you yi* 雲谿友議 was compiled by Fan Lu 范摅 in the Five Dynasties. Cf. *Tang Wudai biji xiaoshuo daguan* 唐五代筆記小說大觀 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2000), 2:1269-70.

嚴武，少以強俊知名。蜀中坐衙，杜甫袒跣登其機案，武愛其才，終不害。

Tang zhi yan and *Yun xi you yi* both elaborated on this anecdote about the interactions between Du Fu and Yan Wu. Later, Du Fu's biography in the *Old Tang History* inherited this idea of an innate moral blemish in his character, and directly took the materials from these *biji* 筆記 writings without considering their credibility.

What is even more striking to modern readers is the *New Tang History*'s disapproval of Du Fu's character. Completing in 1060 by Ouyang Xiu and Song Qi 宋祁 (998-1061), this official history should have represented the Northern Song favorable evaluation on Du Fu. In contrast, it agrees with the assessment of the previous anecdote writers and historians. Therefore, Du Fu's biography in the *New Tang History* can be regarded as a landmark in the history of Du Fu's reception, for the controversy it represents between the political and personal standards.

Reliable Accounts of Du Fu before Official Histories

A number of unofficial historical records of Du Fu, including biographical accounts and anecdotal writings, are available from the time before his biographies appeared in official histories. Among the various sources only two trustworthy accounts were transmitted to modern readers. They begin with a concise biographical summary in the "Du Gongbu xiaoji xu 杜工部小集序 [Preface to an Uncompleted Anthology of Mr. Du, a Vice Director in the Ministry of Works]" written by Fan Huang 樊晃 (fl. 713-741).⁵⁷ As the first one who cared to compile an anthology of Du Fu's poetry, Fan Huang hinted at his esteem of the poet and the painful mourning of his death. The preface reads,

Du Fu, Councillor of the Ministry of Works, style Zimei, was a grandson of [Du] Shenyan, Vice Director of the Catering Bureau. In the first year of Zhide reign (765), he was appointed Left Reminder. He made a forthright remonstrance which disobeyed the sovereign's decree. He was demoted and became an official wandered in the area of Long

⁵⁷ No biographies on Fan Huang appeared in either the *Old Tang History* or the *New Tang History*.

and Shu in poverty for about ten years. When Yan Wu, the Vice President of the Imperial Chancellery Department was the head of Shu garrisons, the gentleman was an honored member of his staff. As a white haired attendant, he was treated with the courtesy of a guest. Because of his friend's demise, Du Fu headed east to return to Jiangling. Alas! How tragic it was that he could only drift along the River Xiang and Ruan, and was not able to go home!

工部員外郎杜甫，字子美，膳部員外郎審言之孫。至德初，拜左拾遺，直諫忤旨，左轉，薄遊隴蜀，殆十年矣。黃門侍郎嚴武總戎全蜀，君為幕賓，白首為郎，待之客禮。屬契闊湮阨，東歸江陵，緣湘沅而不返，痛矣夫！⁵⁸

Fan Huang was a contemporary of Du Fu who also composed poetry: the poetry anthology *Guoxiu Ji* 國秀集 compiled by Rui Tingzhang, 芮挺章 selected one poem from Fan Huang.⁵⁹ He passed the *Jinshi* examination under the Kaiyuan reign of the Emperor Xuanzong (713-741). The modern scholar Yu Xianhao 郁賢皓 noted that Fan Huang was appointed the Prefect of Ting 汀 prefecture during the Tianbao reign (742-756).⁶⁰ The year Fan Huang noted for Du Fu's official appointment by the Emperor Suzong in 756 which was declared by "*zhide chu* 至德初" and the ten-year period beginning at this appointment and ending up with his reclusive years in the territory of Long and Shu correspond with the current consensus.⁶¹ For these reasons, Fan Huang's words on Du Fu can be taken as a concise but reliable biographical source for the study of the poet. Fan Huang also recorded three major events in Du Fu's life: his demotion by the Emperor Suzong, his appointment in Yan Wu's Sichuan

⁵⁸ This anthology compiled by Fan Huan was not transmitted to the present. However, this preface has been attached in many later anthologies of Du Fu's poetry. Cf. Qiu Zhao'ao 仇肇鰲 (1638-1717), *Du shi xiang zhu* 杜詩詳注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), 5: 2237.

⁵⁹ See Fan Huang's poem, "Nan zhong gan huai 南中感懷" in Rui Tingzhang 芮挺章, *Guo xiu ji* 國秀集, in *Tang ren xuan Tang shi* 唐人選唐詩 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1978), p.183.

⁶⁰ Cf. Yu Xianhao 郁賢皓, *Tang ci shi kao* 唐刺史考 (Huaiyin: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1987), 154.1937.

⁶¹ Many chronicles of Du Fu agree with Fan Huang's dating of these two events. Cf. Qian Qianyi 錢謙益 (1582-1664), "Shaoling xiansheng nianpu 少陵先生年譜," *Qian zhu Du shi* 錢注杜詩 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1979), pp.716-36; Qiu Zhao'ao, "Du Gongbu nianpu 杜工部年譜," *Du shi xiang zhu* 杜詩詳注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), pp.11-19; Pu Qilong 浦起龍 (1679-1762), "Shaoling biannian shi mupu 少陵編年詩目譜," *Du Du xin jie* 讀杜心解 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1961), pp.19-22. Wen Yiduo 聞一多 (1899-1946), *Shaoling xiansheng nianpu huijian* 少陵先生年譜匯箋, in *Tang shi za lun* 唐詩雜論 (Wuhan: Wuhan daxue chubanshe, 2008), pp.32-82; *Du Fu nian pu* 杜甫年譜. Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1958.

government and his leaving of Sichuan for Jiangling. In Fan Huang's interpretation, Du Fu was demoted because his honest advice had offended the sovereign. Five methods of remonstrance by a loyal subject were delineated in *Kong Zi jia yu* 孔子家語: *zhijian* 直諫 [forthright remonstrance], *juejian* 譎諫 [tactful remonstrance], *zhuangjian* 戇諫 [blunt remonstrance], *jiangjian* 降諫 [remonstrance with a pleasant countenance], *fengjian* 風諫 [satirical remonstrance].⁶² This book advises officials to choose the best from these five strategies with a careful consideration of the character of the lord being served. By using *zhijian* 直諫 [forthright remonstrance] to describe Du Fu's request to the Emperor, Fan Huang was hinting at his acclaim of Du Fu's honesty and loyalty and his regret of Du Fu's unwise choice of strategy.

The next credible early account was the epitaph Yuan Zhen wrote upon the request of Du Fu's grandson, Du Siye 杜嗣業 (ca.780-?). Being a Tang literati, Yuan Zhen supplemented Du Fu's life in his epitaph with more genealogical detail and the events of the poet's early life prior to serving Emperor Suzong. However, without Fan Huang's advantage of being Du Fu's contemporary, Yuan Zhen was less informed as to the exact dates and chose to neatly gloss over them in his account. In spite of the vague dating, all the other information, such as the names of Du Fu's ancestors and the official positions he held, are provided in detail. This epitaph, too, shows a favorable attitude towards Du Fu,

The Surname of the Marquis Cheng of Dangyang in Jin Dynasty was Du. One of his tenth-generation descendants gave birth to Yiyi, who governed the Gong County. Yiyi gave birth to Shenyan, and Shenyan, excelling at composing poetry, held the highest official position as the Vice Director of the Catering Bureau. Shenyan gave birth to Xian, and Xian gave birth to Fu. Xian was the Governor of Fengtian County. Fu's style name was Zimei. During the Tianbao reign (742-756), he presented the "Rhapsodies for the Three Grand Rituals." Emperor Xuanzong marvelled at them, and ordered his Chief Ministers to test Du Fu's

⁶² Cf. "Bian zheng 辯政," in the fourteenth chapter of *Kong Zi jia yu* 孔子家語 (Kaifeng: Henan daxue chubanshe, 2008), p. 167. Scholars used to regard *Kong Zi jia yu* as a falsified work, however, the bamboo slips discovered from the Han cemeteries in Dingzhou 定州 in modern Hebei 河北 and Fuyang 阜陽 in Anhui 安徽 both prove the existence of this book, which is now widely regarded as a significant source for the study of Confucianism for its importance, cf. Li Xueqin 李學勤. *Jian bo yi ji yu xue shu shi* 簡帛佚籍與學術史. Nanchang: Jiangxi jiaoyu chubanshe, 2001.

writing. His writing was excellent, and the emperor appointed him to be the Storehouse Keeper of the Right Guard Command of the Heir-apparent's Palace. When the capital was in turmoil, Du Fu walked to the temporary palace and was appointed to be the Left Reminder. A year or so after, he lost this official position because of his forthright remonstrance, and was demoted to the Adjutant in the Labor Section of Hua Prefecture. A short while after he was moved to the Labor Section of the Metropolitan Prefecture. Yan Wu, the Military Commissioner of Jiannan, recommended him to be an Acting Supernumerary Military Councillor in the Ministry of Works. After a short period of time, he also resigned from this position and left, taking a skiff down-river to the area of Jing and Chu. Unexpectedly expired in his journey, he was temporarily buried in Yueyang. Du Fu had a life of fifty-nine years.

晉當陽成侯姓杜氏，下十世而生依藝，令於羣。依藝生審言，審言善詩，官至膳部員外郎。審言生闲，闲生甫。闲為奉天令。甫字子美，天寶中，獻《三大禮賦》，明皇奇之，命宰相試文，文善，授右衛率府胄曹。屬京師亂，步謁行在，拜左拾遺。歲餘，以直言失官，出為華州司功，尋遷京兆功曹。劍南節度使嚴武，狀為工部員外參謀軍事。旋又棄去，扁舟下荊楚間，竟以寓卒，旅殯岳陽。享年五十有九。⁶³

Not simply just a narration of Du Fu's life, Yuan Zhen's account was the first to assess Du Fu's artistic talent. After this brief account of Du Fu's life, Yuan Zhen continued the epitaph with a six-hundred-word evaluation of Du Fu's poetic achievement. Yuan Zhen made the justifiable observation that among contemporary poets, not even the famed Li Bai 李白 could rival Du Fu, though the two were equal in the archaic style. However, this praise of Du Fu had been made from a purely artistic point of view. Yuan Zhen's appreciation of Du Fu only examines his artistry by comparing his use of *luqie* 律切 [rhymes], *guge* 骨格 [structure], *moxie wuxiang* 模寫物象 [description of images], *puchen zhongshi* 鋪陳終始 [narration from the beginning to the end], *paibi shengyun* 排比聲韻 [parallelism of rhythms], *ciqu* 詞氣 [flavor of diction], *fengdiao* 風調 [expression of emotions] and *zhudui* 屬對 [antithetical couplets] to that of previous poets and contemporaries. In all of the above techniques, Du Fu was regarded as more skillful than other poets. Yuan Zhen drew a conclusion, saying, "I believe that no poet in history could compete with Zimei, for he was capable of

⁶³ Cf. *Du shi xiang zhu* 杜詩詳注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), 5: 2236.

accomplishing unachievable literary quests and there were no limitations in his poetic composition.”⁶⁴

Although Yuan Zhen gave such a high evaluation of Du Fu’s poetry, he separated it from his evaluation of Du Fu’s life. During Yuan Zhen’s lifetime, it was Du Fu’s artistic ability which earned him fame rather than his personal morality or the historical and cultural significance of his work which critics would later focus on as his greatest strengths.

None of the anecdotal writings have the credibility pertaining to these two early biographical accounts. The first one was written by Fan Huang, a contemporary of Du Fu who was also knowledgeable in poetry, and the second was entrusted to Yuan Zhen by Du Fu’s direct descendent, his grandson. Despite the reliable sources of information, these two accounts do not have any disagreements with each other. They not only provide accurate information on the life of the poet, but also engender the style of his successive biographies, which all start with an account of Du Fu’s lineage followed by his consecutive life stages from his early years to his death.

The Portrait of Du Fu in the Official Histories

Although succeeding biographies in official histories typically agree with these first two biographers’ appreciation of Du Fu’s poetry, they often share a pervasive disapproval of Du Fu’s personality. The later biographies inherit primarily the narrative structure of the two earliest accounts. Du Fu’s biography in the *Old Tang History* establishes an image of the poet as an unsuccessful official who exhibits reckless behavior and unrestrained social mannerisms. The biography attributes Du Fu’s failure in officialdom to his connection with Fang Guan 房琯 (697-763).⁶⁵ Fang Guan began his official career in 724 by submitting the “Feng shan shu 封禪書 [The Memorial of Imperial Mountain-top Worship of Heaven and Earth]” which attracted the attention of Zhang Yue 張說 (667-730), the

⁶⁴ The text reads, 苟以為能所不能，無可無不可，則詩人已來未有如子美者。 Cf. *Du shi xiang zhu* 杜詩詳注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), 5: 2236.

⁶⁵ See his biography in *JTS*, 111.3320-4 and in *XTS*, 139.4625-8.

Chief Minister at that time. He was then appointed to a number of significant positions both in the central court and in the provincial governments during Emperor Xuanzong's reign (712-756). These include Editor of the Imperial Library, Investigating Censor, Revenue Manager of Mu 睦 Prefecture, Director of the Bureau of Receptions, Governor of Yichun 宜春, and Director of the Bureau of Punishment. After the An Lushan Rebellion he followed Emperor Xuanzong to Sichuan and assisted him in developing strategies to regain control of central China. Having known his son enthroned himself, Emperor Xuanzong sent Fang Guan and Wei Jiansu to officially install him. Because of Fang Guan's special status and his political prestige, Emperor Suzong appointed him the chief minister in his temporary court. Deng Xiaojun 鄧小軍 noticed that it was from this time on that Du Fu built friendships with Fang Guan and a few other politicians due to the same political stance. They all encouraged the union of Emperor Suzong and his father in order to stabilize the fragile new court.⁶⁶

However, the *Old Tang History* asserts Du Fu's predilection for Fang Guan. The text reads,

Fang Guan was on good terms with Du Fu when he was still a commoner. When [Fang] Guan became the Chief Minister, he requested to lead an army to fight against the rebels, and the emperor consented to his request. In the tenth month of that year (756), [Fang] Guan's army was defeated in Chentao Xie. In the spring of the following year (757), he was removed from the position of Chief Minister. [Du] Fu sent up a memorial stating that [Fang] Guan should not be removed because of his abilities. Enraged, Emperor Suzong demoted [Fang] Guan to the position of Prefect and dispelled [Du] Fu to be the Adjutant in Labor Section of Hua Prefecture.

房琯布衣時與甫善，時琯為宰相，請自帥師討賊，帝許之。其年十月，琯兵敗於陳濤斜。明年春，琯罷相。甫上疏言琯有才，不宜罷免。肅宗怒，貶琯為刺史，出甫為華州司功參軍。⁶⁷

If we read this paragraph on its own without further investigating the events which occurred within Emperor Suzong's temporary government at the time, it seems justifiable to regard Du Fu as someone

⁶⁶ Cf. Deng Xiaojun's 鄧小軍 discussion in "An Investigation of Du Fu's Rescue of Fang Guan and His Consequent Banishment to the Lu Prefect by the Black Edict, Part One. 杜甫疏救房琯墨制放歸鄜州考 上." *Du Fu yanjiu xuekan* 杜甫研究學刊, 12 (2003), pp.14-20.

⁶⁷ See Liu Xu 劉昫 (887-946), *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 190.5054.

who deserved the demotion for the sake of his personal bias concerning Fang Guan. However, the account of Fang Guan's biography in the *Old Tang History*⁶⁸ hints at Guan's innocence in the military failure and clearly indicates that his persecution resulted from slander, which led to Emperor Suzong's suspicion of his loyalty. It was not Du Fu's intention to help an old friend escape punishment; rather, he sent up the memorial only in order to fulfill his responsibility as an advisor whose job was to steer the sovereign away from potential mistakes.

The biography in the *Old Tang History* next narrates Du Fu's life in Sichuan. Here, using the anecdotal materials from *Tang zhi yan* 唐摭言, the compiler depicts a reckless and unbridled person,

During the winter of the second year of Shangyuan reign (761), Yan Wu, the Vice President of the Imperial Chancellery Department and Duke of a Fief of Zheng State guarding Chengdu, presented a memorial to the emperor to recommend Du Fu to become a Councillor of the Military Commissioner, Acting Vice Director in the Ministry of Works of the Department of State Affairs with the bestowal of the crimson robe and the garment pouch with fish tallies. [Yan] Wu and [Du] Fu's families were acquaintances, [therefore] Du Fu was treated with great courtesy. [Du] Fu had a narrow-minded and impetuous character which lacked an imposing appearance. Relying on Yan Wu's favor, he disregarded personal restraint. [Du Fu] once stepped on [Yan] Wu's couch in drunkenness and stared at him, saying, "How could Yan Tingzhi have a son like this!" Although [Yan] Wu was impatient and irritable, he did not regard it as disobedience. Planting bamboo and trees at the Washing Flower Village in Chengdu, [Du] Fu set up a thatched house by the river. After drinking excessively, he whistled and sang. He improperly socialized with peasants and rural old men, and was unrestricted and unrestrained. When Yan Wu stopped by, sometimes he would not wear his cap. How arrogant and unbridled he was!

上元二年冬，黃門侍郎、鄭國公嚴武鎮成都，奏為節度參謀、檢校尚書工部員外郎，賜緋魚袋。武與甫世舊，待遇甚隆。甫性褊躁，無器度，恃恩放恣，嘗憑醉登武之牀，瞪視武曰：“嚴挺之乃有此兒！”武雖急暴，不以為忤。甫於成都浣花里種竹植樹，結廬枕江，縱酒嘯詠，與田畯野老相狎蕩，無拘檢。嚴武過之，有時不冠，其傲誕如此。⁶⁹

This account describes Du Fu's personality as impetuous and unrestrained. It tells us that Yan Wu requested an official position for Du Fu that would bestow him not only with a title but also the official

⁶⁸ See *JTS*, 111.3323.

⁶⁹ See *JTS*, 190.5054-5.

identification bag, which could only be given to those who held fifth-level positions or higher. Yan Wu's kindness and respect for Du Fu are made evident. The account also makes sure to note that Du Fu does not return equal respect to his patronage. The anecdote describing Du Fu stepping on Yan Wu's desk first appeared in *Guo shi bu* 國史補 compiled by Li Zhao 李肇 (fl. 806-820).⁷⁰ *Tang zhi yan* 唐摭言 elaborates upon it by adding Du Fu's question, "Having become drunk, [Du Fu] stepped on Yan Wu's couch and snapped at him, 'Master, are you Yan Tingzhi's son?' 醉後登嚴武之床，厲聲問武曰：‘公是嚴挺之子否？’"⁷¹ The *Old Tang History* compiler went further by interpreting Du Fu's impolite interrogation as an insolent complaint --- "How could Yan Tingzhi have a son like this" --- in order to strengthen Du Fu's unsavory characterization. The account continues to compound Du Fu's negative image, saying he "whistled and sang" after drinking excessively, and socialized with low-class men. These two episodes of Du Fu's reckless life in Sichuan both have to do with over-drinking. This drinking motif resonates with the accounts of Liu Ling 劉伶,⁷² one of the "Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove 竹林七賢" whose fondness for drinking was widely known. Liu Yiqing 劉義慶 (403-444) first recorded his misbehavior in *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語 [A New Account of the Tales of the World],

On many occasions Liu Ling, drank excessively and acted uninhibitedly, sometimes taking off his clothes and appearing in the nude in rooms.

劉伶恒縱酒放達，或脫衣裸形在屋中。⁷³

⁷⁰ Cf. Li Zhao, the *Guo shi bu* 國史補, in the *Tang Wudai biji xiaoshuo daguan* 唐五代筆記小說大觀 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2000), 1:167.

⁷¹ *Tang zhi yan* text reads, 杜工部在蜀，醉後登嚴武之床，厲聲問武曰：“公是嚴挺之子否？”武色變。甫復曰：“僕乃杜審言兒。”於是少解。 Wang Dingbao categorized this anecdote under “Mistakes after Over-drinking 酒失.” Cf. Wang Dingbao 王定保 (870-954), *Tang zhi yan* 唐摭言 (Shanghai: Shanghai kexueyuan chubanshe, 2003), 12. 261.

⁷² Liu Ling has a biography in Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 (579-648), *Jin shu* 晉書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 49. 1375-6.

⁷³ Liu Yiqing 劉義慶, Yu Jiayi 余嘉錫 (1884-1955) annotated, *Shi shuo xin yu jian shu* 世說新語箋疏 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2007), 23.858. I consult Richard B. Mather's translation, in *A New Account of the Tales of the World* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1976), p.374.

The description of Du Fu in the *Old Tang History* resembles Liu Ling's account both in diction and in plot. Not only did they *zong jiu* 縱酒 [drink excessively], they but also disregard the appropriate dress code. Categorizing Liu Ling under the subtitle *rendan* 任誕 [indulgent and unbridled], Liu Yiqing asserted his criticism of him. In Du Fu's case, the compiler also concluded the description with the word *dan* 誕 [unbridled], which was often associated with a person who acted without careful consideration of the consequences.

Du Fu's biography in the *New Tang History* inherited this unfavorable evaluation of Du Fu's personality, further supporting it with stronger evidence from other biographical anecdotes and examples from Du Fu's own writings. The *New Tang History's* compilation was ordered by the Emperor Renzong 仁宗 (r. 1023-1063) in 1044, the fourth year of the Qingli 慶歷 reign (1041-1049). Up until that time, the Northern Song dynasty had enjoyed a peaceful period for more than half a century, remaining comparatively steady in political administration, military affairs and civilian quality of life. Since the time the *Old Tang History* was compiled, numerous scattered sources of written histories and literature had already been re-discovered and added to the central library; the material conditions necessary to write a new official history had been achieved. Moreover, after the frequent changes in lordship during the Five Dynasties, scholars in general craved the compiling of a new history for the Tang dynasty which would summarize the strengths and weakness of former policies and re-establish the Confucian morality which had been abandoned during the era of constant turmoil. The compiler of the new history therefore consciously emphasized the significance of loyalty and other tenets of Confucian morality. As a result, Du Fu's new biography, in keeping with the compilers' moralistic preoccupation, employed many literary devices which further exaggerated the poet's immoral characterization. But before examining Du Fu's specific characterization, the compiler's broader design for presenting the lives of literati like Du Fu must be addressed.

As the preface to “Wen Yi lie zhuan” 文藝列傳 [Collective Biographies of the Literary Skilled]

in the *New Tang History* testifies, these literati are to be judged according to Confucian standards, ⁷⁴

Thus it has been said that disciples of the Master [Confucius] consider literature as the lowest category. Why is this? It would seem in heaven’s endowment there is no constant allotment to a gentleman or to the meanest individual. Only those who are capable can acquire it, therefore it is known as “one skill.” From those with middling intelligence on down, there are those who rely on it for gain and loss, those who rely on it to gloss over their participation in a faction, and those who rely on it to bemoan their failed ambitions and slander the nation. (But) the gentleman isn’t like this—he is able on his own, through merit and deed, to realize his brilliance in his age, and would not rely solely on his words to hand down an imperishable reputation. If he were not able to be employed, he would at the moment bide his time with tolerance, expressing his different opinions without complaints and expressing his satire without libels. Furthermore, he would not forget to offer advice with kindness to the emperor. For this reason, he is worthy to be valued. Now I only select those who make themselves known through their writings to compose the biographies of the literary skilled.⁷⁵

然嘗言之，夫子之門以文學為下科，何哉？蓋天之付與，於君子小人無常分，惟能者得之，故號一藝。自中智以還，恃以取敗者有之，朋姦飾偽者有之，怨望訕國者有之。若君子則不然，自能以功業行實光明于時，亦不一於立言而垂不朽，有如不得試，固且闡繹優游，異不及排，怨不及誹，而不忘納君於善，故可貴也。今但取以文自名者為文藝篇。

This paragraph clearly differentiates the character of literati from *Junzi* 君子 [the gentlemen], an ideal persona according to Confucian ideology. Portrayed as reckless and unrestrained in his deeds and lofty but unrealistic in his deliberation, Du Fu’s behavior obviously deviates from most of the principles stated in the above preface. Contrary to a gentleman who realizes his worth through merit and deed, Du Fu is said to rely on his words alone to influence important state affairs. His deeds, free from all social restraints, also violated the principles to which a true Confucian was supposed to attend. Du Fu’s only potentially praise-worthy aspect in his new biography is his unending devotion to the sovereign. However, even this desirable trait is discounted by the modifier, *qing* 情, “with emotion.” It is clearly

⁷⁴ Cf. “The Preface to ‘Wenyi lie zhuan 文藝列傳 [Collective Biographies of the Literary Skilled],’” XTS, 201.5726.

⁷⁵ The translation is based on William H. Nienhauser’s rendition with slight revisions. See his article in “Literature as a Source for Traditional History: The Case of Ou-yang Chan,” *CLEAR*, 12 (Dec., 1990), p. 3.

stated in the last sentence of the preface that the trait which makes a gentleman worthy is an emotional detachment in expressing personal opinions and in offering valuable advice to the emperor.

This preface made it easy to denounce the literati group as a whole. Therefore, the unfavorable evaluation of Du Fu not only represents the attitude toward him as an individual, but it also reflects the overall consideration of the skilled literary class. This larger design evidenced by the “Preface to Collective Biography of the Literary Skilled,” as Professor Dennis Twitchett points out, is the framework within which Du Fu the individual is placed in the new history, along with his literary colleagues. In order to fit the individual into this framework, the compilers often resorted to the device of “selection for material for inclusion, and of the exclusion of facts that showed the subject in an unfavorable light.”⁷⁶ In Du Fu’s case, the compiler makes an inverse application of this rule to select materials of blemishing the subject and exclude the facts that showed him in a favorable light. How did the compiler tailor his sources into a characterization of Du Fu? What might have been the compiler’s intention in creating this portrait? To answer these questions, a few distinct features of Du Fu’s biography in the *New Tang History* must be pinpointed.

The exposition of this biographical narrative paints Du Fu’s youth as a time wrought with career failure. “He lived in poverty, but did not bestir himself [to seek success in the official’s path] ... He took the *jinshi* examination but did not pass. [Thus], he lived in the straits in Chang’an.”⁷⁷ As Hans H. Frankel (1916-2003) stated in his seminal study of these literati biographies, the youth of a literati is always viewed as the period when his personality type first becomes apparent.⁷⁸ In Du Fu’s case, the career failure demonstrated in the beginning of his biography foreshadows the subsequent misfortunes in politics he would suffer throughout the rest of his life. Later in the biography, Du Fu’s official appointments are revealed to have been constantly interrupted by troublesome incidents. The highest

⁷⁶ See Dennis Twitchett’s discussion, in “Problems of Chinese Biography,” *Confucian Personalities*, Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett, ed. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962), pp. 28-30.

⁷⁷ The original text reads, 甫少貧不自振, [...] 舉進士不中第, 困長安。 Cf. *XTS*, 201.5736.

⁷⁸ Hans, H. Frankel, “T’ang Literati: A Composite Biography,” *Confucian Personalities*, Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett, ed. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962), pp.65-83.

official position Du Fu held, the Reminder of the Right, ended with his daring plea to the Emperor Suzong when it was decided that Fang Guan was to be relieved of his post 房琯 (697-763) as Chief Minister. After this incident, Du Fu is said to have been appointed to several low-ranking official positions. Echoing positively the over-arching moral theme revealed at the outset of the biography, Du Fu was said to have turned down the appointment of Adjutant in the Labor Section of the Metropolitan Prefecture 京兆功曹參軍 after living a comparatively peaceful life in Chengdu 成都. He would only accept a position as counselor at the recommendation of Yan Wu, his patron and governor of Sichuan 四川.

Besides Du Fu's misfortune in politics, his literary talent is also briefly mentioned in the exposition. It is said that "Li Yong 李邕 (678-747) marveled at his talent and went to visit him." Li Yong was not only renowned for his own literary talent, but also for being the patron of a number of famous literati, including Li Bai. By pointing out the fact that Li Yong had attended on Du Fu, the compiler suggests the poet's literary reputation. However, unlike the recurrent theme of failure in his official life, Du Fu's literary talent is noted again only in the "judgement" section, where his contribution to poetry is evaluated. In the main body of the biography Du Fu's literary talent receives no further attention.

Instead the biography focuses on the twists and turns in Du Fu's career as an official. This biography amplifies its negative account of Du Fu's career path by the application of two major devices. First and foremost, the compiler quoted Du Fu's own words to account for these twists and turns. By recalling what has been mentioned in the preface to the "Collective Biographies of the Literary Skilled," those who simply relied on the power of words to gain fame were condemned as insignificant, in contrast with the "gentlemen" who were capable of realizing their ambitions through social conduct. The quotation of Du Fu's words in the *New Tang History* solely serves to communicate Du Fu's inabilities within the world of politics.

The first quotation, an excerpt of his “Jindiaofu biao” 進雕賦表 [The Memorial of the Rhapsody on Eagles] written in 754, follows the accounts on Du Fu’s success in having Emperor Xuanzong 玄 (r. 710-756) recognize his talent by presenting rhapsodies,

Ever since my ancestors, [Du] Shu (198-252) and [Du] Yu (222-285), your subject’s family have kept official positions for eleven generations by following Confucianism till [Du] Shenyang (ca. 645-708) who became renowned by his writings during the time of Emperor Zhongzong (r. 705-710). I, your subject, relying on my ancestors’ achievements, started composition at seven years old. It has now been about forty years. Even if so, my clothes cannot cover my body and I always lodge and eat at [the home of] others. I secretly fear that my corpse will be exposed in gully and ravine. I beg, you, the Son of Heaven, to have sympathy for me. If you, order me to hold my ancestor’s former business and drag the one who has long been disgraced out of the muddy road, then, although your subject’s statements and compositions are not sufficient to advocate the *Six Classics*, in regard to profundity and richness [in meaning], pause and transition [in prosody] and promptitude [in composing articles] at any time, they can rival writings of Yang Xiong (53 B.C.-18 A.D.) and Mei Gao (153 B.C.-?). Having a subject like this, how could Your Majesty be willing to abandon him?

先臣恕、預以來，承儒守官十一世，迨審言，以文章顯中宗時。臣賴緒業，自七歲屬辭，且四十年，然衣不蓋體，常寄食於人，竊恐轉死溝壑，伏惟天子哀憐之。若令執先臣故事，拔泥塗之久辱，則臣之述作雖不足鼓吹六經，至沈鬱頓挫，隨時敏給，揚雄、枚皋可企及也。有臣如此，陛下其忍棄之？⁷⁹

Rather than evidencing the effectiveness of Du Fu’s words, the compiler quotes this writing only to expose the poet’s arrogance. To direct the readers’ attention to his ideological aims, the compiler offers these comments before quoting Du Fu himself: “Du Fu presented rhapsodies to the Sovereign several times. Taking this opportunity, he boasted about himself.” The compiler is intent on communicating the idea that Du Fu made recourse to his glorious family legacy only in order to enhance his own status. By comparing himself to Yang Xiong and Mei Gao, both renowned rhapsodists during the Han dynasty, he boasts of his own literary talent. This self-promotion is used by the compiler as evidence to indicate Du Fu’s immaturity in the political sphere.

⁷⁹ See *XTS*, 201.5736.

The second quotation from Du Fu is taken from the time when Emperor Suzong was struggling through both the national turmoil caused by the An Lushan rebellion and the challenges of his legitimacy as sovereign by his father and royal siblings. This time Du Fu's comments result in demotion. In discussing the matters of Fang Guan's crime, Du Fu directly contradicted the emperor. The compiler quotes his speech, "Fang Guan's crimes are too trivial to become appropriate [reasons] to dismiss a grand minister." The compiler also quotes Du Fu's "Fengxie kouchi sansi tuiwen zhuang 奉謝口敕放三司推問狀 [Memorial of Gratitude to the Oral Edict of Releasing Me from the Three Ministries' Interrogation]," from after the poet was released,

[Fang] Guan was a Chief Minister's son, and had established himself as a pure Confucian scholar since his youth. He had the manner of a cabinet minister. People at that time agreed that his talent was competent to carry out the responsibilities of the Assistant to the Emperor, and your Majesty appointed him to be the Chief Minister as expected. [I] observed that he was deeply concerned with the sovereign's worries and his righteousness showed on his appearance, though his character did not meet the criteria of austerity. [Fang Guan] was extremely fond of playing the seven-string *qin*. [Dong] Tinglan entrusted himself to [Fang] Guan; poor, ill, confused and old, he took advantage of [Fang Guan]'s power to do evil. [Fang] Guan cherished their friendship so that he was blemished. I, your subject, having signed for the defeat of his ambition before his accomplishment of merits and fame, expected your Majesty could disregard Fang Guan's trivial mistakes and employ his main talents. Therefore, I stated [my opinions] at the risk of capital punishment. [As a result], I was involved in this recent case and sharply exposed evil people's misdeeds. My directness contradicted and disobeyed your mind. Your Majesty pardoned me from death for hundreds of times and bestowed my skeleton to me again. This is the fortune not only for me, your subject, but also for everyone under Heaven.

琯宰相子，少自樹立為醇儒，有大臣體，時論許琯才堪公輔，陛下果委而相之。觀其深念主憂，義形於色，然性失於簡。酷嗜鼓琴，廷蘭託琯門下，貧疾昏老，依倚為非，琯愛惜人情，一至玷汙。臣歎其功名未就，志氣挫衄，覬陛下棄細錄大，所以冒死稱述，涉近訐激，違忤聖心。陛下赦臣百死，再賜骸骨，天下之幸，非臣獨蒙。⁸⁰

The ostensible reasons for removing Fang Guan were his military defeat and the corruption of his retainer. However, according to reliable historical accounts, Fang Guan's removal was a result of the power struggle between Emperor Suzong and his royal siblings. Du Fu's straightforward

⁸⁰ See *XTS*, 201.5737.

remonstration directly contradicted the emperor's intention and easily aroused suspicions that Du Fu supported an imagined rival. This biography in the *New Tang History* follows the account of the *Old Tang History* in regarding Du Fu's support of Fang Guan as a result of partiality rather than of a sense of responsibility. The speech persuades us to imagine Du Fu as a naive official who did not measure reality before risking offence to his emperor.

The second major device the compiler of *New Tang History* employed to negatively portray Du Fu is the inclusion of anecdotal records, which show Du Fu's reckless social behavior. After his removal, Du Fu had recourse to Yan Wu's patronage in Sichuan. The biography tells us that Yan Wu treated Du Fu with extreme generosity. Though a powerful Military Commissioner, "[Yan Wu] went to Du Fu's house in person." The text continues, "In the meetings with [Yan Wu], [Du] Fu sometimes did not wear *jin* 巾 [literati-official clothing]." The parallel account in the *Old Tang History* told us that Du Fu sometimes did not wear his cap in the meetings with Yan Wu. The change of diction to *jin*, which indicates the proper dressing for a literati-official while meeting with superiors, alludes to the "Record of Murong Wei 慕容廆載記" in *Jin Shu* 晉書 [*The History of Jin*],

[Murong] Wei showed his respect to the Government of Eastern Minority. He wore a *jin* robe to pay a visit, making rival claims with the rite of a literati-official. He Kan displayed his army to summon him. Thereby Wei changed to military clothes to enter He Kan's office. People asked for the reason, and Wei replied, "If the host does not care for the rite, what then should a guest carry it out!"

廆致敬於東夷府，巾衣詣門，抗士大夫之禮。何龕嚴兵引見，廆乃改服戎衣而入。人問其故，廆曰：“主人不以禮，賓復何為哉！”⁸¹

Murong Wei, the leader of the Xianbei 鮮卑 who was defeated by He Kan in the battle for the State of Fuyu 扶餘 in the modern western Liaoning 遼寧 province, surrendered to the Emperor of Jin. He therefore went to He Kan's government to demonstrate his submission. Drawing on this record, it is

⁸¹ See *Jin Shu* 晉書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 108.2804.

safe to infer that wearing the *jin* 巾 robe was a sign of respect in visits to a superior. Given Du Fu's friendship with Yan Wu known from several poems written by both of them, it is possible to perceive Du Fu's behavior as a casual gesture to a friend.⁴² But for the compiler of his biography, this provoked the following judgment on Du Fu's character, "he had a narrow-minded, impetuous, arrogant, and unbridled character."⁸² It is clear that the compiler based his judgment on social status rather than on personal relations, which could only be gleaned from Du Fu and Yan Wu's personal writings.

The text moves on in attempts to substantiate this negative comment with two anecdotes from *Tang zhi yan* 唐摭言, written by Wang Dingbao 王定保 (870-954), and *Yunxi youyi* 雲谿友議, compiled by Fan Shu 范攄 (ca. 877) during the Five Dynasties,

He once stepped on [Yan] Wu's couch, stared at him and said, "How could Yan Tingzhi (673-742) have a son like this!" Wu was also irritable and brutal; although he did not appear to be disobeyed, he bore a grudge in his mind.

One day, [when Yan Wu] wanted to kill [Du] Fu and Zhang Yi, the Prefect of Zizhou, [he] gathered judicial officers at the gate. While Wu was about to depart [from home], his cap was hooked by the door curtain three times. [Yan Wu's] attendants told his mother, and she ran to save [Du Fu] and stopped the execution. [Yan Wu] only killed [Zhang] Yi. After Yan Wu's demise, Cui Gan and other officials rebelled. [Du] Fu then traveled between Zi Prefecture and Kui Prefecture.

嘗醉登武牀，瞪視曰：「嚴挺之乃有此兒！」武亦暴猛，外若不忤，中銜之。

一日欲殺甫及梓州刺史章彝，集吏於門。武將出，冠鉤于簾三，左右白其母，奔救得止，獨殺彝。武卒，崔旰等亂，甫往來梓、夔間。⁸³

The act of uttering someone else's father's full name was a severe insult. In traditional Chinese society, in order to show respect, the mention of the names of any superior or ancestor was disallowed in any

⁴² Fu Xuancong 傅璇琮 and Wu Zaiqing 吳在慶 wrote a convincing article to prove the friendship between Yan Wu and Du Fu. It discusses a number of their poems corresponding with each other and rebuke the postulation of Yan Wu's attempt to murder Du Fu, cf. Fu Xuancong and Wu Zaiqing, "Du Fu yu Yan Wu guanxi kaobian 杜甫與嚴武關係考辯," *Wen shi zhe* 文史哲, 1(2004):105-110.

⁸² The original text reads, "甫見之，或不時巾。而性褊躁傲誕。" See *XTS*, 201.5738.

⁸³ See, *XTS*, 201.5738.

context. Du Fu's biography in the *Old Tang History* caps this insult by the sentence, "impatient and irritable though, Yan Wu did not regard it as an offense." On the contrary, the text in the *New Tang History* interprets Yan Wu's tolerance as a hypocritical performance. It is closer to the account in *Tang zhi yan*, which described Yan Wu's reaction as "feeling a little better 少解" after hearing Du Fu's address of his own grandfather.

This interpretation provides a smooth transition to the next anecdote explaining Yan Wu's attempt to kill Du Fu. It is in tune with the depiction of Yan Wu's ruthless character in his biography in an earlier chapter. There, the anecdote is narrated in more detail. It portrays Yan Wu as so cold-blooded in nature that even Fang Guan fears his revenge. The most ridiculous part of the anecdote is its claim that Li Bai composed "Shudao nan 蜀道難 [The Difficult Road in Shu]" in order to satirize Yan Wu's threats to Fang Guan and Du Fu. It is well-known that Li Bai passed away during his returning trip from Yelang 夜郎 to Chang'an in 762. Yan Wu recommended Du Fu to a staff member in his government with the bestowal of the crimson fish-bag in 764. Taking this special favor into consideration, it seems impossible for Yan Wu to have harbored such hatred towards Du Fu simply due to a joke Du Fu made after excessive drinking. Although far from the truth, the aroused hatred of Yan Wu imagined in the anecdote successfully depicts Du Fu's failure to understand social norms. It reminds readers of Du Fu's earlier offense against his sovereign; only this time the compiler elaborates on the severity of the offense in much greater detail. These two anecdotes, therefore, serve to implicitly criticize Du Fu's unrestrained social behavior. The anecdote about Yan Wu's attempt to murder Du Fu comes from *Yunxi youyi*,⁸⁴

At the age of twenty-three, [Yan] Wu was appointed to be the Grand Secretary and the Vice President of the Imperial Chancellery Department. The next year he controlled the military power of the Western Shu. He constantly held banquets and invited guests to show off his compositions. Taking the opportunity of being drunk, Du Fu, the Reminder,

⁸⁴ *Yunxi youyi* 雲谿友議, in *Tang Wudai biji xiaoshuo daguan* 唐五代筆記小說大觀 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2000), 2:1269-70.

said, “I cannot believe Yan Dingzhi had a son like this.” Wu angrily stared at him for a long while and said, “Does the grandson of Du Shenyang want to stroke the Tiger’s beard?” The banquet attendees all laughed to relieve the tension. Wu said, “I am drinking and having food with you people to enjoy ourselves. How could this lead to the disrespect of my ancestors?” Fang Guan, the Commander-in-Chief, was also a little disobedient to Yan Wu. Racked with fear, he fell ill. Yan Wu’s mother feared that Yan Wu would persecute the able and virtuous man, and thus sent off Du Fu with a skiff to go to the east of the gorges. Yan Wu’s mother could be regarded as worthy; even with such a worthy person, the two Masters were nearly killed. Li Taibai composed “Shu dao nan” for the threats Fang Guan and Du Fu had faced.

武年二十三，為給事黃門侍郎；明年擁旄西蜀，累於飲筵，對客騁其筆札。杜甫拾遺乘醉而言曰：“不謂嚴定之有此兒也。”武恚目久之，曰：“杜審言孫子，擬捋虎鬚？”合座皆笑，以彌縫之。武曰：“與公等飲饌謀歡，何至於祖考耶？”房太尉綰亦微有所忤，憂怖成疾。武母恐害賢良，遂以小舟送甫下峽。母則可謂賢也，然二公幾不免於虎口矣。李太白為《蜀道難》，乃為房、杜之危也。

However, the relationship between Du Fu and Yan Wu were far from the hostility depicted in these anecdotes. In the “Ba’ ai shi 八哀詩 [Eight Laments],” Du Fu described Yan Wu to friends as an amicable person who could also easily run the positions of General Commander and Chief Minister.⁸⁵ These series of poems was written to commemorate those deceased grand vessels. The poem dedicated to Yan Wu shows the good terms Du Fu had with him until his death. Eva Shan Chou also notes the discrepancy in Du Fu and Yan Wu’s relation between the biographies and the poem, stating that “something complex existed in this relationship, at least on Du Fu’s part.”⁸⁶ Another proof to rectify false records in *Yun xi you yi* was Fan Huang’s writing in his preface to Du Fu’s anthology, discussed in the earlier section. Fan Huang 樊晃 wrote, “When Yan Wu administrated the army of Shu, Mr. Du was his staff member. Being a councillor with white hair, he was treated with great courtesy. Because of his friend’s demise, Du Fu headed for the East to return to Jiangling.” This reliable record does not mention any grudges held by Yan Wu against Du Fu. Moreover, it attributes Du Fu’s leaving Sichuan to his

⁸⁵ The Chinese texts reads, “開口取將相，小心事友生。” Cf. “Writing to Commemorate Sir Yan Wu, the Left Major-Domo to the Department of State Affairs and the Duke of Zheng 贈左仆射鄭國公嚴公武,” *Du shi xiang zhu* 杜詩詳注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), 5: 2236.

⁸⁶ Cf. Chou, E. Shan, “Tu Fu’s ‘Eight Laments’: Allusion and Imagery as Modes of Poetry.” (Dissertation, Harvard University, 1984), pp.101-2.

patron's demise. Therefore, it is very likely that the compiler of Du Fu's biography adopted the *biji* materials in order to fit Du Fu's character into the denouncement of the literati designed in the preface.

This manipulative mode of material selection not only discounts the credibility of Du Fu's biography in the *New Tang History*, but also evidence the compiler's desperate attempt to re-establish Confucian moral standards can be seen in the conscious blurring of facts in Du Fu's characterization. This intention is further illustrated by the emphasis of Du Fu's loyalty in the biography. Unlike other aspects of Du Fu's character, which were unfairly exaggerated or misrepresented, Du Fu's loyalty was given ample regard because it fit with the compiler's desire to emphasize Confucian morality. This lone, acknowledged desirable trait is delineated specifically in accounts of Du Fu's successful escape from rebels to Emperor Suzong's palace during the An Lushan rebellion of 757. The event is recounted in both the *Old Tang History* and the *New Tang History*. The two accounts are translated below in respective order,

[*The Old Tang History*]

In the fifteenth year (756), [An] Lu-shan (703-757) caused the capital city to fall. Emperor Suzong conscripted soldiers at Lingwu. [Du] Fu escaped from the capital city by night, went to Hexi, and had an audience with Emperor Suzong in Pengyuan Commandery. He was appointed to be the Right Reminder.

十五載，祿山陷京師，肅宗徵兵靈武，甫自京師宵遁赴河西，謁肅宗於彭原郡，拜右拾遺。

[*The New Tang History*]

At the onset of the [An] Lushan rebellion, the Son of Heaven entered Shu and [Du] Fu escaped and fled to Three Chuan. When the Emperor Suzong was enthroned, in worn out clothes he intended to head for the temporary palace from Fu Prefecture, but was captured by rebels. In the second year of Zhide reign (757), he fled to Fengxiang to pay homage to the Sovereign, and was appointed Right Reminder.

會祿山亂，天子入蜀，甫避走三川。肅宗立，自鄜州羸服欲奔行在，為賊所。至德二年，亡走鳳翔上謁，拜右拾遺。

Compared to the text in the *Old Tang History*, the account in the *New Tang History* provides much greater detail on the event. While the first text only implies Du Fu's capture by using the word *dun* 遁 [escape], it is stated explicitly in the second text that rebels captured him. Moreover, the fact that he

had to wear worn-out clothes suggests the difficulties he encountered during wartime. Although it is difficult to decide whether the story of the worn-out clothes is historical truth or a mere invention of the compiler's imagination, we can still sense the compiler's intention to depict Du Fu as a loyalist whose determination to serve his emperor could not be discouraged in any circumstances. The compiler makes an even more explicit compliment in the endnote, "Du Fu encountered the chaos and revolts several times, but he remained principled without being besmirched. His compositions of songs and poetry lamented the time and complied with the requests of the weak. He did not forget his emperor emotionally, and people cherished his loyalty."⁸⁷ It is interesting to note that by using the plural third-person pronoun, *ren* 人 [people], the endnote suggests a detached view. The question rises again as to whether this is also a sign that the compiler employed comments on Du Fu from earlier sources.

Reconstructing Du Fu's Life from Reading His Poetry

Du Fu's biography in the *New Tang History*, compiled during the period from 1045 to 1060 and attributed to Song Qi 宋祁 (998-1061), cast an unfavorable light on Du Fu's character as impractical and naive, despite other acknowledgments of his loyalty. However, at about the same time, Du Fu was beginning to attract attention within the literati for the high standard of morality expressed in his poetry. Song Qi wrote a very sympathetic poem, "To Respond to Mr. Jia's Poem on Reading Du Fu's 'North Journey'" 和賈相公覽杜工部北征篇⁸⁸ to commemorate Du Fu. An excerpt from the poem reads,

少陵背賊走行在, [Du] Shao-ling fled away from the rebels to head for the temporary palace,
採穰拾橡填飢喉。 by picking wild grains and carrying firewood he filled his starving gullet.

⁸⁷ The original text reads, "數嘗寇亂，挺節無所污，為歌詩，傷時桡弱，情不忘君，人憐其忠云。" *XTS*, 201.5738.

⁸⁸ Cf. *Jingwen ji* 景文集, in *Congshu jicheng chubian* 叢書集成初編 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1936), 7.82-3.

眼前亂離不忍見，He could not bear to see the turmoil and homeless people in front of his eyes,

作詩感慨陳大猷。thus, he composed poems to state the Way of administering a state.

...

才高位下言不入，His talent high, his rank low, his words did not reach the court,

憤氣鬱屈蟠長虬。his anger and depression could not be stretched.

今日奔亡匪天作，His exile at that time was not intended by heaven,

曩來顛倒皆廟謀。but due to the confusion of right and wrong by conspiracies in the court.

The sympathetic tone Song Qi adopted in his private writing differs greatly from the critical assessment found in the *New Tang History*. Song Qi lauded Du Fu's political talent, and attributed his involvement in political debacles to mere circumstance and the shifting political landscape of his era. This acknowledgment of Du Fu's tragedy may well correspond to Song Qi's own experience with political struggles after he was involved in his older brother, Song Xiang's 宋庠 (996-1066) frictions with Lu Yijian 呂夷簡 (978-1040). The latter framed Song Xiang in 1041 and dispelled Song Qi for his close relation with his brother to a provincial position after this event. Since then, Song Qi remained in positions of imperial scholars or provincial governors and experienced a number of ups and downs in his political life. He was appointed to be Hanlin xueshi 翰林学士 [Scholar of the Hanlin Academy] with supplementary duties of drafting edicts on behalf of the emperor after he returned to the central court in 1044. This position, like the position of Left Reminder which Du Fu held, was founded on very delicate ground: though not allowing for much personal power, it was a position close enough to the emperor to risk involvement in power struggles. He was framed by his colleague in 1048 due to his ignorance of the official process of drafting an edict for an emperor's favorite courtesan's

promotion.⁸⁹ These experiences allowed for Song Qi's deep understanding of Du Fu as someone destined to navigate the same political pitfalls.

Thus, the question naturally arises: why did the same person hold two such distinct attitudes towards Du Fu? Recalling Song Qi's account of Du Fu's demotion, it is easy to discover that he was withholding the truth in the official history. Accounts in both official histories attributed Du Fu's desire to rescue Fang Guan to friendship. However, according to Qian Qianyi's 錢謙益 (1582-1664) examination, Dong Tinglan was an upright gentleman and was very likely framed in order to attack Fang Guan.⁹⁰ The latter's loss of favor resulted neither from his military failure nor from Dong Tinglan's scandal. In reality, it was the slanderous speech of Helan Jinming 賀蘭進明 (fl. 728) which aroused Emperor Suzong's suspicion of Fang Guan. Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019-1086), the compiler of the *Zi zhi tong jian* 資治通鑑 [*History as a Mirror*], recorded this event according to the *Old Tang History* rather than the *New Tang History*. Sima Guang's book attempted to examine the political strengths and weakness of the previous dynasties with historical accuracy. His choice to concur with the *Old Tang History* for this episode may very well debase *New Tang History*'s claims to accuracy. Du Fu's rescuing of Fang Guan, during a time in which two distinct factions⁹¹ existed within Emperor Suzong's court, was an intentional and far-sighted action taken to preserve the unity of a fractured, temporary court and to ease the conflict between Emperor Suzong and Emperor Xuanzong who was forced to abdicate the throne. In his personal writings, Song Qi, seemed to share this belief, describing Du Fu's tragedy in verse,

才高位下言不入，His talent high, his rank low, his words did not reach the court,

⁸⁹ Cf. He Hao 何灝, *Song Qi nianpu* 宋祁年譜 (Dissertation, Sichuan University, 2003), pp.24-96.

⁹⁰ Cf. Qian Qianyi 錢謙益 (1582-1664), *Qian zhu Du shi* 錢注杜詩 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1958), 20.688.

⁹¹ Respectively, the upright officials and vicious officials, cf. Deng Xiaojun 鄧小軍, "An Investigation of Du Fu's Rescue of Fang Guan and His Consequent Banishment to the Lu Prefect by the Direct Edict from the Emperor, Part One 杜甫疏救房琯墨制放歸鄜州考 上," *Du Fu yanjiu xuekan* 杜甫研究學刊, 12 (2003), pp.14-20.

憤氣鬱屈蟠長虬。his anger and depression could not be stretched.

今日奔亡匪天作，His exile at that time was not intended by heaven,

曩來顛倒皆廟謀。but due to the confusion of right and wrong by conspiracies in the court.

From these emotional verses, it is evident that Song Qi acknowledged Du Fu's political vision and his righteous actions. The verses stand in stark contrast to the ending remark Song Qi wrote in Du Fu's biography, "Du Fu enjoyed discussing the significant events under Heaven, and made lofty but impractical comments." Given the institutional nature of historical compilation in the Northern Song dynasty, Song Qi's debasement of Du Fu in the *New Tang History*, on one hand, likely resulted from the inertia of the official historiography in concealing the Emperors' flaws; on the other hand, it was for Song Qi's own benefits to re-assert the Confucian principles of absolute loyalty and obedience to the superiors after frequent political usurpation during the Five dynasties.

If Song Qi's acknowledgment in his poem was just an instance of Du Fu's popularity, it was the efforts of the literati which really set the stage for a long-lived enthusiasm for Du Fu. Before Song Qi, Sun He 孫何 (fl. 992), an older brother of Sun Jin 孫僅 (fl. 998) who compiled the *Du Du Gongbu shiji* 讀杜工部詩集 [Anthology of Readings of Du Gongbu's Poetry], wrote a poem to commemorate Du Fu's ability. An excerpt from the poem reads,

逸氣應天與，His rectitude must be a gift from heaven,

淳風自我還。and for his hope, the honest manner reverts.

鋒芒堪定霸，His displayed talent could bring an overlord hegemony,

微墨可繩奸。in a few words he could imprison the evil.

After reading Du Fu's own words, Sun He realized Du Fu's capabilities as an official and the righteousness of his political ambitions, and unreservedly approved of Du Fu not only as a poet, but also as a man and a career official. Likewise, dreaming of Du Fu's resurrection, Su Shi wrote a note for "Ba zhen tu 八陣圖" poem,

I once dreamed about one person. He claimed to be Du Zimei and told me: "Most people misunderstand my poetry. 'Ba zhen tu' read, 'Stones are stationary in the river's flow, it is regretful that [the state of Shu] made a mistake in trying to devour the State of Wu.' People all mistakenly think of this as to say that the Former Lord and Marquis Wu intended to revenge Guan Yu's death, therefore they regretted not destroying the State of Wu. This is incorrect. My original intention was to say that Wu and Shu were states of lips and teeth, and they should not have plotted against each other. The reason why Jin ended up taking over Shu was that Shu had harbored the intention to devour Wu. This is what I regard as regretful." This interpretation is very close to [the truth].

僕嘗夢見一人，云是杜子美，謂僕：“世多誤解予詩。《八陣圖》云：‘江流石不轉，遺恨失吞吳。’世人皆以謂先主、武侯欲與關羽復仇，故恨不能滅吳，非也。我意本謂吳蜀唇齒之國，不當相圖，晉之所以能取蜀者，以蜀有吞吳之意，此為恨耳。”此理甚近。⁹²

Su Shi resurrected Du Fu in his dream in order to rectify the misunderstanding of the "Ba zhen tu" poem. This contrast in reception between the two illustrates two distinct modes of thinking about these historical events. Most readers imposed their own historical knowledge on the poem they read. For them, the State of Shu was justified in attacking the State of Wu in retribution for Guan Yu's death. In contrast, battles between the two states offered a perfect opportunity for the Jin state to unify China. Su Shi was clearly aware of the very different stances readers and the author take in reading poetry. Having made a step further than Song Qi and Sun He, he borrowed Du Fu's own voice to enhance the credibility of his interpretation. The mode of thought thereby changed from reliance on historical contexts to the adoption of the poet's view. Su Shi in another note made an assessment of Du Fu's morality by the same means. It reads,

⁹² Cf. Kong Fanli 孔凡禮 ed., *Su Shi wen ji* 蘇軾文集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), 67.2101.

Zimei compared himself to Ji and Qi.⁹³ People may not agree with this. However, his poem reads, “The Emperor Shun selected sixteen ministers, their status is honorable and their ways are brilliant. Qin State employed Shang Yang, thus laws and orders are as numerous as ox hair.” These were indeed words from people like Qi and Ji.

子美自比稷与契，人未必許也。然其詩云：“舜舉十六相，身尊道益高。秦時用商鞅，法令如牛毛。”此自是契、稷輩人口中語也。⁹⁴

Facing people's questioning of Du Fu's righteous ambitions, Su Shi again rebuked their suspicions by using Du Fu's own poems. The example he offered reflects the political views of a person who embraced an ambition to recover the customs and rituals of the archaic ideals.

What has been shown above is only an excerpt of Du Fu's historical assessment. It is evident that the literary context matters greatly in a critical evaluation of Du Fu. The discrepancy between these two evaluations of Du Fu is actually a by-product of the development of cultural frameworks. As Eva Chou Shan argued in her book, *Reconsidering Du Fu*, “this moral interpretation in traditional scholarship has been reconstructed from reading his poems which incorporate highly personal tones. His sufferings and his concern for the hardships of others began as personal qualities in the poems before they were translated into moral values.”⁹⁵

These personal tones, in other words, are Du Fu's self-portrait. They are infinitely self-revealing, bringing readers face-to-face with the author's personal belief system and unique life experiences. Relying primarily on the biographical approach, scholars after the Northern Song dynasty reconstructed Du Fu's “greatness” from the views expressed in his work. However, this reception of Du Fu actually did not become the well-known salient characterization of Du Fu until the Northern Song scholars began to evaluate his poetry. It was only possible for later scholars to have a more thorough reevaluation of Du Fu as he perceived himself after the recollection of his work in the

⁹³ Ji 稷 and Qi 契 both assisted Emperor Shun 舜. The former was in charge of agriculture and was later regarded as the God of Grains. The latter joined Yu 禹 to drain the flood, and later became the person in charge of education.

⁹⁴ Cf. Kong Fanli 孔凡禮 ed., *Su Shi wen ji* 蘇軾文集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), 67.2104-5.

⁹⁵ Eva Shan Chou, *Reconsidering Tu Fu: Literary Greatness and Cultural Context* (Boston: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p.16.

Northern Song. Before this era, the evaluation of Du Fu was generally separated from the appreciation of his poetry. When Du Fu's biographies were composed, excluding this personal tone, the compiler exerted his unique political perspective on Du Fu.

Despite the issue regarding the choice of sources, there is probably a more profound reason why the reception of Du Fu in Northern Song is so dissimilar. It can be speculated that the difference between two evaluations is related to the perspectives intended for different literary contexts. In public writings like the *New Tang History*, writers assessed the poet's life in light of his political success. Since Du Fu did not survive the power struggles, the historians categorized him as one among the group of literati who rely on literature for gain, contrasted against "gentlemen" who realize their ambitions through merit and deed, as stated clearly in the preface to "Wen yi lie zhuan 文藝列傳". This categorization of literati defined many famous Tang poets, including Wang Wei 王維 and Li Bai 李白, who were also famous for poetry composition. In other words, the evaluation of Du Fu in the *New Tang History* is in tune with the larger design of the compiler's political concerns. In contrast, the Song literati, such as Song Qi and Su Shi, sympathized with Du Fu in their private writings for personal reasons. They resorted to a self-revealing framework by reconstructing Du Fu through reading his poems. Their efforts allowed for the image of Du Fu we retain today.

Chapter Two

A Textual History of Du Fu's Verse

William Hung's bibliographical study, the preface to the *Harvard-Yenching Concordance*⁹⁶ has maintained a great influence on the western study of Du Fu's verse. This reader-friendly version into which he converted *Jiujia jizhu Du shi* 九家集注杜詩 serves as the basic text of many scholars' study of Du Fu. However, as Susan Cherniack has already noted in her dissertation, it was far from sufficient to rely on one text for the study of Du Fu's poems.⁹⁷ She claimed to use the Song wood-block print of *Du Gongbu ji* 杜工部集 originally compiled by Wang Zhu 王洙 (997-1057)⁹⁸ in 1039 as a base edition with supplements from many other later texts. Although Wang Zhu's work is the earliest preserved anthology of Du Fu, it is not among the most valuable works of its kind in a strict scholarly sense, in that this work does not contain any annotations from the compiler, and thus makes it less useful than those annotated editions. Its unique value is further weakened by the fact that compilers of many later editions had earlier texts or scattered poems as their sources and thus made differences from Wang Zhu's work in their own compilations. Moreover, poems in Wang Zhu's compilation were not entirely ordered by chronicles, which makes it unsuitable for a study of the gull poems, which represent Du Fu's life paths. Therefore, it is important to select a few critical editions either with fine annotations or ordered in chronicles, if not both. For this reason, I select seven editions: *Xinkan jiaoding jizhu Dushi*

⁹⁶ William Hung's 洪業 (1893-1980) ed., *Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series Supplement*, vol. 14, 1940. Reprint, Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Company, 1966.

⁹⁷ Cf. Cherniack, Susan's discussion on sources for her translation in "Three Great Poems by Du Fu: 'Five Hundred Words: A Song of My Thoughts on Traveling from the Capital to Fengxian,' 'Journey North,' and 'Rhymes: A Song of My Thoughts on an Autumn Day in Kuifu Respectfully Sent to Director Zheng and Adviser to the Heir Apparent Li,'" (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University, 1988), pp. 71-91.

⁹⁸ Wang Zhu 王洙, style Yuanshu 原叔, was a native of Yingtian 應天 in modern Kaifeng 開封 of Henan province, cf. *Song shi* 宋史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), 294. 9814-7 and Zhang Zhonggang, *Duji xulu* 杜集敘錄 (Jinan: Qilu shushe), p.11. Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 wrote an epitaph for him, *Hanlin Shidu Xueshi Wang Gong Zhu muzhiming* 翰林侍讀學士王公洙墓志銘, cf. Jiang Liangfu 姜亮夫 (1902-1995), *Lidai renwu nianli beizhuan zongbiao* 歷代人物年碑傳綜表, in *Jiang Liangfu quanji* 姜亮夫全集 (Kunming: Yunnan renmin chubanshe, 2002), 19:299.

新刊校訂集注杜詩 (*Jiujia jizhu Dushi* 九家集注杜詩),⁹⁹ *Huangshi bu qianjia jizhu Du Gongbu shishi* 黃氏補千家集注杜工部詩史, *Qianzhu Dushi* 錢注杜詩, *Dushutang Du Gongbu shiji zhujie* 讀書堂杜工部詩集注解, *Dushi xiangzhu* 杜詩詳注, *Du Du xinjie* 讀杜心解 and *Dushi jingquan* 杜詩鏡銓, for the comparison of the texts and annotations in order to do any serious research on Du Fu's poetry. In order to understand the specialties of these refined editions, they will be laid out in the textual history of Du Fu's anthologies.

The study of the transmission of Du Fu's anthology is a complicated subject for modern scholars. Beside the lack of knowledge of collection of his poems and articles for almost two hundred years after his death, even transmission of those well-annotated editions can also cause many problems. The difficulty mostly lies in that it is hard to have a standard edition for his anthology. Since the Five dynasties, scholars had compiled numerous anthologies with different classifications and various annotations. The process of annotation further aggravated the complication. Some compilers borrowed other scholars' annotations without making any reference in their notes, and others fabricated notes by famous people, such as Su Shi's 蘇軾 (1037-1101) and Wang Shipeng's 王十朋 (1112-1171),¹⁰⁰ to popularize their own works. In Southern Song dynasty, the appearance of the collective annotated editions made this situation more complicated. Sometimes booksellers combined two different editions for better sales without any indication of their doing so. None of these editions, even less-corrupted ones, are void of mistakes.

⁹⁹ In general, scholars agree that *Xin kan jiao ding ji zhu Du shi* was a reprint of Guo Zhida's *Jiu jia ji zhu Du shi* by Zeng E 曾噩 in the first year of Baoqing 寶慶 reign (1225). The original Guo edition printed in the Shu 蜀 area was not transmitted. What we have now is based on the Zeng E's reprint found in the Wuying 武英 palace during Emperor Qianlong's 乾隆 reign (1736-1795). In the preface, Guo Zhida claimed that his edition included nine annotators. However, there seems to have been more than nine annotators in the present Zeng E's edition. In addition, this edition avoided strokes of the given name of Emperor Guang 光 (r.1190-1194), the next in throne after Emperor Xiao 孝 (r.1162-1189) during whose reign Guo Zhida finished compilation of his edition. Therefore, further investigation will be necessary to decide if Zeng E's edition is a reprint of Guo's edition.

¹⁰⁰ Wang Shipeng 王十朋, style Guiling 龜齡, was born in Wenzhou 溫州. He was the best tested scholar in the imperial *jinshi* examination held by the emperor in 1157. Having joined the opposition side against the Jin 金 army, he could not pass the *jinshi* examination until the age of forty-six. During his life, he founded Meixi 梅溪 academy in Wenzhou and was renowned for his poetic talent and excellent scholarship. Cf. *SS*, 387.1182-7 and Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲 (1610-1695) *Song Yuan xue'an* 宋元學案 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), 32.1152 and 44.1424.

In spite of this tremendous complexity, there are excellent works on the textual history of Du Fu's verse. William Hung's preface to the *Concordance* and his article, "Tu Fu Again"¹⁰¹ both investigated the widely circulated editions. His articles founded the modern study of the textual criticism of Du Fu's verse. Wan Man's 萬曼 chapter on Du Fu in the *Tang ji xu lu* 唐集敘錄¹⁰² provided a coherent narrative of the textual transmission of Du Fu's verse in the Song dynasty. Wan Man categorized types of editions into two groups according to their arrangement of poems: editions organized by poetic genres and those arranged in chronological order. However, with the exception of Qian Qianyi's edition, he only glossed over the Qing dynasty's scholarship. Recently, Cai Jinfang 蔡錦芳 published a book on Du Fu's editions, *Dushi banben ji zuopin yanjiu* 杜詩版本及作品研究,¹⁰³ in which she wrote a few independent articles on the Song and Qing editions. Her articles clarified the misapprehensions of a few Song annotators, and pointed out the significance of Zhu Heling's edition in the Qing scholarship, which has been unfairly overlooked because most modern readers only pay attention to his contemporary, Qian Qianyi's work. None of the above works examines the transmission of Du Fu's verse in the early stages. Chen Shangjun's 陳尚君 article about the circulation of Du Fu's verse before Wang Zhu's edition filled in this blank.¹⁰⁴ It investigated various existing forms of Du Fu's verse during the Tang, the Five dynasties and at the beginning of Song dynasty, including manuscripts, inscriptions and selected poems in poetry anthologies.

To obtain a clearer understanding of the textual history of Du Fu's verse, I will concentrate on two most significant historical periods of Du Fu study: the entire Song dynasty and the first half of the Qing dynasty. In these two periods, many top scholars devoted themselves to the collection of Du Fu's verse, compilation of his anthology, annotation of his poems, chronicling his life, and interpretation of

¹⁰¹ Hung, William. "Tu Fu Again." *Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies* 10, no. 2 (1974).

¹⁰² Cf. Wan Man 萬曼, "Du Gongbu ji 杜工部集" in *Tangji xulu* 唐集敘錄 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), pp.106-37.

¹⁰³ Cai Jinfang 蔡錦芳. *Dushi banben ji zuopin yanjiu* 杜詩版本及作品研究. Shanghai: Shanghai daxue chubanshe, 2007.

¹⁰⁴ Chen Shangjun 陳尚君, "Dushi zaoqi liuchuankao 杜詩早期流傳考," in *Zhongguo gudian wenxue congkao* 中國古典文學叢考, vol.1 (Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 1985), pp.152-83.

his poems. Because of these endeavors, modern readers can access Du Fu's thoughts and his artistry. Moreover, it was in these two periods that Du Fu was brought to the forefront of literary discussion, and became a cultural icon transcendent for his far-sighted political vision and high morality.

Du Fu study in the Song dynasty features the collection, detailed annotations and chronicling of his poetry. Most Yuan and Ming scholars based their discussions on Song scholarship and did not make much creative contribution to the study of Du Fu. Their discourse mostly focused on Du Fu's recent style poetry. Although the two complete annotated anthologies in the Ming dynasty, Shan Fu's 單復 *Du Du yu de* 讀杜愚得 and Shao Bao's 邵寶 *Du Shaoling shi fenlei jizhu* 杜少陵詩分類集註,¹⁰⁵ provided entries to elementary level readers, they did not make much progress in interpreting Du Fu's poems. This poor state of Du Fu study continued to the end of Ming dynasty until the appearance of Wang Sishi's 王嗣奭 (1565-1648)¹⁰⁶ *Du yi* 杜臆. After him, many scholars, such as Qian Qianyi 錢謙益 (1582-1664), Zhu Heling 朱鶴齡 (1606-1683),¹⁰⁷ Zhang Jin 張潛 (1621-1678),¹⁰⁸ Qiu Zhao'ao 仇兆鰲 (1638-1717),¹⁰⁹ Pu Qilong 浦起龍 (1679-1762)¹¹⁰ and Yang Lun 楊倫 (1747-1803),¹¹¹ either compiled annotated editions or wrote contributive annotations.

¹⁰⁵ For detailed information of these two editions, cf. William Hung's discussion in his preface to the *Harvard-Yenching Concordance*, pp. 43-4.

¹⁰⁶ Wang Sishi, style Youzhong 右仲, a native of Jin 鄞 County, modern Ningbo 寧波 in Zhejiang province. He started to work on commenting Du Fu's verse in 1608 while he was staying at home to commemorate his late father. He was appointed to a few governor positions of counties in Jiangsu and Fujian provinces, and was promoted to the governor of Pei Prefecture in modern Sichuan in 1633. Wang Sishi fought against Zhang Xianzhong's 張獻忠 armies in Kui 夔 Prefecture, soon was removed from the resistance to Shaoxing 紹興 in Zhejiang province because of his different opinions from his superior. During these years, Wang Sishi kept doing researches on Du Fu's verse and completed his work at the age of eighty. Cf. Liu Kaiyang 劉開陽, "Preface" in *Du yi* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1983), pp.1-2.

¹⁰⁷ Zhu Heling 朱鶴齡, style Changru 長孺, was born in Wujiang 吳江 in Jiangsu 江蘇. He used to be on good terms with Qian Qianyi and studied Du Fu's verse with Qian Qianyi. Zhu Heling collected his notes and compiled *Du Gongbu shiji jizhu* 杜工部詩集集注. For more information on him, cf. *Qing shi gao* 清史稿 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976), 480. 13124. For the study of his edition, cf. Cai Jinfang 蔡錦芳, *Du shi banben ji zuopin yanjiu* 杜詩版本及作品研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai daxue chubanshe, 2007), pp.93-121 and pp.122-146.

¹⁰⁸ Zhang Jin 張潛, style Shangruo 尚若, was a native of Ci Prefecture 磁州 in modern Handan in Hebei province. Cf. Jiang Liangfu 姜亮夫 (1902-1995), *Lidai renwu nianli beizhuan zongbiao* 歷代人物年碑傳綜表, in *Jiang Liangfu quanji* 姜亮夫全集 (Kunming: Yunnan renmin chubanshe, 2002), 19:611.

¹⁰⁹ Qiu Zhao'ao 仇兆鰲, style Cangzhu 滄柱, a student of Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲, passed the *jinshi* examination in 1685 at the age of forty-eight and was rated the eighth in the second tier. Beginning at the age of twenty-eight, Qiu Zhao'ao followed Huang Zongxi as a disciple for almost twenty years until his success in passing the *jinshi* examination. Years of assiduous studies prepared him for his official appointment of collation of histories, such as *Da Qing yitong zhi* 大清一統

The Popularity of Du Fu Studies and the Recollection of His Verse

Du Fu's poetry was not widely circulated until the Northern Song dynasty. After his death, only his contemporary, Fan Huang 樊晃 (?-?), the Prefect of Run 潤 Prefecture, compiled a six-*juan* selection of his poems. According to Du Fu's biography in the *Old Tang History*, there was also a sixty-*juan* anthology of his poetry. The "Yiwen zhi 藝文志 [The Record of Artistic Literature]" in the *New Tang History* records both this anthology and Fan Huang's edition. Neither collection was transmitted to modern readers, however, Fan Huang's "Preface to the *Smaller Collection of Du Fu's Poetry* 杜工部小集序"¹¹² was preserved in many Song editions.

There is an anthology of sixty-*juan*, circulating south of the Yangtze River and Han River. I always intended to travel to the east, but could not go at last. At that time there happened to be warfare, and the anthology was about to be lost. For this reason, people do not know it. Those pieces, which lyricists east of the Yangtze River transmit and recite, are all the Master's amusing subjects and dramatic discussions. They do not know that you are the only person at present who had compositions of great elegance. Now, having collected his remnant 290 work, I categorized them into six *juan* according to the subjects and circulated this text east of the Yangtze River. The gentleman had two sons, Zongwen and Zongwu. I recently got to know their temporary whereabouts in the area of Jiangling. I hope to ask for the original sixty-*juan* anthology for the sake of supplements and proper sequence.

志 and *Ming shi* 明史. In the fourth year of his political career (1689), he started to annotate Du Fu's verse and completed his study with a book, *Du shi xiang zhu* coming out in 1693. In the same year he presented this work to Emperor Kangxi for his private reading. It was ten years later in 1703 that this work was allowed to be printed for publication. Qiu Zhao'ao compiled his own chronology, entitled *Shangyou tang nianpu* 尚友堂年譜. The manuscript of it is preserved in Zhonghua shuju's library.

¹¹⁰ Pu Qilong 浦起龍, style Ertian 二田, was born in Shangfu 上福 county in Wuxi 無錫 in the eighteenth year of the Emperor Kangxi in 1679. After passing the *xiuca* 秀才 examination, he had failed a higher level exam for more than thirty years. He then concentrated on research, and started to write *Du Du xin jie* 讀杜心解 in 1721 and finished it in 1724. In 1730 he passed the *jinshi* 進士 examination and later he was appointed the president of Wuhua 五華 academy in Yunnan 云南 and Ziyang 紫陽 academy in Suzhou 蘇州. Famous Qing scholars, Qian Daxin 錢大昕 (1728-1804), and Wang Chang 王昶 (1725-1806) were his students. During those years, he collected ancient annotated editions of classics, and amended and annotated fourteen books, then compiled into a seventy-nine *juan* *Gu wen mei quan* 古文眉詮. This book was printed out in the ninth year of the Emperor Qianlong 乾隆 (1744). He returned home the next year to start a research on Liu Zhiji's 劉知幾 (661-721) *Shi tong* 史通 and wrote *Shi tong tong shi* 史通通釋. Other than these works, Pu Qilong wrote an anthology, *Bu shi ji* 不是集. Cf. *DJXL*, p.350.

¹¹¹ Yang Lun 楊倫 was a contemporary of Zhao Yi 趙翼, Hong Liangji 洪亮吉, and Sun Xingyan 孫星衍. He passed *jinshi* examination in the middle of Qianlong's 乾隆 reign. Cf. *QSG*, 485.13391-2.

¹¹² Cf. Qiu, 5: 2237.

文集六十卷，行於江漢之南。常蓄東遊之志，竟不就。屬時方用武，斯文將墮，故不為人所知。江左詞人所傳誦者，皆公之戲題劇論耳，曾不知君有大雅之作，當今一人而已。今採其遺文凡二百九十篇，各以事類，分為六卷，且行於江左。君有子宗文、宗武，近知所在，漂寓江陵，冀求其正集，續當論次云。

Fan Huang's anthology is the first Du Fu edition compiled by individual scholars. From his preface it is evident that there was an original sixty-*juan* edition available in his descendants' hands after Du Fu's death. However, it seems that not only did Fan Huang not see this edition, but scholars in the Northern Song as well had not consulted it when they compiled their editions.

But the absence of this original anthology of Du Fu's poetry did not obstruct scholars from collecting his poems. The study of Du Fu's poetry became prevalent in the academia in the Song dynasty. But the trends and purposes of this study differed in the Northern Song and Southern Song dynasties due to the different cultural contexts of these two periods. The Northern Song scholars initiated this popularity on Du Fu by recollecting his poems and compiling a rather complete anthology of his poetry. However, the Southern Song scholars focused more on interpreting and annotating his poems. Accounts of these two trends of study will be given separately in this chapter.

The Northern Song scholars made magnificent efforts in the collection and compilation of Du Fu's poetry. At that time, his poems were already scattered throughout the national library, private manuscripts, various *biji* 筆記 records, inscriptions on walls, stele, etc.. Many official-scholars, such as Sun Jin 孫僅 (969-1017),¹¹³ Wang Zhu, Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021-1086),¹¹⁴ Lu Dafang 呂大防

¹¹³ Sun Jin, style Linji 鄰幾, was a native of Ruyang 汝陽 in modern Henan province. He passed *jinshi* examination in 998 and was appointed to a few scholar positions. Cf. *SS*, 306.10100-1.

¹¹⁴ Wang Anshi 王安石 claimed to attain from a scholar more than two hundred poems written by Du Fu, which no other editions had included. Reading them closely, Wang Anshi identified the unique poetic style as well as the typical undertones of Du Fu, and thus positively attributed these poems to Du Fu. Apart from that it is a selective edition of Du Fu's verse, this text only contains poems written after "Xian Bingma 洗兵馬" composed in 759. Cf. Wang Anshi's the "Preface to the Latter Anthology of Du Fu's Verse 杜工部後集敘," Qiu, 5:2241.

(1027-1097),¹¹⁵ Hu Zongyu 胡宗愈 (1029-1094)¹¹⁶ and Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅 (1045-1105),¹¹⁷ either collected Du Fu's poems to compile an anthology, conducted a study of Du Fu, or did both. Many of these scholars had a high official status in the court, for example, Wang Anshi and Lu Dafang were the Chief Ministers, Wang Zhu held a *Hanlin* 翰林 scholar status, and Hu Zongyu was the governor of Chengdu at the time and became the Head of the Ministry of Personnel 吏部尚書. They most likely all had easy access to library resources and were able to hire workers to collect materials, print their books or inscribe their collections on stones. Without this era of poem recollection, Du Fu could be one of thousands of unknown literati buried in the history of classical Chinese literature.

Then the question should be raised as to why scholars of this era considered Du Fu and his poems so special. What were the historical contributors of this enthusiasm of Du Fu in the Northern Song scholarship? What were the features of the study of Du Fu in that era? Besides the easy access for these scholar-officials to various resources, what did urge them all at that time to spend so much energy in this time and money-consuming project?

To answer these questions, an investigation of the historical contexts during the first several decades of the Northern Song dynasty is necessary. From the establishment of the Song Empire by Zhao Kuangyin 趙匡胤 (927-976) in 960, China started another comparatively stable period administrated under a highly institutionalized central government. In contrast to the frequent turmoil,

¹¹⁵ Lu Dafang 呂大防, style Weizhong 微仲, was born in 1027 in Lantian 藍田 in modern Shanxi 陝西 province. In 1086 he was appointed the Right Chief Minister 尚書右丞 by Emperor Shen 神 (r. 1067-1085). He had three brothers, Lu Dazhong 呂大忠, Lu Dajun 呂大鈞 (1029-1080), Lu Dalin 呂大臨 (1040-1092) who were all renown for their studies of Neo-Confucianism. He was said to be an upright scholar official who did not like to make speeches. His *Han Libu Wengong nianpu* 韓吏部文公年譜 and *Du Gongbu nianpu* 杜工部年譜 were founding works of the chronicle compilation in Chinese literary history. Cf. *Song shi* 宋史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), 340.10837-44, SYXA, 19.796 and Hu Bo 胡波. *Lu Dafang yanjiu* 呂大防研究. Master Thesis, Xibei daxue 西北大學, 2009.

¹¹⁶ Hu Zongyu 胡宗愈, style Wanfu 完夫, was a native of Jinling 晉陵. He is an advocate of neutralism in politics, cf. SYXA, 4.210. When he governed Chengdu around 1090, Hu Zongyu inscribed Du Fu's verse composed in Chengdu as well as those about his life there on stones, and inlaid walls of the rebuilt thatched house with these pieces of inscription. Cf. Hu Zongyu, "Chengdu xinke caotang xiansheng shibei xu 成都新刻草堂先生詩碑序 [Preface to the New Inscription of the Poetry of the Mr. Thatched House in Chengdu]," Qiu, 5: 2242-3.

¹¹⁷ One of the "Four Preeminent Scholars Supervised by Su Shi 蘇門四學士," Huang Tingjian is a scholar as well as poet and calligrapher. For more information on him, cf. SS, 44.13109-11.

changes of rulers and numerous local governorships during the split period of the Five dynasties, the Northern Song dynasty not only unified the territory, but also was aware of the importance of reconstructing a unified ideological system. The first missions of the academia were to compile an encyclopedia, an anthology of excellent writings, a collection of books of tales and an encyclopedia of medical treatment. On one hand, these imperial projects set up a bibliographical base for the later scholarship. On the other hand, they also represented the sovereign's intentions for a grand unified system. The academia at the same time wanted to absorb the experience of previous dynasties and resurrect the Confucian morality. For many scholars, the imperial projects were not great opportunities to express their true understandings of social ideals because of political reasons. However, in their private writings, many of them express their thoughts freely and wrote down their sharp observations of politics, economics, livelihood of people, literature and history.

Du Fu, for these scholars, was a very good subject to work on. By examining the background of Du Fu, it is easy to determine that he suited many criteria of a typical scholar-official. He had glorious family traditions of high-status official and literary talents. Du Yu 杜預 (222-284),¹¹⁸ his ascendant, was a Marquis in Jin dynasty whose annotated *Zuo zhuan* 左傳 became the standard version of this work. His grandfather, Du Shenyan, a famous poet in the Empress Wu's regime, claimed that studying and composing poetry was their family tradition. Du Fu, not only inherited the literary talents, but also honed his morality up to the Confucian standards. Moreover, he embraced an ambition of reconstructing the ideal world of archaic times, and never betrayed his emperor no matter in times of military chaos or his demotion from the central government. Therefore, both his moral pursuit and ambition fit the Confucian ideology the Northern Song scholars tried to re-establish at the time.

Another important reason for this Du Fu faddism probably lies in the realistic literary style Du Fu chose to write his poems. Since he dated his poems in consciousness and wrote in realistic terms, it

¹¹⁸ Du Yu 杜預, style Yuankai 元凱, was a native of Duling 杜陵, modern Xi'an in Shanxi province. He was renown for his military and political achievements as well as his scholarly studies in the Western Jin dynasty. Cf. *Jin shu*, 34.1025-34.

is easy for readers to look back through the traces of his life. Through his life readers could see his struggles, his joy and his worries, which reflected the histories of that time. This characteristic of his poetry, which provided materials for scholars to investigate the past political and historical events, suited the Northern Song trend of scholarship for the search of strengths and weakness in politics during the Tang dynasty.

Compilation of Du Fu's Verse in the Song Dynasty: Collecting Poems, Annotating Verses, and Chronicling His Life

Under such a cultural circumstance, Du Fu study became popular during the Northern Song. Scholars were aware of the problem of their studies, if they did not have a good edition of his anthology to work on. Therefore, they started to collect Du Fu's scattered poems, to compare different editions and to compile anthologies of Du Fu's poetry. This textual study started with Sun Jin's one-*juan* anthology. After him, Su Shunqin 蘇舜欽 (1008-1048)¹¹⁹ collected about three hundred and eighty poems from three different sources, and compiled the *Another Anthology of Du Fu* 杜甫別集 in 1036. But none of these works well circulated. The first survived anthology was Wang Zhu's compilation, *Du Gongbu ji* in 1039. Wang Zhu consulted nine different anthologies of Du Fu, and categorized poems into archaic style and recent style. This edition was further collated by Wang Qi 王琪 (?-?)¹²⁰ and printed in Suzhou 蘇州 in 1059, which became the earliest extant edition as well as a base version of many later anthologies. Besides this edition, Wang Anshi and Liu Chang 劉敞 (1019-

¹¹⁹ Su Shunqin, having the same style with Du Fu, Zimei 子美, was a native of Zi Prefecture 梓州 in modern Sichuan, about 120 miles northeast of Chengdu 成都. Su Shunqin supported the Qingli Reformation (1043-1045) led by Fan Zhongyan 范仲淹 (989-1052), and was removed from officialdom after the failure of their political amelioration, which resulted in the collapse of this political group of reformists. Advocating the pragmatism of poetry, Su Shunqin's compositions always yield intensive vignettes of military and political reality casted on commoners' lives. Cf. SS. 442.13073-13081 and *Song dai wenxue shi* 宋代文學史 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1996), pp.70-5.

¹²⁰ Wang Qi 王琪, style Junyu 君玉. Cf. Wang Qi's postscript, Qiu, 5:2241-2.

1068)¹²¹ compiled their own editions, but both of them only contained a portion of Du Fu's poems. Other than these, Hu Zongyu and Huang Tingjian inscribed Du Fu's poems on stones. Hu's inscriptions completed in 1090 focused on Du Fu's poems written in Chengdu or about his life there, and Huang's edition in 1100 compiled his Kuizhou 夔州 poems.

Along with the recollection of Du Fu's poems, the annotated editions of his poetry prevailed during the transitional period of the Northern Song and Southern Song dynasties. Using Wang Zhu's work as his base edition, Wang Yanfu 王彥輔 (1036-1116)¹²² compiled a *Zeng zhu Du Gongbu shi* 增注杜工部詩 in 1113. After him, Xue Cangshu 薛蒼舒,¹²³ Du Tian 杜田,¹²⁴ Bao Biao 鮑彪, Shi yin 師尹 and Zhao Yancai 趙彥材 each wrote their own annotations on Du Fu's poems. Only Zhao Yancai's text is partially preserved in two manuscripts written in the Ming and Qing dynasties, and was later recovered by Lin Jizhong 林繼中 in his seminal study published as *Du shi Zhao Cigong xian hou jie ji jiao* 杜詩趙次公先後解輯校 in 1986.

Because of the appearance of numerous annotations, some scholars started to collect these annotations and compiled them into one edition. The survived editions of this kind include *Wang Zhuangyuan ji baijia zhu biannian Du ling shi shi* 王狀元集百家注杜陵詩史, a falsified edition,

¹²¹ Liu Chang 劉敞, a native of Xinyu 新喻, modern Xinyu 新余 in Jiangxi 江西 province, was the second best in the *jinshi* examination. He had a reputation of righteousness and being extremely knowledgeable. Other scholars, such as Ouyang Xiu, would ask for his help of questions about classics. The emperor always entrusted him with significant tasks of rituals and consulted him regularly about matters of morality, cf. *SS*, 87.10383-90 and *SYX*, 4.206-7.

¹²² Yanfu 彥輔 was the style name for Wang Dechen 王得臣, a native of modern Anlu 安陸 in Hubei province. He passed *jinshi* examination in 1059, and was appointed to several sinecure positions at first. After 1087 he was steadily promoted from the governor of prefectures to the Vice Minister of the Agricultural Department. He left the important positions for problems of his eyes at age sixty-one. He wrote a few books, and among them only *Chen shi* 塵史, a *biji* work is transmitted to modern readers, cf. *SS*, 159.5229.

¹²³ Xue Cangshu, style Mengfu 夢符, was born in modern Shanxi 山西. He was a *hanlin* 翰林 scholar. He compiled *Bu zhu Du Gongbu ji* 補注杜工部集, *Du shi bu yi* 杜詩補遺, *Xu zhu bu yi* 續注補遺, and *Du shi kan wu* 杜詩刊誤. There is no more recorded information about this person. Zhou Caiquan 周采泉 speculated that the last three works were all appendix of the *Bu zhu Du Gongbu ji*, see *Duji shulu* 杜集書錄 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1986), pp.28-9. Since Xue Cangshu's notes were cited by Du Tian and Zhao Yancai in their notes, Cai Jinfang regards him as one of the first group of people who wrote a complete annotation of Du Fu's poems. But at the same time she agrees that his notes had long been replaced by later more accurate annotations. See her discussion in *Du shi banben ji zuopin yanjiu* (Shanghai: Shanghai daxue chubanshe, 2007), pp.14-23.

¹²⁴ Du Tian's notes were the second in number in *Jiujia jizhu Dushi* 九家集注杜詩.

which was attributed to Wang Shipeng, a famous top scoring scholar in the imperial examination. It only contains about a dozen of notes under Wang Shipeng's name, and includes the falsified Wang Zhu and Su Shi's notes. This edition was further corrupted by the confusion of different scholars' annotations and fabrication of some inexistent annotators.

The best work of the collective annotated editions is *Guo Zhida's Jiu jia ji zhu Du shi* 九家集註杜詩, which was completed in 1181. This edition categorized Du Fu's poems into archaic style and recent style. It collected nine persons' annotations, including Wang Zhu, Song Qi, Huang Tingjian, Wang Anshi, Xue Cangshu, Shi Minzhan 師民瞻, Zhao Yancai, Bao Biao, Du Tian. This edition has always been attributed to Guo Zhida 郭知達 (12 cent.),¹²⁵ but there was no record of the original print of this book. Those who claimed to see Guo Zhida's work only read *Xin kan jiao ding ji zhu Du shi*, the later wood-block reprint in Guangdong 廣東 by Zeng E 曾噩 (1167-1226).¹²⁶

As a milestone of the Du Fu study in the Northern Song, Wang Zhu's edition provided the first thorough re-collection of Du Fu's poems. But other styles of compilation evolved at the end of the Northern Song. Editions can be classified into two kinds by their way of organizing Du Fu's poems. In the first kind, the poems are ordered by chronology; the second kind of editions categorizes Du Fu's poems by different subjects.

Along with the recollection of Du Fu's poems, some scholars concentrated on the chronology of his poems. Lu Dafang first created the chronicles of Du Fu. Later, in the early Southern Song dynasty, differing from the categorization by poetic genre employed by Wang Zhu, some scholars compiled their editions of Du Fu's poems based on chronological order. Huang Changrui's 黃長睿

¹²⁵ There is scarce historical record of Guo Zhida 郭知達. We only know he was a native of Sichuan.

¹²⁶ Zeng E 曾噩, style Zisu 子肅, was born in Min 閩 County, modern Fuzhou 福州 in Fujian province. He passed the *jinshi* examination in 1193. He used to be Guard of Rui Prefecture 瑞州, Governor of Jinjiang 晉江 County and Governor of Chao Prefecture 潮州. He was categorized into *xunli* 循吏 [law-abiding officials] by Lu Xinyuan 陸心源 in *Song shi yi* 宋史翼, cf. *Song shi yi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991), 22.7a-8a. In 1225 after he transferred to Director of Transportation Bureau in the Southeast Guangdong, Zeng E hired workers to print out *Xin kan jiao ding ji zhu Du shi* with the attachment of Guo Zhida's preface in front.

edition¹²⁷ was the most known among these works. Besides him, Lu Yin 魯訔 (1099-1175)¹²⁸ and Cai Xingzong 蔡興宗 (?-?)¹²⁹ also compiled anthologies based on chronicles. However, none of these texts were able to transmit to modern readers. The earliest preserved edition entirely based on chronology was Huang Xi 黃希 (fl.1166) and Huang He's 黃鶴 (ca.1190-ca.1216)¹³⁰ supplementary annotated text, *Huang shi bu zhu Du shi* 黃氏補注杜詩, completed in 1216. Because they employed the thousand scholars' annotated edition as their base edition, the transmitted text of their work was entitled, *Huang shi bu qian jia ji zhu Du Gongbu shi shi* 黃氏補千家注杜工部詩史. The unique feature of this text was the notes written under each poem indicating its date. Many later editions, such as Qiu Zhao'ao's *Du shi xiang zhu* adopted the dates mainly from Huang Xi and Huang He's work. Other than the Huangs, some other editions based on Lu Yin's chronicle came out. The first one was the edition attributed to Wang Shipeng (1112-1171). It noted Lu Yin's authorship of the chronology in the front

¹²⁷ This edition, entitled *Jiao ding Du Gongbu ji* 校定杜工部集, which contains twenty-two *juan*, is no longer extant. But we can still see Li Gang's 李綱 (1083-1140) preface to it which was composed in 1136, the sixth year of Shaoxing 紹興 reign of Emperor Gao 高. It says that Huang Changrui consulted the critical edition preserved in the imperial library and many other private editions with the collection of a dozen lost poems. His edition contains 1440 or so poems. Cf. Qiu, 5:2246-7.

¹²⁸ Lu Yin, style Jiqin 季欽, was a native of Jiaying 嘉興 in modern Zhejiang 浙江 Province. He passed the *jinshi* examination in 1135 and was appointed to be Left Gentlemen for Meritorious Achievement 左迪功郎 and Assistant Magistrate of Yuhang County 餘杭縣主簿. Later he held various low level positions. In the last year of Emperor Gaozong 高宗 (r.1127-1163) he was promoted to be 太常丞. In 1167 he was further promoted to be Vice Minister of the Chamberlain for the Palace Revenues 太府少卿 as well as Vice Minister of the Court of Judicial Review 大理少卿. Later Lu Yin was moved to various local positions and was granted a prestige title, Gentlemen for Court Audiences 朝請郎. Lu Yin's one *juan* *Du Gongbu nianpu* 杜工部年譜 was included at the beginning of *Fenmen jizhu Du Gongbu shi* 分門集注杜工部詩 and *Du Gongbu caotang shijian* 杜工部草堂詩箋. He also composed an chronological edition of Du Fu's verse, *Bianci Du Gongbu shi* 編次杜工部詩 (eighteen *juan*), completed in 1133 and not transmitted, cf. Qiu, 5:2247. For more detailed information on Lu Yin and his works, cf. *DJXL*, pp.58-60.

¹²⁹ Cai Xingzong, style Boshi 伯世, was a native of Donglai 東萊, modern laizhou 萊州 in Shandong 山東 Province. He mainly lived in the later period of Northern Song, a little earlier than the years of Zhao Cigong 趙次公. He compiled *Chongbian Shaoling xiansheng ji* 重編少陵先生集, one volumn of which circulated as a separate book, *Du shi zheng yi* 杜詩正異. Zhao Cigong often cited his work in his own annotations. Cai Xingzong's *Chongbian Du Gongbu nianpu* 重編杜工部年譜 was included at the beginning of *Fenmen jizhu Du Gongbu shi* 分門集注杜工部詩. For more detailed information on his works, cf. *DJXL*, pp.41-4

¹³⁰ Huang Xi and Huang He were natives of modern Linchuan 臨川 County in Jiangxi 江西 province. Huang Xi, style Zhongde 仲得, passed the *jinshi* exam in 1166, and was subsequently appointed to the Governor of Yongxin 永新. He started to work on annotating Du Fu's poems. He passed away and left the incomplete work to his son, Huang He. Huang He, style Shusi 叔似, supplemented his father's work with a chronicle of Du Fu. Cf. Fang Xinning and Li Chuan, "Huang Xi, Huang He shengping kaolue 黃希黃鶴生平考略," *Shidai wenxue* 時代文學, 3(2010), 163 and *DJXL*, pp.94-6.

page after the indication of the author of poems. In 1201, another important preserved edition based on Lu Yin's chronology came out, entitled *Dong Gongbu cao tang shi jian* 杜工部草堂詩箋 collated by Cai Mengbi 蔡夢弼 (?-?).¹³¹

Another kind of Du Fu anthology categorized his poems into different subjects. This categorization started with Xu Juren's 徐居仁¹³² work, a twenty-five *juan Men lei Du shi* 門類杜詩. The later *Fenmen jizhu Du Gongbu shi* 分門集註杜工部詩 was derived from this work with a collection of annotations and Huang He's supplementary notes. Huang He and his father Huang Xi's notes were added to Xu Juren's edition, and finally made a new edition, *Ji qian jia zhu fen lei Du Gongbu shi* 集千家注分類杜工部詩. Booksellers produced this work by combining Xu Juren's twenty-five *juan* edition with the thirty-six *juan Huang shi bu qian jia ji zhu Du Gongbu shi shi*. Therefore, it is not a serious scholarly edition for researchers to work on.

Qing Scholars' Textual Criticism of Du Fu's Verse: Exegetic Study and Literary Discussions

Qing editions of Du Fu's verse are very important for two reasons: its accessibility and scholarly values. The unique value of these Qing texts lies in the critical interpretations of Du Fu's verse and comments written on Du Fu's poetics. But this analytical study could not be made possible without a thorough exegetic work done on Du Fu's verse. Therefore, the Qing editions spilt into two major categories: one focusing on exegetic annotations and the other featuring literary discussions about Du Fu's verse. The history of textual criticism of Du Fu's verse during the Qing dynasty gives prominence to the alternation of these two styles at the beginning and ended with their confluence in later editions.

¹³¹ It is only known that Cai Mengbi was living during Emperor Ning's 寧 reign (1195-1209) in the Southern Song dynasty. He was born in Jian'an 建安 in modern Fujian province. He did not pursue a political career, but instead was devoted to studying. Cf. his "Preface to the Annotated Thatched House Poetry 杜工部草堂詩箋跋." Cf. Qiu, 5:2241.

¹³² Xu Juren was said to be a native of Donglai 東萊, an area covering modern Yantai 煙臺. Cf. William Hung's preface to the *Concordance*, p.17.

The commentating style in fact started long before the Qing dynasty. After the thorough work done on chronicles of Du Fu's poems and annotations in the Song dynasty, scholars began focusing on commenting his poems. The earliest seminal work of this kind was done by Liu Chenweng 劉辰翁 (1232-1297)¹³³ who lived through the end of the Southern Song to the early Yuan dynasty. The twenty-two *juan* *Liu Xuxi pi dian Du shi* 劉須溪批點杜詩, was reorganized by Gao Chufang 高楚芳 (1255-1308)¹³⁴ with the thousand-annotations edition into the twenty-*juan* *Ji qian jia zhu pi dian Du Gongbu shi* 集千家注批點杜工部詩. This kind of commentating texts dominated the Yuan and Ming scholarship on Du Fu's poetry, but none of them made significant contributions to the study of Du Fu and his poetics.

This situation ceased with Wang Sishi's annotated work, *Du yi* 杜臆. Wang Sishi started to study Du Fu and wrote down his comments during the turmoil era at the end of the Ming Dynasty. After going through the military chaos, he felt empathized with Du Fu and this similar life experience eventually led to a profound understanding of Du Fu's poems. Although the majority of his work was finished before the Ming dynasty collapsed, his comments had a great influence on Qing scholarship on Du Fu. For example, Qiu Zhao'ao included most of his words into his collective annotated edition, which was meant to be presented to Emperor Kangxi 康熙 (r. 1661-1722). Therefore, *Du yi* was the founding work of the Qing study of Du Fu's verse, rather than a remnant of the Ming tradition. In addition to the academic value, *Du yi* is also the first independent analytical study of Du Fu's poetics based on his complete anthology. Wang Sishi's comments, often including his prudent investigations of the historical contexts, can best help readers to trace the footsteps of Du Fu's lives.

¹³³ Liu Chenweng 劉辰翁, style Huimeng 會孟, was a native of Luling 廬陵, modern Ji'an 吉安 in Jiangxi province. His writings in *jinshi* examination offended Jia Sidao 賈似道 (1213-1275), and therefore was underrated. Cf. Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲 (1610-1695), *Songyuan xue'an* 宋元學案 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), 88. 2963 and *DJXL*, p.105.

¹³⁴ Chufang 楚芳 was a style name for Gao Chonglan 高崇蘭, a native of Luling. He collated and revised Liu Xuxi's work and created his own edition based on his study. His edition was printed several times during the Yuan dynasty and became one of the best-circulated editions of Du Fu's verse. Cf. William Hung's discussion in his preface to the *Concordance*, pp.32-5.

In spite of Wang Sishi's cutting edge, the beginning of the Qing Dynasty's academia applauded more the exegetic study of a text, especially a classic like Du Fu's anthology. The real influential studies of this kind began with Qian Qianyi and Zhu Heling's editions. Heavily influenced by the exegetic methodology at the time, these two scholars turned their attentions back to annotating allusions, place names and people's names, and investigating the historical events corresponding to Du Fu's poems. They used to work together to study the various annotations and editions of Du Fu's anthology and exchanged ideas and sources. Qian Qianyi, the famous former Vice Director of the Department of Ritual in Emperor Shunzhi's 順治 (r.1643-1661) court, after a short period of serving his time, retired from the Qing officialdom and concentrated on collecting rare-edition books in his Changshu 常熟 home. The annotation and collation of Du Fu's poems started in 1633 and finished in 1663. Instead of the popular editions, such as Wang Zhu's text, Cai Mengbi's text, etc., he used Wu Ruo's 吳若¹³⁵ text printed in 1113 as his base edition. Wu Ruo did not make his own annotations in this edition and he differentiated archaic style from recent style poetry. Having noticed the ignorance of chronicles of this edition, Qian Qianyi examined the correspondent historical events and amended a number of chronological mistakes previously made in other editions. The edition which is closely related to Qian Qianyi's text was *Ji zhu Du Gongbu ji* 輯注杜工部集 compiled by Zhu Heling 朱鶴齡 (1606-1683).¹³⁶ Befriended by Qian Qianyi, Zhu Heling borrowed his Song editions with the annotations when Zhu Heling himself concentrated on the study of Du Fu from 1655 to 1657. However, unlike Qian Qianyi, he used Cai Mengbi's text as his base edition and collated the annotations of previous editions. His work not only inherited the achievements of the Song scholars, but also influenced many later Qing editions because of its strictness in authenticating historical events,

¹³⁵ For more information on Wu Ruo, cf. *SS*, 370.11509 and *DJXL*, pp.51-3.

¹³⁶ Zhu Heling 朱鶴齡, style Changru 長孺, was born in Wujiang 吳江 in Jiangsu 江蘇. He refused to serve in the Qing court and retired to focus on research. He befriended many famous scholars, such as Qian Qianyi and Gu Yanwu 顧嚴武 (1613-1682). Besides Du Fu's poetry, his works include *Li Yishan shi ji jian zhu* 李商隱詩集箋注, *Shi jing tong yi* 詩經通義, *Yu gong chang jian* 禹貢長箋, and *Shang shu pi zhuan* 尚書埤傳. For more information see his biography in Zhao Er 趙爾 ed., *Qing shi gao* 清史稿 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976), 267.13124.

geographical locations in Du Fu's poems and the serious textual criticism represented by his collation of previous annotations. Qiu Zhao'ao's *Dushi xiangzhu* 杜詩詳注 and Yang Lun's *Dushi jingquan* 杜詩鏡銓 both owe a great deal to Zhu Heling's study.¹³⁷ This is particularly true in Yang Lun's case; he used Zhu Heling's work as his base edition with only a few amendments according to the reference of works of other scholars, such as Qiu Zhao'ao, Wang Shizhen 王士禎 (1634-1711)¹³⁸ and He Zhuo 何焯 (1661-1722).¹³⁹ Qian Qianyi and Zhu Heling's works were printed for publication respectively in 1667 and 1670. These two editions together founded Du Fu study in Qing academia.

However, the edition representing the unique commentating nature of the Qing Du Fu study did not come out until Zhang Jin's 張潛 (1621-1678) *Du shu tang Du Gongbu shi ji zhu jie* 讀書堂杜工部詩集註解 printed in 1698. Avoiding pure annotations on allusions, parallel texts and geography, this work features Zhang Jin's interpretations of Du Fu's verses.¹⁴⁰ Different from the exegetic emphasis of Qian Qianyi and Zhu Heling's editions, Zhang Jin worked thoroughly on achieving better literary appreciation of Du Fu's verse. His comments can often be read as concise close readings of the poems, which provide readers convenient access to understand Du Fu's poetic languages. The unique value of

¹³⁷ For the achievements of Zhu Heling's edition, see the discussion in Cai Jinfang 蔡錦芳, "Zhu Heling *Ji zhu Du Gongbu shi yan jiu* 朱鶴齡《輯注杜工部集》研究," in *Du shi banben ji zuopin yanjiu* 杜詩版本及作品研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai daxue chubanshe, 2007), pp.93-121.

¹³⁸ Wang Shizhen 王士禎, style Zizhen 子真, had an alternative title, *Yuyang shan ren* 漁洋山人. He was renown for his poetic talent as a prodigy. He passed the *jinshi* exam in 1685 and mainly served in Emperor Kangxi's 康熙 court. He used to be the Head of the Ministry of Ritual and later was moved to the Head of the Ministry of Justice. He was demoted and withdrew from officialdom in 1704. He had a number of works recorded in "Yiwen zhi 藝文志" in *Qing shi gao* 清史稿, such as *Daijing Tang ji* 帶經堂集, *Chibei outan* 池北偶談. Cf. *QSG*, 7.240, 7.249, 7.252, 7.256, 7.265, 7.279, 148.4379, 180.6436-517. For detailed information, cf. Zhang Ming 張明. *Wang Shizhen zhi* 王士禎志. Jinan: Shandong renmin chubanshe, 2009 and *DJXL*, pp.308-9.

¹³⁹ He Zhuo 何焯, had an alternative title, *Yimen xiansheng* 義門先生. As a native of Changzhou 長洲 (modern Suzhou 蘇州), he was well-known for his scholarship in collating Song and Yuan fine editions. Gifted in knowledge of history and classics, He Zhou was appointed the Scholar of Wuying 武英 Palace by Emperor Kangxi around 1703. Having an upright character, He Zhou dared to offend officials in power and was put into prison in 1715. Later, the Emperor Kangxi released him and praised his righteousness after finding out the truth. Cf. *QSG*, 484.13368-9. He Zhuo composed short essays about his reading of Du Fu's poems in *Yimen dushu ji* 義門讀書記, cf. *DJXL*, pp.337-8.

¹⁴⁰ For more detailed information on Zhang Jin 張潛 and his works, cf. *DJXL*, pp.275-6 and Liu Wengang 劉文剛, "Zhang Jin de Du Fu yanjiu 張潛的杜甫研究," in *Du Fu yanjiu xuekan* 杜甫研究學刊, 4(2009), pp. 48-56.

Zhang Jin's text is further strengthened by Erwin von Zach's use of it as the base edition for his translations, the only existent rendition of a complete Du Fu's verse in western languages.

After them, a number of comprehensive editions, benefiting from both exegetic study and literary criticism, came out. The best-known one was Qiu Zhao'ao's *Dushi xiangzhu* due to its exhaustive collection of previous annotations. Using Huang He's chronicles with a few amendments, Qiu Zhao'ao collected and collated almost all of the previous annotations, including some unpublished manuscripts, and finalized his own edition with finely selected notes. More importantly, this work is featured in Qiu Zhao'ao's own studies on Du Fu's poetics, in both literary aspects and linguistic features. In contrast to Zhang Jin's emphasis on meanings of Du Fu's verse, Qiu Zhao'ao's notes concentrate on analyzing the technical devices of the poems.

Seeking a unique presentation after Qiu Zhao'ao's comprehensive work, Pu Qilong gave prominence to analyzing Du Fu's verse in depth, which was indicated by the title of his work *Du Du xin jie* 讀杜心解 [Cerebral Interpretations after Reading Du Fu]. His notes implied an integration of reading Du Fu's verse from general ideas with his attentions to details. To best appreciate the autobiographical character of Du Fu's verse, Pu Qilong inserted years in the list of poems on the content table.

Yang Lun's *Dushi jingquan* was the last important work on Du Fu in Qing academia. First printed in 1791, this edition was famous for its selective character in contrast to the exhaustive inclusion of annotations in Qiu Zhao'ao's edition. This kind of selection is often customized for readers' easier understanding of allusions, better identification of locations mentioned in Du Fu's verse, and finer appreciation of Du Fu's artistry.¹⁴¹ After him, there were about thirty or so editions of Du Fu's verse, but none of them made noticeable contributions to the study of Du Fu.¹⁴²

¹⁴¹ For a thorough investigation of the contributions of *Dushi jingquan*, cf. Zhang Yunping 張運平, *Yang Lun Dushi jingquan yanjiu* 楊倫杜詩鏡銓研究 (Unpublished Master Thesis, Shanghai daxue, 2008).

¹⁴² For a list of these works, cf. Wan Man 萬曼, "Du Gongbu ji 杜工部集" in *Tang ji xu lu* 唐集敘錄 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), p.136.

Qiu Zhao'ao's *Dushi xiangzhu*: the Most Comprehensive Text of Du Fu's Verse

Among the preserved texts of Du Fu's verse, Qiu Zhao'ao's *Dushi xiangzhu* is the edition for which no other texts can substitute in order to conduct scholarly studies as well as a text with wide circulation. It not only has the most extensive collection of previous annotations, but also features Qiu Zhao'ao's research on Du Fu's poetics. The methodology Qiu Zhao'ao employed followed exegetic school Gu Yanwu 顧炎武 (1613-1628) and Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲 (1610-1695) and many other famous scholars at the time started. The meticulousness this methodology promoted allows for faithful interpretations of Du Fu's verse.

The annotations Qiu Zhao'ao chose to include in this edition contain many significant works written by both Song scholars and Qing scholars before him. These annotations contain some works, which were neglected by other annotators at the time. Huang He who compiled *Huangshi bu qianjia jizhu Du Gongbu shishi*, is cited 884 times, Zhu Heling is cited 751 times and Huang Sheng 黃生 (1622-?),¹⁴³ a Qing linguist is cited 367 times. The most cited work is Wang Sishi's *Du yi*, 1075 times.¹⁴⁴ Since most Qing editions overlooked comments made by Wang Sishi due to its limited circulation, Qiu Zhao'ao's inclusion of his comments thus filled in this blank.

In selection of annotations, Qiu Zhao'ao paid special attention to the intertextual relation between Du Fu's verse and earlier writings. He always pointed out parallel texts, including allusions, parodies, and echoes. Although Qiu Zhao'ao did not categorize these parallel texts into different literary devices, his quotations of previous writings, which always include authors' names of their

¹⁴³ Huang Sheng 黃生, style Fumeng 扶孟, was a native of Zhe 歙 County in modern Anhui province. He wrote a book, *Du shi shuo* 杜詩說, which examined Du Fu's poetic artistry and discussed how to acquire poetic competence by studying Du Fu's verse. For a detailed discussion on Huang She's book, cf. Wang Yonghuan 王永環. *Huang Sheng Du shi shuo yanjiu* 黃生《杜詩說》研究. Unpublished Mater Thesis, Xibei shifan daxue 西北師範大學, 2006 and *DJXL*, pp.280-2.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Kōichi, Satō, "Du shi xiang zhu zhongde lunshi zhiren-Zhedong xian de wenhua fenwei 《杜詩詳註》中的‘論世知人’——浙東鄞縣的文化氛圍," in Fu Xuancong 傅璇琮 ed., *Tangdai wenxue yanjiu* 唐代文學研究, vol.12 (2008), pp.529-30.

works, allow for further studies of previous writers' influence on Du Fu's poetics. For my study of gull imagery, *Dushi xiangzhu* notes its *locus classicus* in *Lie Zi* several times when it occurs in the poem. In addition, this edition traces intertextual links of other important phrases in these poems from Du Fu back to previous poets.

Apart from the attentions to intertextuality, Qiu Zhao'ao highlighted Du Fu's poetics by citing previous scholars' comments and writing analytical assessments on his literary artistry, such as various literary devices and structures of the verse. This commentating style started in Yuan academia, further developed in Wang Sishi and Zhang Jin's editions, matured in Qiu Zhao'ao's work, and prevailed in studies after him.

Dushi xiangzhu's importance also lies in Qiu Zhao'ao's contribution to the study of phonology of Du Fu's verse. On the cover page of the original wood-block print of *Dushi xiangzhu* which is currently preserved in Fudan University Library, it is indicated that Qiu Zhao'ao often read Du Fu's verse aloud when he studied the poems.¹⁴⁵ Perhaps because of his reading habits, Qiu Zhao'ao decided to reconstruct many words' Tang pronunciations and rendered detailed phonetic information of 4360 rhyming feet, polyphones and rarely-used words.¹⁴⁶ Besides these, he created a marking system to differentiate meanings of many polyphones brought by different tones. Compared with earlier Qing editions, such as Qian Qianyi's text which contains only eighty-three notes on pronunciation and Wang Sishi's text with even less notes, Qiu Zhao'ao was the first Qing Du Fu expert who paid so much attention to the phonologic features.

Qiu Zhao'ao's detailed annotations not only provide a friendly text for the study of Du Fu's artistry in the background of literary history, but also are useful for tracing previous studies on the poet, for *Dushi xiangzhu* widely preserves annotations from Song to early Qing Dynasty. If there were only

¹⁴⁵ A line with smaller fonts before the title of this book reads, "Qiu Zhao'ao, a Scribe, repeatedly read aloud 史官仇兆鰲誦習."

¹⁴⁶ For a detailed discussion on Qiu Zhao'ao's study of the phonology of Du Fu's verse, cf. Kōichi, Satō, "on the Phonetic Glosses in Qiu Zhao'ao's *Du shi xiang zhu*: The Significance of More Than Ten Thousand Phonetic Glosses," *Nippon-Chgoku-gakkai-hō (Bulletin of the Sinological Society of Japan)* 58 (2006): 171-87.

one text to be used for studying Du Fu's verse, *Dushi xiangzhu* should be the chosen edition for its comprehensiveness. Other editions, such as Qian Qianyi, Pu Qilong and Yang Lun, although each makes contribution to some specific aspects in commenting Du Fu's verse, none of them can substitute for the values of extensive notes in *Dushi xiangzhu*.

Seven Critical Editions of Du Fu's Verse

The first critical edition is *Jiujia jizhu dushi* 九家集注杜詩 originally compiled by Guo Zhida in 1181 and printed out by Zeng E 曾噩 in Guangzhou 廣州 in 1225. It is also titled as *Xinkan jiaoding jizhu dushi* 新刊校訂集注杜詩, which was published by Zhonghua shuju 中華書局 (Beijing, 1982). The earlier extant texts include a reprint of a Song edition during Lizong 宋理宗 (r.1225-1265), *Ying yin Song ben xin kan jiao ding ji zhu Du shi* 影印宋本新刊校訂集注杜詩 published by Guoli Gugong Bowuyuan 國立故宮博物院 (Taipei, 1985) and a reprint of the Wuying 武英 Palace edition during Jiaqing 嘉慶 reign (1796-1820). Using this Jiaqing reprint as his base edition, William Hung's 洪業 (1893-) compiled the Harvard-Yenching *Concordance* with a supplementary *juan* of the lost poems based on *Dushi xiangzhu* 杜詩詳註 edited by Qiu Zhao'ao 仇兆鰲 (1638-1717).

This thirty-six *juan* edition contains seventeen *juan* of the old style poetry and nineteen *juan* of regulated verse. Within the genre the poems are arranged chronologically. Completed in 1181, Guo Zhida in the "Preface" claimed to include annotations from nine major Northern Song commentators, respectively, Wang Shu 王洙 (997-1057), Song Qi 宋祁 (998-1061), Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021-1086), Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅 (1045-1105), Xue Mengfu 薛夢符 (12th cent.), Du Tian 杜田 (12th cent.), Bao Biao 鮑

彪 (fl.1128), Shi Yin 师尹 (?-1152) and Zhao Yancai 趙彥材 (12th cent.). Although this claim does not completely reflect the actual annotations, it is the best collective annotated edition of Du Fu's poetry because of its comparative accuracy in both the text and notes. After the punctuated *Concordance* text compiled by William Hung, *Jiujia jizhu Dushi* has become a more convenient text for modern scholars.

Huang Xi 黃希 (fl.1166), Huang He 黃鶴 (13th cent.). *Huang Shi bu qianjia zhu fenlei Du Gongbu shishi* 黃氏補千家注紀年杜工部詩史. 36 *juan.*, 1282. This rare edition is preserved as an incomplete text.¹⁴⁷ A wood block edition printed by Zhan Guangzu's 詹光祖 *Yueya shutang* 月崖書堂 in 1287 is preserved in Chinese National Library in Beijing and the Museum of Shandong Province. A microfilm reproduction of the Jian'an Fang 建安坊 wood-block print edition is available in Harvard Yen-ching Library (1973).

This edition was thought to be based on an earlier edition, *Qianjia zhu* 千家注, with Huang Xi and Huang He's annotations added to it. The original annotations before Huang Xi and Huang He's contain 151 scholars' comments. Besides the thirty-six *juan*, this edition contains two supplementary *juan*, one of which is devoted to twenty-nine poems, and the other of which contains Du Fu's four pieces of prose, Du Fu's biography in the *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 and the chronology of Du Fu Lu Dafang 呂大防 (1027-1097) compiled. Completed in 1216, this thirty-six *juan* edition is thought to be the earliest extant edition which features the arrangement of Du Fu's poems in chronology. It also provides brief clarifications of dates and historical events alluded in

¹⁴⁷This text only contains *juan* 4-7, 13-15 and 20-23.

each poem under its title. These comments influenced and inspired works of many later scholars, such as Qian Qianyi 錢謙益 (1582-1664) and Qiu Zhao'ao.

Qian Qianyi 錢謙益 (1582-1664). *Qianzhu Dushi* 錢注杜詩. 20 *juan*. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1958.

Qian Qianyi's work was first printed out by Ji Zhenyi 季振宜 (1630-1674) in *Jing si tang* 靜思堂 in 1667. This rare edition, called *Du Gongbu ji* 杜工部集 has a dozen of transmitted copies available throughout public libraries in mainland China. They are preserved in Wenxue yanjiu suo 文學研究所 in Chinese Social Science Academy, Du Fu Thatched House in Chengdu, Chinese National Library, Shanghai Library, Hubei Library, Zhongshan Library in Guangdong province and Jinan City Library and so on. A different Zhonghua Shuju edition published by Xinhua shudian Shanghai faxingsuo 新華書店上海發行所 in 1958. Also published by Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社 in 1979.

This twenty *juan* edition arranges Du Fu's poems according to the subgenre. It also includes the chronology of Du Fu at the beginning. Qian Qianyi claimed to base his work on an edition compiled by Wu Ruo 吳若. Benefiting enormously from the display of textual variants in Wu Ruo's edition and other selected early anthologies, Qian Qianyi clarified and corrected many erroneous notations transmitted through the centuries. Though the annotations feature his own interpretations on the allegorical meanings of Du Fu's poems, his work inspired and influenced many other Qing scholars, such as Zhu Heling 朱鶴齡 (1606-1683), Qiu Zhao'ao 仇兆鰲 (1638-1717), Pu Qilong 浦起龍 (1679-ca.1761) and Yang Lun's 楊倫 (1747-1803) works. The two-

volume critical edition published by Zhonghua Shuju becomes the standard text of Du Fu's verse for many contemporary scholars.

Zhang Jin 張潛 (1621-1678). *Dushutang Du Gongbu shiji zhujie* 讀書堂杜工部詩集註解. 20 *juan*. 1676 ; rpt., Jinan : Qilu shushe, 1997. Also published by Datong Shuju 大通書局 (Taipei, 1974). A block print edition edited by Zhang Rongduan 張榕端 (fl. 1676) printed by Fuyang Zhangshi dushu tang 滏陽張氏讀書堂 (1698) is preserved in Harvard-Yenching Library, Beijing University Library, East China Normal University Library, Nankai University Library, Liaoning University Library, the Museum of Shangdong province, Zhejiang Library, Xiamen University Library, Xingyang Area Library in Hubei, Zhongshan University Library and Chongqing City Library.

Based on *Ji qianjia zhu Du Gongbu shiji* 集千家注杜工部詩集 edited by Xu Zichang 許自昌, Zhang Jin expurgated the original notes and further clarified the unclear points with the reference of his two contemporaries, Qian Qianyi and Zhu Heling's annotations. The arrangement of poems merely follows Lu Yin's 魯豈 chronology with slight revision in the light of Huang He. Although this edition is not considered as a text of best scholarly quality, it is a useful reference for Erwin Von Zach's (1872-1942) complete translation of Du Fu's verse, which is based on Chang Jin's edition.

Qiu Zhao'ao 仇兆鰲 (1638-1717). *Dushi xiangzhu* 杜詩詳注. 28 *juan*. Beijing : Zhonghua Shuju, 1979. Modern editions are also published by Shangwu Yinshu Guan 商務印書館 (Taipei, 1977), Shanghai Guji Chubanshe (Shanghai, 1992), and under the title *Du Shaoling ji xiangzhu*

杜少陵集詳注 published by Wenxue guji kanxing she 文學古籍刊行社 (Beijing, 1955). The original manuscript of Qiu Zhao'ao's work in 1693 is preserved in Shanghai Library.¹⁴⁸ Copies of wood block editions printed during Emperor Kangxi's reign are preserved in public libraries throughout China, including Beijing University Library, Renmin University Library, Tianjin People's Library, Liaoning Province Library, Ha'erbin City Library, Qinghai Province Library, Hangzhou City Library, Fujian Province Library, Jinan University Library and Chongqing City Library. An edition with Wang Shizhen's 王士禛 margin annotations is preserved in Shanxi Province Library.

This edition features its inclusiveness of citations from previous scholarly works. After a thorough revision of Qiu Zhao'ao's book, the punctuated critical edition published by Zhonghua Shuju has become the standard edition of Du Fu's verse for many scholars.

Pu Qilong 浦起龍 (ca.1679-ca.1762). *DuDu xinjie* 讀杜心解. 6 *juan*. 1724 ; rpt., Beijing : Zhonghua shuju, 1961. Also published by Zhonghua shuju (Taipei, 1970), Datong shujiu 大通書局 (Taipei, 1974), Zhonghua Shuju (Beijing, 2001), Qilu shushe 齊魯書社 (Jinan, 1997). Manuscript copy of this edition is preserved in the Beijing City Antique Bureau 北京市文物局 and Nanjing Library. Copies of wood block editions printed between 1724 and 1725 are available in public libraries throughout China, including Beijing University Library, Qinghua University Library, Tianjin Normal University Library, An Hui Province Library, Liaoning University Library, Zhongshan University Library. An edition with Wang Shizhen and He Zhuo's annotations is preserved in the Du Fu Thatched House in Chengdu.

¹⁴⁸ This is a partially preserved edition, containing *juan* one to four and *juan* six to twenty-four.

Pu Qilong arranged Du Fu's poems according to genres, under each of which the poems were further arranged chronologically. The appended "Biannian shi mupu" 編年詩目譜 [Chronological Table of Poems] provides an index of poems to the *juan* and pages.

Yang Lun 楊倫 (1747-1803). *Dushi jingquan* 杜詩鏡詮. 20 *juan*. 1791 ; rpt., Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1962. Also published in Taipei by Xin Xing Shuju 新興書局 (1956), in Chengdu by Renmin Chubanshe (1957); earlier editions include that published by Dengyun Ge 登雲閣 (Guangzhou, 1913) and Zhuo Yi Tang 著易堂 (Shanghai, 1914), Shangwu Yinshuguan 商務印書館 (Shanghai, 1930) and Zhi Gu Tang 志古堂 (Chengdu, 1928). It was also the basis for further selections such as Fu Donghua 傅東華 (1895-1971)'s *Du Fu shi* 杜甫詩 (Shanghai: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1930).

Based on Qiu Zhaoao's 仇兆鰲 (1638-1717) *Dushi xiangzhu* 杜詩詳注, Yang further rearranged the poems according to Huang He's 黃鶴 (13th cent.) chronology that had originally been rearranged by Qiu Zhao'ao, conducted a prudent selection from the numerous notes provided by Qiu, and added new notes, producing an edition that may represent the best chronological arrangement. This was a widely circulated edition between the time of its compilation and Republican China. In addition to the punctuated five-volume critical edition of *Du shi xiang zhu* published by Zhonghua Shuju in 1979, this text became another standard version of Du Fu's verse for many scholars.

Chapter Three

Gull Imagery and Banished Souls

Gull imagery is one of the most frequently used metaphors in the Chinese poetic tradition. It originated in *Lie Zi* 列子, one of the pre-Qin Daoist classics, and eventually came to symbolize reclusion. After *Lie Zi*, gull imagery became a standard metaphor in poetry and reached its full complexity under Du Fu's brush. Du Fu's artful use of gull imagery owes much to the precedent poets from Eastern Jin (316–420) to High Tang (713–756), who presented their uneasy souls after the political alienation from the main power, explored a number of motifs often associated with gulls, and acquired a sophisticated usage of this imagery. During this process, gull imagery developed a strong connection with the landscape and metaphysical poetry traditions. The former allowed poets to incorporate the gull as a lively bird within their depiction of nature, while the latter afforded poets a space to explore the philosophical meaning embedded in this imagery. Therefore, questions naturally arise as to what its philosophical as well as literary significance is and how this imagery was used before Du Fu. This chapter endeavors to shed a new light on these questions by investigating gull imagery in poetry written before Du Fu.

The first section of this chapter identifies the *locus classicus* of gull imagery and traces its philosophical consonance with thought during the period of Wei-Jin and the Six Dynasties when gull imagery first appeared in poetry. The second section examines the debut of gull imagery in Tao Yuanming's and Xie Lingyun's poems, to demonstrate its connection to the theme of banishment as well as its relation with the landscape and metaphysical poetry traditions. The third section analyzes more sophisticated and diverse use of gull imagery composed by poets immediately before Du Fu in the High Tang, the renaissance of landscape poetry.

The *Locus Classicus* of Gull Imagery and its Philosophical Consonance with Thoughts during the Period of Wei-Jin and the Six Dynasties

More than once the *Jiu jia ji zhu Du shi* 九家集注杜詩 [The Nine Commentators' Collected Notes on Du Fu's Verse] and Qiu Zhao'ao's *Du shi xiang zhu* 杜詩詳注 [Detailed Notes on Du Fu's Verse] cited this passage from *Lie Zi* to identify the origin of the mean of gull image in Du Fu's verse,¹⁴⁹

There was a man living by the sea-shore who loved seagulls. Every morning he went down to the sea to roam with the seagulls, and more birds came to him than you could count in hundreds. His father said to him: "I hear the seagulls all come roaming with you. Bring me some to play with." Next day, when he went down to the sea, the seagulls danced above him and would not come down. Therefore, it is said: "The utmost in speech is to be rid of redundant speech, the utmost doing is Doing Nothing unwisely." What common knowledge knows is shallow.¹⁵⁰

海上之人有好漚鳥者，每旦之海上，從漚鳥游。漚鳥之至者，百住而不止。其父曰：“吾聞漚鳥皆從汝游，汝取來，吾玩之。”明日之海上，漚鳥舞而不下也。故曰：至言去言，至為無為。齊智之所知，則淺矣。¹⁵¹

It is well known that *Lie Zi*, as one of the classics of philosophical Taoism, concurs with the Taoist idea of pursuing wisdom to reach harmony with nature. According to Taoism, the natural way rules the universe and it is only possible to lead content lives if everyone obeys the rules. Under this philosophical idea, the passage depicts seagulls as creatures that refuse to be humans' toys. They like to roam with the man at first because he simply enjoys their company and demands nothing from them. However, after he consents to his father's request, the seagulls immediately sense his intention and

¹⁴⁹ See the notes on the *Lie Zi* text of the gull image in "Baxi yiting guan jiangzhang cheng Dou Shijun ershou 巴西驛亭觀江漲呈竇使君二首," Guo, 23.376; Qiu, 12.1005 and in "Dongwan song Zhangsun Jian Sheren guizhou 冬晚送長孫漸舍人歸州," Guo, 36.555; Qiu, 23.2034.

¹⁵⁰ This translation is taken from A. C. Graham's *The Book of Lieh-Tzu* (London: Murray, 1960), pp. 45-46.

¹⁵¹ Yang Bojun 楊伯峻, *Lie Zi ji shi* 列子集釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2004), 2.67-8

choose to stay away from him. His ill desire to catch the seagulls breaks the wordless and spontaneous intimacy between them. In this passage, seagulls are characters of independence, who test the peacefulness of man's mind. If we regard this passage as a parable, its message is evident: human's intentions are always contradictory to the nature. This perception correlates with Zhuang Zi's 莊子 (369 B.C.–286 B.C.) advice that one should follow the course of natural rules and not engage in purposeful striving or intellection, but instead forget oneself to merge with the Dao. This humble perspective and the harmony with nature it encourages make gull imagery a symbol of freedom and therefore, as we will soon see, a token of seclusion.

The metaphor of seagulls is used alongside an elaborated depiction of nature by later poets, especially in landscape poems, a sub-genre of classical Chinese poetry which started coming into being in the transitional period between the Wei 魏 (220–265) and Jin 晉 dynasties (265–420). Before that era, the depiction of nature in poetry only occurred as artistic trope to set up the backgrounds of the poems. The sceneries in *The Book of Poetry* and the *Chuci* 楚辭 were usually treated in a simple fashion without the meticulousness as shown in landscape poetry. There was no poem solely dedicated to natural views before “*Guan canghai* 觀滄海 [Observing the Deep Blue Sea],” written by Cao Cao 曹操 (155–220), a tetrasyllabic poem which depicted the spectacularity of the ocean view. After Cao Cao, more poets started giving landscapes more importance in their compositions, such as pieces written in the famous gathering in *Lanting* 蘭亭 and some Tao Yuanming's 陶淵明 (365–427) poems.¹⁵² Inspired by the theme of banishment by the sovereign from the *Chuci*, Xie Lingyun 謝靈運

¹⁵² For more information on Tao Yuanming's life, cf. Gu Zhi 古直, *Tao Jingjie nianpu* 陶靖節年譜, in *Cengbing Tang wuzhong* 層冰堂五種 (Taipei: Guoli Bianyiguan, 1984); also his biography in Shen Yue 沈約 (441-513), *Song shu* 宋書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 93.2286-7.

(385–433)¹⁵³ finally established a new poetic sub-genre in Chinese literary history, “*shanshui shi* 山水詩 [landscape poetry].”

The popularity of landscape poetry in this historical period had to do with the social and political contexts of the time. The period of Wei-Jin and the following Six Dynasties witnessed constant military chaos and frequent political usurpation as well as the popularity of mysterious learning and the notion of awakening of human natures. The quick succession of these dynastic alternations led to a horrified atmosphere in which aristocrats feared persecution. This resulted in a general acknowledgment among the high-status poets, which is best summarized in Ruan Ji’s “Yonghuai shi 詠懷詩 [Poems of Speaking of My Mind].”¹⁵⁴

膏火白煎熬， The oil flame fries sufferings;

多財為患害。 abundance of wealth results in tragedy.

布衣可終身， The plain cloth can be worn throughout life,

寵祿焉足賴。 how are favors and emolument reliable?

In order to avoid victimization, many literati had to resort to life in reclusion, and turned their interests toward the appreciation of landscapes. Unlike the farm view of shepherds and cowherds in pastoral literature, the landscape in Chinese poetic tradition features two core subjects, mountains and water, as “*shanshui shi* 山水詩,” the name of this sub-genre, demonstrates. The beauty of natural views brought

¹⁵³ For a biographical study of Xie Lingyun, cf. Fordsham, J.D., *The Murmuring Stream: The Life and Works of the Chinese Nature Poet Hsieh Ling-Yün* (385-433), *Duke of K'ang-Lo* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1987), 1:1-86; also see his biography in Shen Yue 沈約 (441-513), *Song shu* 宋書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 67.1743-1777.

For Xie Lingyun’s anthologies, cf. Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 (385-433), *Xie Lingyun shi xuan* 謝靈運詩選, edited by Ye Xiaoxue 葉笑雪. Shanghai: Gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957; Huang Jie 黃節 (1873-1935). *Xie Kangle shi zhu* 謝康樂詩注, in *Huang Jie zhu Han Wei liuchao shi liuzhong* 黃節注漢魏六朝詩六種. Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2008.

¹⁵⁴ These two couplets are from the sixth of Ruan Ji’s “Yong huai shi 詠懷詩,” cf. Huang Jie 黃節 (1873-1935) annotated, *Ruan Bubing yonghuai shi zhu* 阮步兵詠懷詩注, in *Huang Jie zhu Han Wei liuchao shi liuzhong* 黃節注漢魏六朝詩六種 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2008), pp.472-3.

poets into a world in which they could pursue spiritual simplicity and tranquility, far away from the political power struggles.

Besides indulging in love of nature, literati turned to religion for relief from the pressures of the terrifying political atmosphere. The borrowing of Buddhism from Daoism which developed during this period, provided a philosophical mentality for scholars and literati, which was reflected in their private writings, and finally brought about *xuan yan* 玄言 [mysterious learning] to the Eastern Jin Dynasty. This school of learning created another literary tradition that incorporated gull imagery, the *xuan yan shi* 玄言詩 [metaphysical poetry].

Gull Imagery and Banished Souls: Its Debut in Landscape and Metaphysical Poetry

Many famous poets in the period of Wei-Jin and the Six dynasties, such as Tao Yuanming, Xie Lingyun, Bao Zhao 鮑照 (414–466),¹⁵⁵ Jiang Yan 江淹 (444–505),¹⁵⁶ and Xie Tiao 謝朓 (464–499),¹⁵⁷ included gull imagery in their landscape or metaphysical poetry. Among them, Tao Yuanming and Xie Lingyun were the two most accomplished poets, in that they not only initiated the poetic use of gull imagery, but also presented their banished souls in these poems. In poems of much agony over life, gulls always fly in the placid and beautiful scenes in which the poets found spiritual appeasement. Therefore, I will examine these two masters' compositions closely in order to delineate the underlying motifs represented by the gull.

¹⁵⁵ Bao Zhao composed a verse with white gull in "Shang Xunyang huandu dao zhong 上潯陽還都道中 [Going to Xunyang on the Way of Returning to the Capital]," cf. *Bao Canjun shi puzhu* 鮑參軍詩補注, in Huang Jie ed., *Huang Jie zhu Han Wei Liuchao Shi Liu Zhong* 黃節注漢魏六朝詩六種 (Beijing: Renmin wuxue chubanshe, 2008), p.829-30.

¹⁵⁶ Jiang Yan composed a poem with gull imagery in "Sun Tingwei Chuo za shu 孫廷尉綽雜述," cf. *Jiang Wentong ji huizhu* 江文通集彙注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), 4. 153-4. This poem, one of a series of thirty verses, entitled "Zati shi 雜體詩," discusses the poetics of precedent poets. Sun Chuo 孫綽 (314-371) was famous for his metaphysical poetry. Commenting on this style, Jiang Yan's verse concludes, "Forgetting oneself and anything external, he was able to stay closely with gulls 物我俱忘懷, 可以狎鷗鳥."

¹⁵⁷ Xie Tiao composed a verse with gull imagery in "You shan 遊山 [Roaming on the Mountain]," cf. *Xie Xuancheng ji jiao zhu* 謝宣城集校注 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991), p. 233.

The first significant theme connected with gull imagery is excursion, which in Tao Yuanming's poem is appended by the motif of gathering and drinking. Represented as wild creatures that reflect peace, gulls are fused with the picture of reclusive life Tao Yuanming depicts in "You Xiechuan 游斜川 [Outing to Xie Brook]."¹⁵⁸ In the preface of this poem, the poet clearly indicates the date and the circumstances of his excursion.

On the fifth day of the first month of the *xinyou* year (421), the weather was fine and clear, and all things of nature were peaceful and pleasant. Along with two or three neighbors, I went for an wandering to Xie Brook. Facing the long-flowing stream, we gazed at the Tiered Wall Hill in the distance. Bream and carp leaped out of the water, their scales shining in the sunset; water gulls flew back and forth, riding on the mild air. That South Mountain—its name is truly old now, so it has no further need to be sighed over. As for Tiered Wall, it rises out of water all alone, with nothing around it; and when I think of the numinous mountain far away, I find something charming and lovely about its name. It was not enough just to look toward it with pleasure, and so we composed poetry together. Grieved by the passage of days and months, lamenting that our years are not staying for us, we each wrote down our age and native town, in order to commemorate this occasion.¹⁵⁹

辛酉正月五日，天氣澄和，風物閒美，與二三鄰曲，同游斜川。臨長流，望曾城；魴鯉躍鱗於將夕，水鷗乘和以翻飛。彼南阜者，名實舊矣，不復乃為嗟嘆；若夫曾城，傍無依接，獨秀中皋；遙想靈山，有愛嘉名。欣對不足，率爾賦詩。悲日月之遂往，悼吾年之不留；年疏年紀鄉裡，以記其時日。

This preface shows the poet's cherishing a moment in which he enjoyed nature with his neighbors. The hill's name, *zeng cheng*, or the Tiered Wall, strikes the poet as charming when he thinks of the immortals' paradise, said to be the top level of *ling shan* 靈山, the "numinous mountain" the poet refers to.¹⁶⁰ *Zeng qiu* 曾丘 [the Tiered Wall Hill] is crucial in understanding Tao Yuanming's motivation to compose this verse. Tian Xiaofei noted, "it seems that the little hill arising out of the

¹⁵⁸ Cf. *Quan Jin shi* 全晉詩, 13.896.

¹⁵⁹ My translation of the preface and the poem is based on Tian Xiaofei's rendition with slight revision, cf. Tian Xiaofei, *Tao Yuanming and Manuscript Culture* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2005), pp.143-5.

¹⁶⁰ This mountain is mentioned in Li Daoyuan 驪道元 (?–527), *Shuijing zhu* 水經注 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 2001), 1.1.

stream is named Tiered Wall, and it is this name that arouses Tao Yuanming's fancy."¹⁶¹ The poet loves this place because of its great name, "a name that evokes the legendary mountain."¹⁶²

1. 開歲倏五日，Five days have passed since the new year,
吾生行歸休。and my life is coming to an end.
2. 念之動中懷，When I think of this, my heart is touched,
及辰為茲游。and at this time, I go on this outing.
3. 氣和天惟澄，The air is mild, and the sky clear,
班坐依遠流。we sit together along the far-flowing stream.
4. 弱湍馳文魴，Patterned breams dash in weak rapids,
閒谷轡鳴鷗。from the quiet valley soars a crying gull.
5. 迴澤散游目，Casting our wandering eyes across vast waves,
緬然睇曾丘。we gaze at Tiered Wall Hill in the distance.
6. 雖微九重秀，Although it lacks the beauty of the lofty nine folds,
顧瞻無匹儔。nothing can surpass it in sight.

This section of nature depiction is the poetic counterpart of its preface. Within the rhymed lines, however, the poet generates much stronger visual and auditory effects. As a foil for the quiet of the valley, the gull's crying in the fourth couplet evokes a placid atmosphere and highlights the intrinsic peacefulness of scenes along the Xie Brook. This elusive and exotic beauty of the poet's surroundings conjurs up the reminiscence of immortality. The patterned fish mentioned in the fourth couplet alludes to the piece in *Chuci*, "He Bo 河伯 [The Earl of the Yellow River]" in "Jiu ge 九歌 [Nine Songs]," in

¹⁶¹ Cf. Tian Xiaofei, *Tao Yuanming and Manuscript Culture* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2005), pp.143-4.

¹⁶² *Ibid*, p.144.

which the God of the Yellow River rides on a white turtle to chase the colorful fishes.¹⁶³ As the poet finishes his sightseeing, the focal point abruptly changes from the contemplation of immortality to the gathering party.

7. 提壺接賓侶，Raising the flask, I offer it to my guests and companions;

引滿更獻酬。with filled cups, we urge each other to drink.

8. 未知從今去，Who knows, after this day,

當復如此不？will we ever be able to do this again?

9. 中觴縱遙情，During the second round of drinking, we let out our feelings roam far and free,

忘彼千載憂。and get rid of those worries of a thousand years.

10. 且極今朝樂，Let us enjoy today's pleasure to the fullest,

明日非所求。as for tomorrow—it is not what we pursue.

Like the preface, the verse, too, mentions the feelings that encompassed this excursion: fear over the impermanence of life and the imminence of decay. In the eighth couplet Tao Yuanming reveals his worries about the improbability that he and his neighbors will gather again. The impermanence of life hastens the poet and his friends to freely express their feelings, a casualness that is only obtained after the second round of drinking. Despite the changeable and fleeting nature of life, the poet describes worries as lasting a thousand years. Fatigued by bearing such profound grief in a mortal life, the poet chooses to make the most of the day's pleasures without a care for tomorrow. From the poem one gets the impression that he has a pessimistic view of life, even if his somewhat bitter attitude towards mortality takes on a more lighthearted tone at the end of the poem with his aim to forget his worries and immerse in the joyful moment offered by the beautiful scenery and the indulgence in wine.

¹⁶³ The original text reads, 乘白黿兮逐文魚. Cf. Hong Xingzu 洪興祖 (1090-1155), *Chuci bu zhu* 楚辭補注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), p.77.

The motif of drinking was already an established theme by Tao Yuanming's time. As early as the end of the Eastern Han dynasty (25–220), Cao Cao expressed a similar sentiment in “Duan ge xing 短歌行.”¹⁶⁴ Paralleling his life to fleeting morning dew, Cao Cao feels the same urge as Tao Yuanming to seek relief by drinking. However, because Cao Cao was the most powerful commander and politician of his time, his worries focused on the incomplete political ambitions within his short life. This is hinted at in the final lines of the poem, “I intend to imitate the Duke of Zhou, to spit out food to wait on the worthy, and people under heaven all submit to him by heart.”¹⁶⁵ Moreover, unlike Tao Yuanming, Cao Cao enjoys his own moment of cheering, without any need for friends to share his feelings. Though absent from Cao Cao's poem, the motif of fellowship seen in “Outing to Xie Brook” is found in “Jiu hui shi 酒會詩 [The Poem of a Drinking Banquet],”¹⁶⁶ written by Ji Kang 嵇康 (224–263), the leader of the “Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Groove.” In it Ji Kang regards drinking as a means to correspond to friends,

酒中念幽人， While drinking I think of the recluse,

守故彌終始。 who holds firmly onto his nature.

但當體七弦， I should listen carefully to the lute playing,

寄心在知己。 and hand over my heart to my understander.

Having always maintained himself in a drunken stupor in his life, Ji Kang was said to intend to avoid any emotional involvement or official engagement. Drinking in this poem not only triggers the thought of the poet's friend (“my understander”) but also puts him in a state of mind in which he wants to communicate with him. Alcohol, which was representative of the lifestyle of the time, was abundant in

¹⁶⁴ For the Chinese text, cf. Huang Jie 黃節 (1873-1935), *Han Wei yue fu feng jian* 漢魏樂府風箋, in *Huang Jie zhu Han Wei liuchao shi liu zhong* 黃節注漢魏六朝詩六種 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2008), pp. 103-4.

¹⁶⁵ The Chinese text reads, “周公吐哺，天下歸心。” *Ibid*, p.104.

¹⁶⁶ For the complete poem, cf. Ji Kang 嵇康, *Ji Zhongsan ji* 嵇中散集, *Sbck* edition, 1.16a.

the gatherings and the lives of all the members of the “Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Groove.” Liu Ling, another member of the “Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Groove,” who was genuinely fond of drinking, was famous for his indulgence in drunkenness and the consequent unrestrained behavior. However, beneath the surface, the motif of drinking carries a profound grief over mortality and un verbalized panic caused by the uncertainty of that chaotic time. The unease at the end of Tao Yuanming’s “Outing to Xie Brook” opposes the tranquility that is represented by the freely soaring gull and colorful fishes in rapids he describes in the same poem.

Compared with Tao Yuanming, Xie Lingyun’s gull imagery has an obvious connection to the theme of banishment. This theme inspired by *Chuci* later became the prevalent thesis, which gull imagery implied in poetry. Xie Lingyun first used gull imagery in his landscape poem, “Yu Nanshan wang Beishan jing huzhong zhan tiao 於南山往北山經湖中瞻眺 [Gazing at views while crossing the lake, during my journey from the Southern Summit to the Northern Summit],”¹⁶⁷ in which he recorded his excursion to the mountains during his stay in his mountain villa. Influenced by the verses in *Chuci*, Xie Lingyun developed an exquisite style of describing nature. Furthermore, he created a pattern that instantiates the Chinese concept of landscape, “mountains and water 山水:” each of the couplets consists of one line representing a mountain scene and another representing a water scene.

1. 朝旦發陽崖, In the sunrise I set out from the sun-lit shore,

景落憩陰峯。 and in the sunset I rested by the shadowy peak.

The description in this couplet of setting off in the morning and resting in the evening resonates with famous lines from *Chuci* in which this contrast occurs more than once, namely in “Yuan you 遠游

¹⁶⁷ Cf. *Xie Kangle shi zhu* 謝康樂詩注, in Huang Jie ed., *Huang Jie zhu Han Wei liuchao shi liuzhong* 黃節注漢魏六朝詩六種 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2008), p. 658. According to Huang Jie, the Southern Summit and Northern Summit were places Xie Lingyun built his villa, and these two locations were also recorded in Xie Lingyun’s “Shanju fu 山居賦.” My translation is based on J.D. Frodsham’s rendition with slight revision, *The Murmuring Stream: the Life and Works of the Chinese Nature Poet Hsieh Ling-yun (3850433), Duke of Kang-lo* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1967), 1:146.

[Roaming Afar].” In it the repetition of night and day encompasses a few transcendental journeys Qu Yuan 屈原 (339–278 B.C.) takes into imagined legendary places in the mountains after the persecution.¹⁶⁸ Experiencing a similar failure in political life as Qu Yuan might have urged Xie Lingyun to recall the journeys and exotic views the former describes in his work.¹⁶⁹ This distressful sentiment continues in the following description of the excursion,

2. 舍舟眺迴渚, Abandoning my boat, I gaze at the far-off banks,

停策倚茂松。 and stopping my cane, I lean on the flourishing pine trees.

3. 側徑既窈窕, The side path is winding and secluded,

環洲亦玲瓏。 and the round islet is also exquisite.

4. 俛視喬木杪, Bending my body, I can see the tops of trees,

仰聆大壑瀄。 and looking up, I listen to the stream flowing in the great deep valley.

5. 石橫水分流, Over the rocks in its path, the water divides and flows;

林密蹊絕蹤。 In the depth of the forest the paths are free from footprints.

The flowing stream in the big valley in the fourth couplet also derives from *Chuci*, “Zi bei 自悲 [Self-grieving]” in “Qi jian 七諫 [Seven Remonstrations],” in which Dongfang Shuo 東方朔 (ca. 154–93 B.C.) expresses his nostalgia and agony over not being understood while he is listening to the noises of

¹⁶⁸ Qu Yuan states the reason of taking these journeys at the beginning of “Yuan you,” “feeling grief under the pressure and persecution of the mundane world, I lifted my feet gently to set off on a journey to remote places.” The original text reads, “悲時俗之迫厄兮, 原輕舉而遠游,” cf. Hong Xingzu 洪興祖 (1090-1155), *Chuci bu zhu* 楚辭補注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), p. 163.

¹⁶⁹ Xie Lingyun’s distressed spirit is revealed in his official biography, “he regarded his talent as deserving of a significant position. Because of not being understood and not reaching the position, he always felt irritated.” The original text reads, “自謂才能宜參權要。既不見知, 常懷憤憤,” cf. Shen Yue 沈約 (441-513), *Song shu* 宋書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), p. 1753.

waves in the great deep valley.¹⁷⁰ As in “Yuan you,” the resolution in “Qi jian” is also an imagined journey, of which the final stop happens to be Guiji 會稽,¹⁷¹ where Xie Lingyun built his villa and settled into seclusion. The detailed description of plants, waterfall and sounds creates an elusive and mystical view of nature, which set up a mountain scene for the appearance of gulls.

6. 解作竟何感, What do I think of “Delivering” and “Forming”?

升長皆丰容。 Everywhere is thick with things pushing upward and growing.

7. 初篁苞綠葇, The newly born bamboo shoots wrap up green shells,

新蒲含紫茸。 and the young weeds hold the purple down.

8. 海鷗戲春岸, Seagulls are playing at the shores of spring water,

天雞弄和風。 and heavenly pheasants fly up on mild winds.

Instead of concentrating on inanimate objects, this portion shifts its focus to living creatures. The lines (What do I think of “Delivering” and “Forming”? Everywhere is thick with things pushing upward and growing) correspond to the *Zhou yi* text, which describes the flourishing of plants as a result of rainfall. *Jie zuo* 解作, literally meaning “delivering” and “forming,” refers to rain from heaven, which is originated in the forty divinatory diagrams in *Zhou yi* 周易, “after heaven and earth are released, the thunder rain falls; and after the rain falls, a myriad of fruits and plants all start to grow.”¹⁷² The following couplet specifies the proliferation by capturing the newly born bamboo shoots and the young weeds. Green and purple, respectively, describe the bamboo shoots and weeds, and add lively colors to this metabolism. The eighth couplet strengthens this livelihood with the animals’ actions amidst this spring weather: seagulls play by the river while heavenly pheasants are fling in the mild

¹⁷⁰ The original text reads, 聽大壑之波聲, Hong Xingzu 洪興祖 (1090-1155), *Chuci bu zhu* 楚辭補注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), p. 250.

¹⁷¹ The original text reads, “I heard of the charm of southern states and would like to go there. I stopped at Mount Guiji and did not go further 聞南藩樂而欲往兮, 至會稽而且止,” *ibid*, p. 249.

¹⁷² The explanation of the “jie 解” hexagram says, “天地解而雷雨作, 雷雨作而百果草木皆甲坼。” Cf. Zhou Zhenfu 周振甫, *Zhou yi yizhu* 周易譯注 (Nanjing: Jiangsu jiaoyu chubanshe, 2006), p. 175.

winds. Concluding the serenity of this spring view with mild wind and playing seagulls, the poem moves on to articulate the poet's thoughts,

9. 撫化心無厭, The heart does not feel tired while changing with nature,

覽物眷彌重。and I feel more connected after viewing the surroundings.

10. 不惜去人遠, I do not regret the departed are so remote,

但恨莫與同。I am only sorry I have no one as a companion.

11. 孤遊非情歎, I wander alone, sighing, but not from feeling;

賞廢理誰通? Unsavored, nature yields to none her meaning.

Fuhua 撫化, a Daoist term, which suggests a great person's way of living: be sensitive to the nearby changes and try to live in harmony with them.¹⁷³ Using this term, Xie Lingyun legitimizes the influence of nature to him. His connection to the pleasant spring views then conjures up a desire of a companion. Although Xie Lingyun was said to have once employed a group of laborers to accompany him during his excursion—which aroused the local governor's suspicion of a revolt—he always expressed loneliness in his poems. Given Xie Lingyun's exile and the strong resonance with “Yuan you” shown in the previous nature depiction, his solitude takes on a miserable hue, which has much in common with Qu Yuan's melancholy. J.D. Frodsham noticed the antithesis of “emotion 情” and “principle 理” in the last couplet and thus interpreted the poet as a rationalist on the surface.¹⁷⁴ However, in spite of Xie Lingyun's attempt to conceal his emotional reaction to his loneliness, J.D. Frodsham's argument that the poet does not emit a sigh of feeling sounds like an unconvincing pleading, because the involvement of emotions are clearly seen in Xie Lingyun's use of a series of

¹⁷³ Huang Jie adopted Guo Xiang's 郭象 (252–312) interpretation of a teaching in *Zhuang Zi* 莊子, “The sages in the journey of transformation change themselves with the changes of myriad things.” Cf. Huang Jie's note 8 in *Xie Kangle shi zhu* 謝康樂詩注, in *Huang Jie zhu Han Wei liuchao shi liuzhong* 黃節注漢魏六朝詩六種 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2008), p. 658.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. J.D. Frodsham, *The Murmuring Stream*, 2:167.

descriptive words, such as *yan* 厭 [feel tired], *juan* 眷 [feel connected], *xi* 惜 [regretted] and *hen* 恨 [feel sorry].

If Xie Lingyun adopted Tao Yuanming's style of implementing gull imagery into the texture of his nature depiction in "Gazing at views across the lake, during my journey from the Southern Summit to the Northern Summit," he made more salient use of the gull in an earlier poem "Guo Quxi shan fanseng 過瞿溪山飯僧"¹⁷⁵ written in the winter of 422 to 423 during his first exile in Yongjia 永嘉, modern Wenzhou 温州.¹⁷⁶ The poet articulates the essential philosophy represented by the gull imagery, "forgetting one's mind 忘懷," which means concentrating on reaching inner peace by ridding the mind of disturbances. Although a Daoist idea originally, it concurs with common Buddhist practice of meditation, and thereby blends into the Buddhist pursuit of escape in the poem.

1. 迎旭凌絕嶂, Welcoming the rising sun, I set my feet on the hillside,
映炫歸激浦。 and by the dazzling beck I came home along the bank.
2. 鑽燧斷山木, The mountain trees are felled for tinder to drill for fire,
掩岸堦石戶。 and the cells' stone doors are plastered with river mud.
3. 結架非丹甍, Their criss cross rafters are not scarlet rafters;
藉田資宿莽。 For fields these monks must cultivate the waste lands.
4. 同游息心客, I go for wanderings with men of tranquil minds;
曖然若可睹。 In the dark, it seems something can be descried.
5. 清霄揚浮煙, Light smoke drifts wind-borne on the pure air,
空林響法鼓。 and through the empty woods echoes the Drum of the Law.
6. 忘懷狎鷗魚, They stay intimate with gulls and fishes by forgetting their minds,

¹⁷⁵ Cf. Huang Jie, *Xie Kangle Shi Zhu* 謝康樂詩注, in *Huang Jie Zhu Han Wei Liuchao Shi Liu Zhong* 黃節注漢魏六朝詩六種 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2008), p. 624.

My translation is based on J.D. Frodsham's rendition with slight revision, cf. *The Murmuring Stream*, 1:124.

¹⁷⁶ For the date of this poem, cf. J.D. Frodsham, *The Murmuring Stream*, 2:127.

攝生馴兕虎。and tame daunting rhinoceroses and tigers by holding firmly to life.

7. 望岭眷靈鷲, One looks at these hills and longs for the Vulture Peak;

延心念淨土。One's mind is led to thoughts of the Pure Land.

8. 若乘四等觀, Do but fix the heart on the Four Virtuous feelings,

永拔三界苦。and forever escape the woes of the Three Realms.

Having grown up around “*xuan xue* 玄學 [Mysterious Learning],”¹⁷⁷ as an adult, Xie Lingyun was admitted to the White Lotus Society 白蓮社 established by the venerable monk, Hui Yuan 慧遠 (334–416) in Mount Lu. The union with this devotional cult prompted Xie Lingyun's interest in Buddhism, and the density of Buddhist terminology in this poem may well reflect influence from his learning.

The cliché indicating the journey's time frame does not determine the conventional theme of excursion, instead the poet concentrates on describing the lives of monks and the religious conviction brought by observing them. The lifestyle of drilling tinder for fire and having muddy cell stone doors is very primal compared to the extravagant life Xie Lingyun lived. In fact, he was still holding dukedom and receiving revenue of three thousand households for a long time after his first exile in Yongjia County. There, though he abandoned his foppish clothes and perfumes, Xie Lingyun showed off by hiring many followers to serve in his excursions. For this reason, his comparison of these two different lifestyles is not surprising: “Their criss cross rafters are not scarlet rafters 結架非丹甍” and “for fields these monks must cultivate the waste lands 藉田資宿莽.” Scarlet rafters were only affordable for aristocrats, like Xie Lingyun himself, in the construction of their homes. As for the “waste lands,” in Xie Lingyun's time, monks were generally allotted lands nobody else wanted.

¹⁷⁷ Xie Lingyun's paternal grandaunt, Xie Daoyun 谢道韞 (349-409), the wife of Wang Ningzhi 王凝之 (?-?), the second son of Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (321-379), and renown for her poetic talent, was also well known for her knowledge of “Mysterious Learning.”

This austerity however generates a tranquil mind, which is tangible through drifting smoke in the pure air and the drum beats echoing in the elusive woods. This “*fa gu* 法鼓 [Drum of the Law]” was said to induce the mood of profound meditation, so difficult to achieve otherwise without long-sustained effort. Aided by this particular facility, the meditational emptiness is easier to achieve, with the proof of the intimacy with gulls, just as the *Lie Zi* passage reads. The use of gull imagery in this poem is closer to the *locus classicus* compared with “Gazing at views across the lake, during my journey from the Southern Summit to the Northern Summit,” for it illustrates the philosophical meaning embedded in the *Lie Zi* passage by pointing out the essence to be the peace in mind. *Sihu* 兕虎 [rhinoceros and tigers]¹⁷⁸ in the next line, forming the antithesis to *ouyu* 鷗魚 [gulls and fish], show that the strength of tranquil mind is strong enough even to tame these ferocious beasts. The recall of *lingjiu* 靈鷲 *Grdhrakuta* [Vulture Peak] in *Rajagrha*, an ancient Indian hill on which Buddha preached, combined with thoughts of Pure Land, which is the Sect name established by Monk Hui Yuan, further demonstrates the complete immersion in the vacuous state of mind. The last couplet then exalts the poet’s achieved inner peace and compares it to the Buddhist ultimate conviction, the acquirement of the four high moral standards¹⁷⁹ and the finally escape from the *trayo dhātavah* 三界,¹⁸⁰ in which all lost creatures are caught up.

This poem bears roots in metaphysical poetic tradition and is heavily loaded with Buddhist manifestation. The gull imagery stands out in that it is the only Daoist imagery. Xie Lingyun chooses to clarify the meaning of it in this poem, rather than situating the gull in his portrayal of nature views. This combination of Daoist and Buddhist ideologies represents a fashionable mode of talking at Xie

¹⁷⁸ Cf. J.D.Frodsham’s discussion of this imagery in *The Murmuring Stream*, note 12, 2:127.

¹⁷⁹ According to J.D. Frodsham, these “four virtuous feelings” are compassion, sadness at the plight of others, joy at the salvation of others and impartiality towards friend and foe alike. *The Murmuring Stream*, note 15, 2:127.

¹⁸⁰ There are a number of interpretations in Buddhist classics for *trayo dhātavah*. One theory refers to the three states all creatures live, respectively *kāma -dhātu* 欲界, *rūpa -dhātu* 色界, *arūpa -dhātu* 無色界, cf. *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka Sūtra* 法華經·譬喻品, 9.14b. Here *trayo dhātavah* refers to the three lost states in which all creatures live.

Lingyun's time. Under the pressure of the uncertainty and danger brought by the constant changes of dictatorship, literati as a whole sought for spiritual resolutions. Tao Yuanming and Xie Lingyun found their safety spots in the leisure he enjoys in nature appreciation and wrote out rhymed verses of their journeys with peaceful gulls to converse with their contemporaries.

Gull Imagery and Spiritual Appeasement: Its Renaissance in Landscape Poetry

Gull imagery underwent abstract representation in the late Six Dynasties and in the Early Tang. The last two poets who incorporate gull imagery in their poetry, He Xun 何遜 (died. c. 517)¹⁸¹ and Yu Xin 庾信 (513–581)¹⁸² did not abide by the generic formula of landscape or metaphysical poetry. In their poems, the heavy symbolism of this imagery conveys the poets' strong emotions over their dissatisfaction with reality, which they consider villainous. In the Early Tang, Chen Zi'ang 陳子昂 (661–702) inherited this pure symbolic use of gull imagery in the thirtieth poem of his “Gan yu 感遇 [Stirred by My Experience]”¹⁸³ poetry.

After this long period of absence in landscape poetry, gull imagery was revived—that is, used with more elegance and sophistication—in landscape poetry of the High Tang. A number of poets wrote gull imagery in their compositions besides Meng Haoran 孟浩然 (689–740), who was renown for his nature poetry. These literati include Zhang Jiuling 張九齡 (678–740),¹⁸⁴ a figure of equal importance in literature and in politics as well as a transitional poet in literature from the Early Tang to the High

¹⁸¹ See my discussion of He Xun's poem, “Yong baiou jianchao biezhe shi 詠白鷗兼嘲別者詩” in Chapter Four.

¹⁸² See my discussion of Yu Xin's poem, “Fenghe Yongfeng dianxia yanzhi shi 奉和永豐殿下言志詩” in Chapter Four.

¹⁸³ Cf. *QTS*, 83.894.

¹⁸⁴ Zhang Jiuling has biographies in official histories, cf. *JTS*, 99.3101 and *XTS*, 150.4424-32. Also cf. Gu Jianguo 顧建國. *Zhang Jiuling nianpu* 張九齡年譜. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2001.

Tang; Zhang Yun 張均,¹⁸⁵ the eldest son of Zhang Yue 張說 (667–730),¹⁸⁶ who joined Zhang Jiuling’s literary pursuit and a Chief Minister before him; Li Bai 李白 (701–759), a poet famous for his poetic archaization, and Gao Shi 高適 (ca.704–765),¹⁸⁷ who excelled at *biansai shi* 邊塞詩 [frontier poetry].

Compared with the styles established by Tao Yuanming and Xie Lingyun, the High Tang landscape poets did not separate their thoughts from the nature depiction as the pessimistic utterance appended in Tao Yuanming’s poem or the obvious Buddhist and Daoist didacticism in Xie Lingyun’s. Their gull imagery, although still appear as a part of nature, demonstrates a new appearance by being often involved in interactions with the poets. Many High Tang poets no longer felt satisfied to present their gulls in the background of beautiful scenes, but instead they brought them to the forefront as a more independent and highlighted imagery, which gave them spiritual appeasement. In these poems, readers also find more specific description of gulls, put in flocks or sent in beach scenarios, which grant this imagery different characteristics. The poets also often related the soul of gulls to a few poetic motifs, such as leisure and nostalgia.

The first major High Tang poet to employ gull imagery was Zhang Jiuling. He composed two poems that featured gulls during his temporary demotion, which lasted from 716 to 718, “Chu fa

¹⁸⁵ Zhang Yun, the eldest son of Zhang Yue, was the Dali Qing 大理卿 [Judge of the Supreme Court of Justice] before the An Lushan Rebellion. During the rebellion he was forced to serve the rebel’s court as a Chief Minister of the Imperial Secretariat Department. After Emperor Suzong was enthroned, Zhang Yun was exiled to Hepu 合浦, the west of modern Guangxi 廣西 Province. Cf. his biography in *JTS*, 97.3057.

¹⁸⁶ Zhang Yue is a powerful politician as well as a significant literatus. He was the Chief Minister of the Emperor Xuanzong before Zhang Jiuling. Together with the latter, Zhang Yue, who held the mastership of literature, formed a Confucian scholar style of literature. Cf. discussions in Fu Xuancong 傅璇琮, “Tang dai shi ren kao lue 唐代詩人考略,” *Wen shi* 文史 8 (1980). and Ge Xiaoyin 葛曉音, “Sheng Tang wenru de xingcheng he fugu sichao de lanshang 盛唐文儒的形成和復古思潮的濫觴,” *Wenxue yichan* 6(1987), pp.30-44. For Zhang Yue’s biographies, cf. *JTS*, 97.3049-60 and *XTS*, 125.4404-12. For a chronology of his life, cf. Chen Zuyan 陳祖言. *Zhang Yue nian pu* 張說年譜. Hongkong: Xianggang zhongwen daxue, 1984.

¹⁸⁷ For Gao Shi’s biographies, cf. *JTS*, 150.3328-31 and *XTS*, 143.4679-81. More detailed information on Gao Shi’s life can be found in Zuo Yunlin 左雲林, *Gao Shi zhuan lun* 高適傳論 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1985), pp.1-41. For a chronology of his life, cf. *Gao Shi shiji biannian jianzhu* 高適詩集編年箋注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), pp.1-26.

Jiangling youhuai 初发江陵有怀 [Thoughts of Setting out from Jiangling]¹⁸⁸ and “Xi xing ji Wang Zhen 溪行寄王震 [Sent to Wang Zhen During Travel on a Creek].”¹⁸⁹ This temporary banishment was the result of his blunt contradiction to the way Yao Chong 姚崇 (650–721),¹⁹⁰ the Chief Minister at that time, employed officials while the poet was in the position of *Zuo shi yi* 左拾遺 [Left Reminder]. During his idleness, Zhang Jiuling made the acquaintance of Zhang Yue 張說, whose promotion to the central court led to the poet’s reemployment two years later. Partially due to his good terms with this powerful politician, Zhang Jiuling had a smooth political path and eventually became Emperor Xuanzong’s Chief Minister.

Zhang Jiuling composed “Xi xing ji Wang Zhen 溪行寄王震 [Sent to Wang Zhen During Travel on a Creek]”¹⁹¹ around 716 to 717 while staying in Lingnan 嶺南, his hometown in the modern Guangdong province. Completely merged into the natural sceneries, the gull imagery for the first time appears as a flock in poetry. Besides, Zhang Jiuling innovates the leisure motif, which was frequently associated with the gull imagery by later poets.

1. 山氣朝來爽， The mountain air, in the morning, is fresh;

溪流日向清。 the creek stream, flowing towards the sun, is tranquil.

2. 遠心何處愜， Where does my heart in the far feel satisfied?

閒棹此中行。 it is satisfied in this casual sailing journey.

¹⁸⁸ This poem is dated in 716. Cf. Zhang Jiuling 張九齡, Xiong Fei 熊飛 annotated, *Zhang Jiuling ji jiao zhu* 張九齡集校注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2008), p. 224-5.

¹⁸⁹ This poem is dated in 717. *Ibid*, p. 229.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. Yao Chong’s biographies in *JTS*, 96.3021-9 and *XTS*, 124.4381-9.

¹⁹¹ According to Xiong Fei’s 熊飛 annotation, there are two candidates for Wang Zhen’s identity. One is the governor of Jiangning 江寧 County during the Kaiyuan reign (713–742); the other, speculation suggests, is Wang Luzhen 王履震, whose name was possibly part of a typo that resulted in “Wang Zhen.” Cf. Zhang Jiuling 張九齡, Xiong Fei 熊飛 annotated, *Zhang Jiuling ji jiao zhu* 張九齡集校注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2008), p. 219.

3. 叢桂林間待, A clump of cinnamon trees, in the woods, awaits me;

群鷗水上迎。 a flock of gulls, on the water, greets me.

4. 徒然适我愿, They, coincidentally, suit my will,

幽獨為誰情。 Whose feelings are they, seclusion and solitude?

This leisurely attitude towards life and the poet's longing for reclusion are singled out in the poet's depiction of mountain views. Instead of following Tao Yuanming and Xie Lingyun's dichotic structure of nature depiction verses expression of thoughts, Zhang Jiuling tries to balance his emotions with the mountain's views so that the first and third couplets focus on nature, and the other two on his feelings.

The exposition offers a scene of fresh sunrise in the mountains, while the second couplet shares the poet's easygoing feelings during his travel by boat. The words *qie* 愜 [satisfied] and *xian* 閒 [casual] indicate the poet's idleness and leisure. In the transition from the second couplet to the third, the structural change works well in smoothly transferring the focal point from the boat to the grove ahead. The image of "a clump of cinnamon trees 叢桂" in the third couplet further illustrates the theme of reclusion embedded in the poem. The image originated in *Chuci*'s "Zhao yinshi 招隱士 [Summoning the Recluse]," in which the cinnamon trees grow in a grove in the secluded mountain where the recluse Noble Scion lived.¹⁹² Coupled with the cinnamon trees is the image of a flock of gulls flying towards the poet. By using the verb "dai 待 [to await]" and "ying 迎 [to welcome]," the poet shows that the grove and gulls yearned for his arrival, suggesting that he should have come to this secluded mountain long time ago. Therefore, it is natural for the poet to say in the next line that their actions correspond to his own will to live in seclusion.

¹⁹² The Chinese text reads, 桂樹叢生兮山之幽, cf. *Chuci bu zhu* 楚辭補注, p. 232.

In a similar fashion of Zhang Jiuling, Zhang Yun 張均 integrates the gull into the descriptions of nature in “He Yin Mao qiuye you lihu 和尹懋秋夜游澱湖 [A Poem Corresponding to ‘Autumn Night Excursion to the Li Lake’] Written by Yin Mao],”¹⁹³ and introduces the beach scenery for gull image in this poem.

1. 遠水沉西日, The sun in the west sinks in the water from afar;

寒沙聚夜鷗。On the cold sands night gulls get together.

2. 平湖乘月滿, The full moon is ascending on the peaceful lake;

飛棹接星流。The fleeting oars touch the current of stars.

3. 黃葉鳴淒吹, Blown by wind, yellow leaves make grief sounds;

蒼葭掃暗洲。Black young reeds sweep dark islets.

4. 愿移滄浦賞, I am willing to bring the beauty of the river shore with me,

歸待潁川游。and wait for an excursion on the Ying River after I return.

This poem depicts the chilliness and placidness of an autumn evening on a lake with a number of concrete images, such as the descending sun, the flock of gulls on the cold sand, the ascending moon, stars reflected in the currents, yellow leaves, the grief sounds, and black young reeds swaying in the wind. These images form an unpleasant poetic texture, which conveys coldness and darkness. The message of reclusion denoted specifically by night gulls can only be identified by understanding the significance of the Ying River in the last couplet. The Ying River was where Xu You 許由 was said to cleanse his ears after hearing that Yao intended to abdicate the throne in favor of him, an allusion which conspicuously advocates reclusion.

¹⁹³ Cf. *QTS*, 90.984-5.

Yin Mao 尹懋 was a native of Hejian 河間. He was an assistant of Zhang Yun 張均 in the Yue Prefecture. Among the four of his poems preserved in *Quan Tang shi*, two were written for the excursion on the Li Lake. The two poems are titled “Qiuye pei Zhang Chengxiang, Zhao Shiyu you lihu 秋夜陪張丞相趙侍御游澱湖 [Accompanying Chief Minister, Mr. Zhang and Censor of the General Court, Mr. Zhao in the Excursion to the Li Lake],” cf. *QTS*, 98.1060-1.

Gulls at beach illustrated in Zhang Yun's poem later became a stock image of gulls in poetry.

Meng Haoran 孟浩然 (689–740) regarded the “sand gulls” as his only companion in his drifting life, and therefore explored the nostalgia motif¹⁹⁴ in his sequentially regulated verse, “Ye bo Xuancheng jie 夜泊宣城界 [Mooring at Night at the Border of Xuan City].”¹⁹⁵

1. 西塞沿江島, The Xisai Mountain winds along the river islands,
南陵問驛樓。and Nanling Garrison faces my post hostel afar.
2. 湖平津濟闊, The lake is peaceful, a vast expanse of water in the ferry hub;
風止客帆收。When the winds stop, the traveling sails are lowered.
3. 去去懷前浦, Leaving and leaving, I think about the previous riverside,
茫茫泛夕流。along which I voyaged in the wide stream in the sunset.
4. 石逢羅剝碍, I was obstructed by the Devil Reef in the river,
山泊敬亭幽。and now moor my boat under the secluded Mount Jingting.
5. 火識梅根冶, The mills on Mount Meigen are ablaze with flames,
煙迷楊葉洲。and their mist veils the Yangye island.
6. 離家復水宿, Far away from home, I lodge on water;

¹⁹⁴ This motif was first associated with gull imagery by Bao Zhao in his poem, “Shang Xunyang huandu dao zhong zuo 上潯陽還都道中作 [Composed on My Returning Trip from Xunyang to the Capital].” Depicting his hastened boat travel in rolling waves and whistling winds, Bao Zhao expresses his nostalgia and regret to take an official position so far away from home. The lines of river scenery in his trip read,

鱗鱗夕雲起, Clouds, like fish scales, appear at dusk,

獵獵晚風遒。and whistling evening winds blow hard.

騰沙郁黃霧, Dense sands surge like yellow mists;

翻浪揚白鷗。rolling waves raise to the white gulls.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. Tong Peiji 佟培基 annotated, *Meng Haoran shiji jianzhu* 孟浩然詩集箋注 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2000), pp. 191-2.

相伴賴沙鷗。only the sand gulls couple up with me.

Apart from delineating nature and famous nearby sights, the poet expresses his longing for his home. Unlike the overt theme of banishment suggested by allusions to *Chuci* in Xie Lingyun's and Zhang Jiuling's poems, abandonment is underlying in the images and diction of Meng Haoran's poetic brush. Another subtle difference is that the key sentiment of dislocation here has little to do with the factual political failure, as the poet never successes in officialdom. Instead, the long journey and much drift in life are what weary the poet.

Meng Haoran points out the location of his lodge, the border of Xuan City,¹⁹⁶ the seat of the Xuan Prefecture, located in the southeast of modern Anhui 安徽, approximately seventy miles south of modern Nanjing 南京,¹⁹⁷ with a sketch of his whereabouts, between the Xisai Mountain in the east and the Nanling Garrison in the west.¹⁹⁸ The next couplet shows a peaceful view of the ferry hub in which the poet anchors his boat. The current sense of tranquility is soon broken by the poet's recall of his drifting in the vast expanse of water and the hindrance of his journey by the Devil Reef. "*Luosha shi* 羅刹石 [the Devil Reef]" sits in the Yangtze River, west of Guichi 貴池 County, approximately seventy miles southwest of Xuan City¹⁹⁹ and is said to be a hazardous obstruction for ships.²⁰⁰ After his dangerous journey, the poet safely anchors his boat under Mount Jingting, where the poem restores the peaceful tone. However, this sense of calm breaks down again when the poet shifts his focus to night scenes in his sight: the flames from Mount Meigan, a coinage center about fifty miles west of Xuan City and the mists emitted from it.²⁰¹ This hectic and engaged scene does not involve the poet at all, for

¹⁹⁶ Xuan City was a culturally enriched location, frequently mentioned in the High Tang poets' writings, as in Li Bai's famous archaic style poem, "Seeing off Li Yun, the Sectary in the Xie Tiao Tower of the Xuan Prefecture 宣州謝朓樓餞別校書叔雲." Cf. *Li Bai ji jiao zhu*, 18.1077-80. The fame of this city owes much to Xie Tiao 謝朓 (464-499), a widely admired poet, who governed the Xuan City from 491 to 496.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. Tan Qixiang 譚其驤, *Zhong guo li shi di tu ji* 中國歷史地圖集 (Shanghai: Zhonghua ditu xueshe, 1974), 5:55-6.

¹⁹⁸ Nanling Garrison is located about twenty miles west of Xuan City, *ibid*, 5:55-6.

¹⁹⁹ *Zhong guo li shi di tu ji* 中國歷史地圖集 (Shanghai: Zhonghua ditu xueshe, 1974), 5:55-6.

²⁰⁰ Cf. Tong Peiji's note 6 in *Meng Haoran ji jianzhu*, p. 192.

²⁰¹ The history of mills of smelting iron and copper on Mount Mengen can be traced back to Wei-Jin period. It became the coinage center in the Sui and Tang dynasties. *Ibid* note 8, pp. 192-3.

he reveals his feeling of dislocation by regarding sand gulls as his only companions and the source of his agony: away from home, a sentiment echoing the lowered “traveling sails” in the second couplet.

Compared with the more or less pleasant excursion in Zhang Yun’s poem, Meng Haoran’s journey focuses on feelings of desolation. The night coastal scene sets up a natural background for the appearance of gulls. Whereas Zhang Yun highlights darkness and coldness of the autumn night, Meng Haoran, in contrast, lights up the night by blazing flames, which only single out his gloom. The gloomy emotion is found throughout the poem, especially in his drift in the vast expanse of stream, the obstruction by the devil reef, and the mists spreading in the distance. Because of their placement in the poem, the sand gulls convey a strong sense of drifting, which Du Fu later asserted in his famous poem “Luye shuhuai 旅夜書懷 [Thoughts While Traveling at Night].”

After Meng Haoran’s implementation of it, the nostalgia motif became a frequently referred implication of gull imagery in the works of many other poets. For example, Gao Shi composed thirty poems, titled “Zi Ji she He tuzhong zuo 自淇涉河途中作 [Composing During the Journey from the Ji River to the Yellow River].”²⁰² The fourth of this series contains gull imagery and expresses his longing for messages from his friends,

1. 南登滑臺上, I climb on the Hua terrace in the south,

却望河淇間。but shed my eyesight between the Yellow River and the Ji River.

2. 竹樹夾流水, Bamboo trees flank the running water,

孤城對遠山。and the lonely city faces the far mountain.

3. 念茲川路闊, I am fond of this vast expanse of river road.

羨爾沙鷗閒。and envy the leisure of sand gulls.

²⁰² This poem is composed in the summer of 747 when Gao Shi crossed the Yellow River from the Ji River to return to Liang-Song 梁宋 area, modern Eastern Henan 河南 Province, cf. Liu Kaiyang annotated, *Gao Shi shiji biannian jianzhu* 高適詩集編年箋注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), p.187.

4. 長想別離處，I always think of the place of departure,

猶無音信還。and wonder why no messages or letters return yet.

Standing on the Hua terrace in the modern Henan province, the poet looks down to the Yellow River. The scene of the running water and lonely city does not evoke rumination about the place's history, as it usually does in *denglin shi* 登臨詩 [climbing-up poetry]; instead, it arouses the poet's longing for letters from his family and friends. Unlike Meng Haoran, who treated sand gulls as his only companions, Gao Shi uses them as a foil for his fatigued mind. The gulls not only stand for freedom, but also a casual lifestyle in this poem.

Li Bai also captures the carefree nature of gulls in a poem written about the scenery close to Xuan City. In “Guo Cui bazhang shuiting 過崔八丈水亭 [Passing by the Water Pavilion of Master of Cui, the Eighth in Line],”²⁰³ he shows us beautiful views he sees while gazing from the high tower of the water pavilion.

1. 高閣橫秀氣，The high tower displays a charming character,

清幽並在君。and reveals both tranquility and seclusion.

2. 檐飛宛溪水，The eaves, like birds' wings, stretch over Yuan Creek;

窗落敬亭雲。The clouds over Mount Jingting fall into the window's view.

3. 猿嘯風中斷，The crying of gibbons is interrupted by the winds,

漁歌月里聞。and the singing of fisherman can be heard under the moon.

4. 閒隨白鷗去，I want to go with white gulls in leisure,

沙上自為群。and join the flock on the sands.

²⁰³ Cf. *Li Bai ji jiao zhu*, 21.1258. This poem is dated to 753, cf. An Qi 安旗 ed., *Li Bai quanji biannian zhushi* 李白全集編年注釋 (Chengdu: Ba Shu shushe, 1990), p.1072.

This poem focuses on the poet's “*xian* 閒 [casual]” mood as he appreciates sceneries from the water pavilion. Li Bai opens his poem by pointing out charms of the natural views: tranquil and secluded. He illustrates this placidity by the beautiful vision: the eaves extend over Yuan Creek and clouds float across the window. Aside from sight, sense of hearing is also entertained in this poem. The interrupted crying of gibbons and the clear singing of fisherman at night reflect the quietness of the mountain scenes. Surrounded by the elusive nature, the poet feels a desire of following the leisure flock of white gulls on the sands. This sentiment of relaxation represented by the gull is found often in the landscape poetry of the High Tang and its subgenre. It is reflected not only in Zhang Jiuling's leisurely sailing and in Li Bai's enjoyment of the sounds and views from the tower, but also in the idling gulls, which fly past the banquet in another Li Bai's poem, “*Pei Shilang Shu you Dongting zuihou* 陪侍郎叔游洞庭醉後 [Accompanying the Vice Director, My Uncle, After a Drunken Stupor in the Excursion of Lake Dongting].”²⁰⁴

1. 船上齊橈樂, On the boats, the music sounds at the same time;

湖心泛月歸。 we return with the floating moon from the middle of the lake.

2. 白鷗閒不去, White gulls, idling, do not go away;

爭拂酒宴飛。 They labor to sweep past the drinking banquet.

Written in 759, shortly after Li Bai was remitted from his exile, this poem carries a pleasant, celebratory tone on the surface. However, on a deeper level, composed on the occasion of a dragon-boat race during the *Duanwu* 端午 Festival, the poem is alluding to Qu Yuan's tragedy. Li Bai who had a similar fate to Qu Yuan, was alienated by Emperor Suzong after his joining to Li Lin, Emperor Suzong's royal sibling. In spite of the remission and Li Bai's wish to be used again, no one in power dared to employ him anymore.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid*, 20.1191-3. For the date of this poem, cf. An Qi 安旗 ed., *Li Bai quanji biannian zhushi* 李白全集編年注釋 (Chengdu: Ba Shu shushe, 1990), pp.1504-5.

Written under Li Bai's awkward situation, the white gull in this poem does not represent its conventional unworldly imagery. Instead, it appears to be interested in joining the poet by laboring to sweep past the drinking banquet. Therefore, the modification *xian* 閒, quite contradictory to the state of white gulls, seems to indicate the carefree mind of the poet who is relaxed by drinking with his friends. Li Jiayou 李嘉祐 (fl. 748),²⁰⁵ a transitional poet in literature from the High Tang to the Mid-Tang, finely summarizes the theme of leisure,

心閒鷗鳥時相近，A carefree mind invites gulls to stay close from time to time;

事簡魚竿私自親。Simple business allows me to hold firmly my fishing pole in private.²⁰⁶

The motif of leisure influenced not only the compositions of Li Jiayou, but also those of Du Fu, especially those written in his thatched house in Chengdu.

In the High Tang, gull imagery revives in landscape poetry. This feature, inherited from Tao Yuanming's and Xie Lingyun's poetry, shows a more mature form, as poets of the High Tang intertwined their emotions into their descriptions of nature. This is especially true in Zhang Jiuling's and Meng Haoran's pieces, because insufficient knowledge of the *Lie Zi* passage barely affects readers' understanding of the poems. Even in Li Bai's poetry, where the gull appears as a salient allusion to its Daoist origin, the poet avoids Tao Yuanming's overt utterance of his fear for life's ephemerality or the Buddhist lecture Xie Lingyun gives to search for the spiritual permanency.

Furthermore, in these poems, gull imagery occurs alongside the development of new poetic motifs. From the works of Tao Yuanming to those of the High Tang poets, the underlying theme is always banishment, whether self-imposed or forced by an outside source. From this basic theme, the

²⁰⁵ Li Jiayou was a contemporary of Du Hongjian 杜鴻漸 (709-769). He was aquatinted with Li Bai, Liu Changqing 劉長卿 (ca.726-ca.786) and Huangpu Ran 皇甫冉 (717-770). Having passed *jinshi* examination in 748, He was then appointed to a position of secretary. He was demoted to Boyang 鄱陽 county and then became the governor of Jiangyin 江陰. The highest official positions he held are the Prefect of Yuan 袁 Prefecture and Tai 台 Prefecture in modern Zhejiang and Jiangxi provinces around 761 and after 766. For more information, cf. Fu Xuancong 傅璇琮, *Tang caizi zhuan jiaojian* 唐才子傳校箋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), pp.473-480 and Tao Min 陶敏, *Quan Tang shi renming huikao* 全唐詩人名匯考 (Shenyang: Liaohai chubanshe, 2006), pp.159-162.

²⁰⁶ This couplet comes from the poem "Wandeng jianglou youhuai 晚登江樓有懷" Cf. *QTS*, 207.2163.

High Tang poets derived a few other prevalent motifs related to their personal experience, such as nostalgia and leisure.

Conclusion

In discussing the use of gull imagery during the time from the Eastern Jin to the High Tang, we find there are a few standard features. First and foremost, the texture created by gull imagery and other metaphors is suggestive of reclusion, or the Daoist perspective of life. The metaphors paired with gull imagery always come from *Chuci*, *Zhou yi*, and *Zhuang Zi* or are stock images of historical figures, such as the “Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove.” Second, the majority of these poems derived their themes, more specifically, from the “roaming” motif found in *Chuci*. Even in those poems devoid of the generic formula of landscape poetry, the feeling of banishment dominates the tone. Since many poets treated gull imagery as a token of reclusion and, thus, as an escape from reality, both the content and the diction were highly influenced by *Chuci*, in which writers repetitively wrote of their disappointment and their escape into real or imagined shelters. However, poets who implement gull imagery vent their agony through the use of real scenes. Third, the treatment of gull imagery highly depends on the poetic genre. In landscape poetry, poets tend to integrate the gull image into their depictions of nature, while in poems with a more metaphysical inclination poets use the gull as a symbol to discuss cosmological understandings with other philosophical terms.

From the development of gull imagery, we can discern that its meaning became exteriorized as it went from being a token to test the peacefulness of people’s minds to being an outlet for poets and an escape from the cruelties of reality. The themes that stemmed from this imagery changed from the didactic teachings of how to live better—remember the admonishment to get rid of one’s knowledge from the *Lie Zi* passage—to the unavoidability of escaping into nature, which leaves fraternizing with gulls as the last resort in the pursuit of keeping one’s morality. The motif of forgetting reality often associated with gull imagery is an expression of poets’ passive suffering, common in the poetic

tradition. Rather than the bold attitude of confronting life shown in the *locus classicus*, the gull in subsequent poetry represents the poets' immersion in banishment and intent to evade life instead.

Chapter Four

Gull Imagery: the Autobiographical Representation of Du Fu

The previous chapter demonstrates that the gull is one of the images that reflects the banished souls of many poets. This imagery appears in the beautiful scenes thus pacifying the poets' agony over their unsuccessful lives. Sometimes it appeases their unease at being away from home and other times it leads their spiritual quests. However, it never appears to symbolize the poet himself, as Du Fu does so frequently and systematically.

Among the total thirty-nine occurrences of gull imagery in Du Fu's verse, more than one fourth of them present the gull as the personified image of Du Fu. This subjectivity of gull imagery is not as prevalent in any other Tang poetry. Not only does Du Fu grant this bird a living soul, but he also explores different characteristics of the gulls. These personalities reflect the changes in his life as a young scholar who is eager to seek political success to a recluse who tries to enjoy the peace of a suburban life, and finally to an old poor traveler drifting along the Yangtze River.

Du Fu's special contribution to classical Chinese poetry is his systematic use of one particular image. Before him, a few poets explored the subjectivity of gull imagery in their poetry, but none of them did it as thorough as Du Fu. This chapter will start with the examination of the predecessor poets' use of the gull imagery in order to delineate the paths of the personification of gulls, and will then investigate Du Fu's systematic use of gull imagery.

Subjectivity of Gull Imagery in *Yong wu shi* 詠物詩 [Songs to Things] and *Yan zhi shi* 言志詩 [Poems of Voicing One's Intention]

Before Du Fu, few poets had employed the gull imagery in order to capture their persona in poetry. Their use of gull imagery paved the way for Du Fu's poetry in which gull imagery served as an autobiographical representation of the poet. He Xun 何遜 (died. c. 517) and Yu Xin 庾信 (513–581) were the first poets who did not abide by the generic formula of landscape or metaphysical poetry. In their poems, the images of gulls appear independently from the depiction of the landscape that is characteristic of the excursion theme. The heavy symbolism behind this imagery conveys the poets' dissatisfaction with reality, which they consider villainous. Their use of gull imagery demonstrates the persistence of morality, rather than the religious conviction shown in Xie Lingyun's poems.

Although renowned for his poetic depictions of natural scenery, in “Yong baiou jian chao biezhe shi 詠白鷗兼嘲別者詩 [An Ode to White Gulls, Which Also Satirizes Others],”²⁰⁷ He Xun treats the “white gull” as the primary subject of his poem rather than as a part of the landscape.

1. 可憐雙白鷗, What a pitiful pair of white gulls!

朝夕水上游。They swim together on the water day and night.

2. 何言異棲息, How can they think of living apart?

雌住雄不留。when the female stays, the male departs.

3. 孤飛出澗浦, The male gull flies out of the lost place alone,

獨宿下滄洲。and spends the night by himself in Cangzhou.

4. 東西從此別, One east and one west, the two white gulls are apart;

影響絕無由。Their connections have been cut off since then.

²⁰⁷ Cf. He Xun 何遜 (d. 517), Li Boqi 李伯齊 ed., *He Xun ji jiaozhu* 何遜集校注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2010), pp. 291-2; Liu Chang 劉暢 and Liu Guojun 劉國珪 annotated, *He Xun ji zhu* 何遜集注 (Tianjin: Tianjin guji chubanshe, 1988), pp.115-6. Neither of the editions assigns a date to this poem, nor do they explicate the underlined meaning of it. Zhonghua's edition categorizes this poem into the group of poems without specific dates. The latter edition simply explains that this poem refers to the separated couple through the gull which flies away lonely.

In the exposition of the poem, He Xun laments the sadness of this pair of white gulls. Although they originally appear as a pair and swim together all day along, the male decides to depart without the companion of the female. He leaves Xupu 溱浦, where Qu Yuan lived his life of exile,²⁰⁸ and went to Cangzhou 滄州, which was associated with the famous hermit Zhi Bo 支伯, who was Yao's 堯 desired successor.²⁰⁹ Zhi Bo declined Yao's offer because of an illness, therefore he became renowned for his resistance to self-gain and his understanding of the importance of living. Although this interpretation of Zhi Bo's moral view is a misleading one that was influenced by later social contexts, the use of Cangzhou in the poem points to the male gull's choice of leaving a lost area in exchange for an oasis of serenity. However, the two descriptive words *gu* 孤 [alone] and *du* 獨 [singly] indicate a downside to the male's choice. The melancholic separation of the paired gulls is further illustrated in the last couplet, which expresses that "their connections have been cut off" as they depart in opposite directions.

In this poem, the use of gull imagery tends to deviate from its Daoist origin. The poet focuses on the separation of the couple rather than on the gull as a symbol of freedom. However, the theme of roaming afar, shown both in Tao Yuanming's and Xie Lingyun's writings, is also present in He Xun's poem. What distinguishes this piece from other compositions is the fact that the gull couple does not occur as a part of the landscape, but instead appears as the personified subject of the poem.

²⁰⁸ The original text reads, "入溱浦之余儵何兮，迷不知吾所如。" Cf. "She jiang 涉江," Hong Xingzu 洪興祖 (1090-1155), *Chuci bu zhu* 楚辭補注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), p. 130.

²⁰⁹ Cf. Ruan Ji 阮籍, "Wei Zheng Chong quan Jin Wang jian 為鄭冲劝晋王笺 [A Memo to Persuade Prince Jin on Behalf of Zheng Chong]," "the morality of the Great Wei is more glorious than that of the Yu of Tang. You, Master Ming's magnificent merits surpass those of Duke Huan of Qi and Duke Wen of Jin. Because of this, you can go to Cangzhou to show your gratefulness to Zhibo, and climb on Mount Ji to give ground to Xu You. Isn't this magnificent? 大魏之德，光于唐虞，明公盛勛，超於桓文。然後臨滄洲而謝支伯，登箕山以揖許由，豈不盛乎！" *Ruan Ji ji* 阮籍集 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1978), pp. 79-80.

After He Xun's innovative use of gull imagery in his *yongwu* poems, another gifted poet, Yu Xin 庾信 (513–581),²¹⁰ applies gull imagery in a different poetic genre, *yanzhi shi* 言志詩. Yu Xin, who made his premiere at the age of fifteen in the palace of the Zhaoming 昭明 heir, composed “Fenghe Yongfeng dianxia yanzhi shi 奉和永豐殿下言志詩 [A Poem of Uttering My Intention, Corresponding to Marquis Yongfeng].” This poem is the ninth in a series of ten poems written to another aristocrat who was forced to stay in the north, and it expresses the poet's painful spirit.

Composed during Emperor Ming's reign (557–560), when Yu Xin was appointed the Scholar of Linzhi 麟趾 Palace, this poem should have conveyed the sense of accomplishment. As a scholar, he was given the permission to collate books after his reception as the fief of the marquis in the Yicheng 義城 County. However, Yu Xin's poem reveals his disregard for the honor and expresses his willingness to live in seclusion as a result of emotional difficulties when serving an opponent state.

1. 崩堤壓故柳, A deceased willow fell down on the broken bank;

衰社卧寒樗。 a cold heaven tree lies by the decayed shrine in front.

2. 野鶴能自獵, The wild crane can hunt on his own;

江鷗解獨漁。 the river gull knows how to fish alone.

3. 漢陰逢荷筱, I met the peasant hermit at the South of the Han River;

緇林見杖屨。 among the monks, but I ran into a reclusive fisher.

²¹⁰ After the fame he gained early in his life, Yu Xin established himself further during Emperor Wu's 武 reign (502–549) in the Liang 梁 court. But the Houjing 侯景 Rebellion in 548 smashed his stable life, forcing him to flee to Jiangling 江陵, to the court of Emperor Yuan 元 (r. 552–554). Following the Liang Dynasty's defeat at the hands of the Northern Wei 北魏 (386–557) in 554, Yu Xin was forced to stay in the North, and was only given honorary titles in the Northern Wei and the subsequent Northern Zhou 北周 Dynasty (557–581) for almost two decades. Since then, he did not return to his hometown in the South. Regarding himself as a traitor, Yu Xin never could sincerely enjoy his life in the North. Nostalgia and regret are characteristic emotions evident in the poems he wrote in this period. For Yu Xin's biography, cf. *Zhou shu* 周書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1971), 41.747; *Bei shi* 北史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 83.3793-4.

4. 阮籍長思酒, Like Ruan Ji, I am always thirsty for a drink;

嵇康懶著書。similar to Ji Kang, I am unwilling to write a book.

The meaning of gulls in this poem can be easily deciphered through the finely-textured composite of images, all of which relate to the theme of self-banishment. The poem starts with a depiction of a dead willow and a cold heaven tree, two metaphors for the poet's depression and denigration, respectively. It ends with the allusions to Ji Kang and Ruan Ji, who deliberately remained in drunken stupors to avoid political engagement. The inner couplets employ the images of a wild crane, a river gull, a peasant hermit, and a fisherman to delineate the poet's reluctance to serve in the court and his longing for freedom.

The gloomy atmosphere of the piece is introduced in the expository couplet with two images: “*beng di* 崩堤 [the broken bank]” and “*shuai she* 衰社 [the decayed shrine].” The poet compares himself to “the dead willow” and “the cold heaven tree.” The cold heaven tree appears in a parable in *Zhuang Zi* 莊子, and is said to be devoid of utility, “I have a big tree of the kind men call shu. Its trunk is too gnarled and bumpy to apply a measuring line to, its branches too bent and twisty to match up to a compass or square.”²¹¹ This denigratory parallel reflects the poet's sense of misplacement and dislocation.

The following couplets show the struggle between the poet's desire to be free and the reality of being detained in the Northern Wei. In the second couplet Yu Xin employs two self-referential metaphors, a wild crane and a river gull, to represent his desire for a life in seclusion. The songs of the cranes, though sung in marshes, can be heard from heaven. The Mao annotations explain that cranes

²¹¹ The Chinese text reads, 吾有大樹, 人謂之樗。其大本擁腫, 不中繩墨。其小枝卷曲, 不中規矩。Cf. “Xiaoyao you 逍遙遊” in Yang Bojun 楊伯峻, *Zhuang Zi ji shi* 莊子集釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1961), p. 39. The translation is rendered by Watson, Burton, in *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), p.35.

cannot conceal their fame even in reclusion.²¹² The connotation of the extraordinary prestige of the crane corresponds well to Yu Xin's status as a renowned literati taking only honorary titles in an opponent state. Described as "knows how to fish alone," the river gull does not even need the boat to guide him as indicated in the locus classicus in *Lie Zi*. Therefore, together with the wild crane, it represents an independent spirit that desires disengagement from his enemy court.

The following couplet strengthens this yearning for a reclusive life with the appearance of two archetypal recluses. The first is "*he xiao* 荷篠,"²¹³ the peasant hermit who originated in *Lun yu* 論語. The second is "*zhang na* 杖拏,"²¹⁴ the fisherman, which alludes to *Zhuang Zi*. Both of them met Confucius during his compulsory traveling. Through these two allusions, the poet compares himself to Confucius who lived far from his hometown and was dispelled from one state to another. This sense of high self-esteem contrasted to Yu Xin's awkward position as a captive leads to the poet's identification with Ruan Ji (210–263) and Ji Kang (223–263) in the last couplet. Comparing himself to the two most famous figures among the "Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove," Yu Xin overtly conveys his wish to stay away from political life.

He Xun and Yu Xin's creative use of gull imagery directly influenced the compositions of Li Bai 李白 (701–759), an important poetic *fugu* reformist during the Tang Dynasty. In "Gu feng 古風, the forty-two poem,"²¹⁵ he not only inherits the censorious perspective from He Xun, but he also adheres to the abstract perception of gull imagery the two previous poets constructed. He Xun's poem had an obvious formulaic impact on Li Bai's compositions, which can be seen in his similar diction

²¹² The original text reads, "鶴鳴于九臯，聲聞于天" in "He ming 鶴鳴," cf. Wang Xiumei 王秀梅 annotated, *Shi jing* 詩經 [The Book of Poetry] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006), pp. 261-3.

²¹³ Cf. "Wei zi 微子," in *Lun yu* 論語 [Analects], in *Si shu zhang ju ji shi* 四書章句集釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2011), pp. 184-5.

²¹⁴ Cf. "Yu fu 漁父," in *Zhuang Zi ji shi* 莊子集釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976), p. 1026.

²¹⁵ Cf. *QTS*, 161.1679; Li Bai 李白 (701-762), Qu Tuiyuan 瞿蛻園 and Zhu Jincheng 朱金城 ed., *Li Bai ji jiao zhu* 李白集校注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), p.166.

and rhyming metrics. This poem starts with the phrase “*shuang baiou* 雙白鷗 [a pair of white gulls]” as in He Xun’s “An Ode to White Gulls, Which Satirize Others,” and its metrical feet rhyme with words in the same phonetic group as those in He Xun’s poem. Yu Xin’s influence on Li Bai’s composition is also quite obvious: Li Bai adopts the personified characteristic Yu Xin granted to the river gull. Based on the latter’s application, the use of gull imagery develops from one of the self-referential metaphors in “Fenghe Yongfeng dianxia yanzhi shi 奉和永豐殿下言志詩” into the dominant persona in the following “Gufeng” poem.

1. 搖裔雙白鷗，A pair of white gulls hovers back and forth;

鳴飛滄江流。They cry as they fly above the dark-blue river currents.

2. 宜與海人狎，They should have stayed intimate with the man who cruises on the sea;

豈伊雲鶴儔。Why do they flock together with the cranes in the clouds?

3. 寄影宿沙月，Their shadows, shed by moonlight, rest on the sand;

沿芳戲春洲。Coming after the flower’s fragrance they frolic on spring islets.

4. 吾亦洗心者，I, too, am a person who cleanses his heart;

忘機從爾遊。Oblivious of scheming, I shall follow you to roam.²¹⁶

Unlike Yu Xin’s poem in which both gull and crane suggest reclusion, this poem presents the cranes as the foil for the persona, thus strengthening the nonaligned character of gulls in this poem. The second couplet shows the poet’s reluctance to see the gulls join the “*yun he* 雲鶴 [cranes in the clouds],”

²¹⁶ I consult Wu, Yeow-chong’s translation in his dissertation “Poetic Archaicization: A Study of Li Bo’s Fifty-Nine ‘Gufeng’ Poem” (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Washington, 2000), p. 367.

which symbolize officials who were constrained by the civil service system.²¹⁷ In contrast to the cranes, the gulls are depicted in the following couplets as joyful creatures free from restraint.

Li Bai applies the images of gulls in more complexity with the two allusions to the *Lie Zi* passage, the first time as the poet's persona and the second time as a supporting role. The focal point shifts as the gulls reveal more of the poet's intent. In most lines Li Bai treat the pair of white gulls as the personified subject of an unworldly spirit. Unlike *Lie Zi*'s focus on the cruising man, this verse concentrates on the description of the gulls, which represent Li Bai's independence and leisurely lifestyle. However, this focus does not remain consistent through the rest of the poem. At the end, the subject changes from the gulls to the first person, "I 吾." Asserting his innocence, the poet thus restores his subjectivity by placing the gulls as a vanguard of his spiritual quest.

From the analysis above, it seems fair to conclude that the poetic tradition of the Six Dynasties depends on the heavy symbolism of gull imagery, a very different literary technique from those found in landscape poetry. In *yongwu shi* 詠物詩 [Songs to Things] and *yanzhi shi* 言志詩 [Poems of Voicing One's Intention], gulls do not merely reflect the poet's state of mind. In these poems, they are given a certain degree of subjectivity through personification and sometimes act as the poetic persona. He Xun rendered the gull as the subject of satire in his poem, while Yu Xin treated gulls as self-referential characters, both setting precedents in classical Chinese poetry. Their innovations had a direct influence on the treatment of gull imagery in some Tang poetry, as seen in Li Bai's compositions. Also, He Xun and Yu Xin opened the door for the personified occurrences of gulls, which paved the way for Du Fu's use of it as an autobiographical representation.

²¹⁷ I based this reading on Xu Zhenqing's 徐禎卿 and Wu Yeow-chong's interpretations, cf. Xu Zhenqing's 徐禎卿 discussions in *Li Bai ji jiao zhu* 李白集校注, pp. 166-7 and Wu, Yeow-chong's "Poetic Archaicization: A Study of Li Bo's Fifty-Nine 'Gufeng' Poems" (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Washington, 2000), pp. 4-9.

From Allegory to Lyrics: the Change of Gull Imagery within Du Fu's Life Path

Because he masters the skill of personification, and interweaves multiple images to a synthetic theme within a poem, Du Fu is credited for bringing the *yongwu shi* subgenre to its full maturity. This fine artistry becomes one of Du Fu's most significant poetic devices in the last decade of life. Among these images, the image of gulls represents the poet's idealist persona as Du Fu lived in semi-seclusion after withdrawing from the central court.

Du Fu's Six Dynasties and Tang predecessors often treat the images of gulls as rhetorical displays and sometimes as topical allegories, but the use of gull imagery as lyrical expressions is not common. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the poets of the High Tang renaissance of landscape poetry developed a novel tendency to integrate descriptions of the gull imagery into the unified vision of the scenery, which usually revealed the poets' state of mind. Du Fu twists this formulaic structure even further to suit his own ends. More than mere objects placed in a landscape, gulls serve as Du Fu's autobiographical projections. Sometimes the original pleasure of reading derived from the artistry behind the gull imagery itself turns to the appreciation of Du Fu's special perception of gulls.

The most representative piece in this case is "Ou 鷗 [The Gull],"²¹⁸ composed in 766 during the poet's stay in the Kui 夔 Prefecture, a year after he set sail for Yun'an 雲安 from his Chengdu thatched hut. Kuizhou 夔州 poems often reveal Du Fu's conflicted attitudes towards seclusion, although at that point in his life Du Fu had completely relinquished his official role for the first time and lived off of farming. "The Gull" depicts a typical view of the farm fields in Du Fu's Kuizhou verse. The entire poem satirizes profit-oriented people, depicted by an avid carnivore gull with an insatiable craving for grain that later causes the gull's downfall. The poem reads,

1. 江浦寒鷗戲, On the river bank plays a shivering gull;

無他亦自饒。without other desires could also be contented.

²¹⁸ Cf. Qiu, 17.1531. Poem Twenty-five, Appendix I.

2. 卻思翻玉羽, But he thinks of spreading his white wings,

隨意點青苗。 and at his ease he darts atop the green grass.

3. 雪暗還須浴, As soon as snow obscures the sun, he will have to return to bathe,

風生一任飄。 and when wind rises, he will be forced to soar.

4. 幾群滄海上, How can he get together with gulls over the blue sea?

清影日蕭蕭。 with clear shapes, they day by day live at ease.

Of great mental capacity, the river gull could have enjoyed its life as any individual of his species; however, he becomes consumed by a hunger for grain. This desire costs the river gull his freedom, and as a result, he has to deal with terrible weather conditions. The comparison in the final couplet introduces the seagull as a foil for the greedy river gull and points out the seagull's contentment is what the poet craves.

Compared to the descriptive poems of He Xun and Li Bai, Du Fu's "Gull" demonstrates an outstanding quality of lyrical expression. The poem can be taken as an interpretation of a realistic occurrence. The poet's tricks are at play between the depictions of symbolism and reality, generating a higher expressive effect caused by the ambiguous blurring of these two categories. In the witty contrast to the river gull's insatiability, the fundamentals of Du Fu's gulls are independent, gratified and sincere. These characteristics shape Du Fu's unique portrayal of the gulls in each situated context. Centering on these basics, Du Fu develops a number of other traits that evolve in his poetry in correlation to the changes of his life. His earlier poems dealing with political life depict righteousness, amazing braveness and freedom whereas Du Fu's later poems reveal the various facets of seclusion and vagrancy, such as cheerfulness, loyalty, drifting and nostalgia in his poems.

The early poems consisting of gull imagery generally retained the immature artistry handed down by Du Fu's predecessors, often displaying characters of rhetorical vehicles. This is often manifested as an imagined metaphor, which can be easily identified with the persona of the poet. In

this stage the gull imagery only appears in Du Fu's political poems that convey the poet's ambition, distress and bafflement, similar to the Six-Dynasties' *yanzhi shi* [Poems of Voicing One's Intention], which directly state the poets' concerns.

The first poem that introduced the gull imagery in this category was written in 748, the year after Li Linfu 李林甫 (d. 752) deliberately failed all candidates in the *jinshi* examination. In his middle ages, Du Fu was still an idealist at this time. From 746 to the eve of the An Lushan Rebellion in 755, Du Fu spent most of his time in Chang'an socializing with politicians and celebrities. Among his acquaintances was Li Jin 李璿 (?-750),²¹⁹ the Prince of Ruyang 汝陽, a musician and Emperor Xuanzong's favorite nephew. In Chang'an, Du Fu also met one of his closest friends, Zheng Qian 鄭虔 (685-764),²²⁰ who was also stripped of power later by Emperor Suzong 肅 in the transitions of power. The poet earned his fame and continued to seek opportunities to enter the core of Tang authority. However, Li Linfu's conspiracy ruined a formal chance for Du Fu to cross the threshold of officialdom. As a result, Du Fu composed a number of poems to ask for recommendations from Wei Ji 韋濟 (688-755),²²¹ the Left Chief Minister. These poems enumerated his current frustrations and ambitions. In "Fengzeng Wei Zuocheng zhang ershier yun 奉贈韋左丞丈二十二韻 [Twenty-two Rhymes Presented to the Left Chief Minister, Wei Ji]"²²² the poet compares himself to an intractable white seagull, which reflected a desire to pursue freedom after being the victim of political mistreatment. After recounting his miserable life as a candidate scholar and his eagerness to serve the Emperor, Du Fu wrote at the end of the poem,

1. 今欲東入海, Now I intend to go eastward to the sea,

²¹⁹ Li Jin 李璿 was a musician, excellent at drum-beating. He was also a patron of many gifted poets, including Li Bai and Du Fu. For information on the socialization and correspondence between Du Fu and Li Jin, cf. Chen Guanming 陳貫明, *Du Fu qinjuan jiaoyou xingnian kao* 杜甫親眷交游行年考 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2006), 101-2.

²²⁰ *Ibid*, 206-9.

²²¹ Wei Ji 韋濟 was a native of Du Fu's hometown. It is likely that they were acquainted with each other through family connections. For more detailed information on Wei Ji, cf. *ibid*, 132-3.

²²² Cf. Qiu, 1.73-80. Appendix I, Poem One.

即將西去秦。 and will leave the Qin area in the west soon.

2. 尚憐終南山， I will still love Zhongnan Mountain;

回首清渭濱。 and turn my head back to look for the banks of the clear Wei.

3. 常擬報一飯， With a grateful heart which always intends to repay the simple meal,

況懷辭大臣。 I feel it hard to bid farewell to a great statesman.

4. 白鷗沒浩蕩， When a white seagull, disappears into the vast expanse,

萬里誰能馴。 who can tame him from thousands of miles afar?

This seagull full of a youthful and vigorous spirit matures into a more serene character in Du Fu's later poems. After Emperor Suzong stripped him of power, Du Fu wrote three poems containing gull imagery to lament over the persecution of himself and his friends. Written shortly after Du Fu's demotion in 758, "Du li 獨立 [Standing Alone]"²²³ articulates a surge of anxiety about his own fate.

1. 空外一鷲鳥， Up beyond the sky a single raptor,

河間雙白鷗。 Down on the river a pair of white gulls.

2. 飄飄搏擊便， As the raptor can seize and attack as swiftly as he pleases;

容易往來遊。 How can the white gulls swim back and forth at ease?

3. 草露亦多溼， The dews of the grasses all the more wet;

蛛絲仍未收。 The spider's web has not yet withdrawn.

4. 天機近人事， Nature's design is similar to the human affairs;

獨立萬端憂。 Standing alone, my worries trail in a myriad of threads.

²²³ Cf. Qiu, 6.495-6. Appendix I, Poem Two.

The poem is a metaphor for the victims of political purges. Du Fu and almost all of his political allies, such as Jia Zhi 賈至, Yan Wu 嚴武 and Zhang Gao 張鎰 were alienated by Emperor Suzong for their supports of Fang Guan 房琯 in 758. The poet indicates the metaphorical intent in the seventh line in which the design of nature is compared to human affairs. The poem starts with the poet's observation of a scene from a distance: a territorial fight between a raptor and two white gulls. Compared to the wide space that the seagulls inhabited in *Lie Zi*, these white gulls can only fly above the rivers in this poem. The locative *jian* 間, meaning "in between," further limits the space of these white gulls' activities. In the third line, the verb compound, *boji* 搏擊 [to seize and attack] manifests the vulture's aggressive character. This sharp image is in sheer contrast to the seagull in the next line. The verb *you* 遊 [to swim], generalizes the response of the white gulls and reveals their reluctance to revolt.

In the next couplets the poet changes his focal point from the sky to the earth. The dew on the grass and the spider's webs cannot reach far enough to catch insects. They simply wait for innocent prey to fall into their traps. The ferocity of the vulture and the sinister snares of spiders representing hypocritical gestures both contribute to the metaphor for the cruel power struggle in the human world. In contrast to the fates of the self-satisfied, witty gull in *Lie Zi* and the courageous gull depicted in Du Fu's poem to Wei Ji in 748, the white gull in this poem suffocated as a righteous politician in such a cutthroat political environment.

Du Fu's anxiety is expressed more realistically in his poem "Youhuai Taizhou Zheng shiba Sihu 有懷台州鄭十八司戶（虔）[Thinking of Zheng Qian, the Commissioner of Consensus of Taizhou]." ²²⁴ Imagining his friend's decrepitude, Du Fu articulates a painful experience of demotion through the employment of a simile,

1. 昔如水上鷗, Before, you were like a gull upon the water,

²²⁴ Cf. Qiu, 7.559-61. Appendix I, Poem Three.

今如置中兔。 now, you are like a rabbit in a cage.

The poem then continues with a vivid depiction of Zheng Qian's misery and suffering. A favorite of Emperor Xuanzong, Zheng Qian faced degradation despite his achievements in poetry, calligraphy, and painting. With his clouded eyes and uncombed white hair, this talented artist and scholar had to humble himself in front of his superiors who were younger than him. Du Fu uses a number of petrifying images, such as single-legged mountain demons, pythons, and evil spirits howling in agony in an isolated city to illustrate the despair of Zheng Qian. These exaggerated details are probably inaccurate depictions of his friend's life because of Du Fu's limited access to Zheng Qian who lived more than a thousand miles away. The poet assumes the role of an empathetic friend although only to convey his own damaged self-esteem and distress.

This imagined commonality of an emotional crisis also appears in a poem composed in 759 written to two friends of Du Fu, Jia Zhi and Yan Wu, also Fang Guan's henchmen that were demoted to local positions. The title of the poem, "Ji Yuezhou Jia Sima liuzhang Bazhou Yanba shijun liang gelao wushi yun 寄岳州賈司馬六丈巴州嚴八使君兩閣老五十韻 [Fifty Rhymes to Two Former Ministers, Jia Zhi, Assistant Prefect of Yue Prefecture and Yan Wu, Prefect of Ba Prefecture],"²²⁵ tells readers that it was sent to both of the poet's friends, who underwent a similar severe reduction in status. However, the question is whether Du Fu's friends would have had the exact same emotional reactions towards this political power struggle as he demonstrated in the poem,

1. 舊好腸堪斷, While my hearts were almost broken in the reminiscence of the good old days,
新愁眼欲穿。 the new worries arose when I allowed my longings to reach far.
2. 翠乾危棧竹, With the fading green of the bamboo poles, the plank path in Shu is in danger;

²²⁵ Cf. Qiu, 8.645-54. Poem Four, Appendix I.

紅膩小湖蓮。 While the lotus blossom, glowing red all over the palace ponds.

3. 賈筆論孤憤, Mr. Jia must have written about his lonely indignation;

嚴詩賦幾篇。 Mr. Yan too must have composed a number of poems.

4. 定知深意苦, I know these writings represent thoughts sober and timely,

莫使眾人傳。 but it would be safer not to have them widely spread.

5. 貝錦無停織。 For mischief-makers, like weavers of brocade, are looking for material;

朱絲有斷弦。 For righteous vassals, like the silk threads, occasionally will be broken.

6. 浦鷗防碎首, Let the beach gulls be careful lest their heads be crushed,

霜鵲不空拳。 by the ruthless raptors that never strike in vain.

7. 地僻昏炎瘴, In far-off places where you were obscured by the warm and gloomy misasma,

山稠隘石泉。 or where the springs were jammed in the mountains;

8. 且將棋度日, You can better spend your days playing chess,

應用酒為年。 and can forget the dreary year by drinking wine.

9. 典郡終微眇。 Though the position of a prefect is too small for Mr Yan,

治中實棄捐。 and that of an assistant prefect too negligible for Mr. Jia;

10. 安排求傲吏, Yet a high-minded official will manage well even a petty job,

比興展歸田。 which perhaps be taken in the spirit of humble retirement.

11. 去去才難得, Leave not, for your talents are too rare to be spared,

蒼蒼理又玄。 Though the ways of heaven just now is profound.

Du Fu advises his friends not to spread their writings, which contain bitter words. He alludes to Jia Yi 賈誼 (200 B.C.-168 B.C.) and Yan Guang 嚴光 (?-?), two extraordinary historical figures that share

the same surnames as his friends. The former was estranged by his sovereign because of a slander, and the latter demonstrated dignity by refusing to behave pettily in front of the emperor. Although his friends have already been demoted, Du Fu points out potential dangers, which might befall the righteous “beach gulls” by the hands of their ferocious enemies in the central court. He then encourages them to remain in safety and to wait for opportunities of reinstatement.

After this stage of struggle, Du Fu found himself in despair because of his lifestyle and his career. Therefore, he decided to relinquish his official career and then moved to Sichuan. Throughout the years in Sichuan, poetry grew more meaningful to Du Fu, and his verses became the means of exploring his inner self. He lived a comparatively stable life for about six years and composed many poems containing gull imagery, which depict his period of suburban seclusion and his emotional struggles. These poems often enact new personae and give voices to the high-minded hermit, to the aged patient, to the loyal friend and sometimes to the weary traveler. In this stage, the gulls also signify his homesickness and concerns for the central state as well as his temporary peace of mind during the stay in Sichuan. Different from the previous allegorical applications, the use of gull imagery in Du Fu’s Sichuan poems demonstrates a united vision of the moments in his life. Gulls are displayed as a regular part of the scenery, either resting near a flowing creek or flying around rural houses.

When Du Fu settled at the outskirts of Chengdu, he composed a number of poems describing suburban life. “Jiang cun 江村 [A River Village]”²²⁶ represents his temporary time of peace there.

1. 清江一曲抱村流， A clear curving river hugs the village;
長夏江村事事幽。 nothing is hurried in the long summer of this river village.
2. 自去自來堂上燕， Swallows fly back and forth at ease to the hall;
相親相近水中鷗。 Gulls on the water are dear and close to one another.
3. 老妻畫紙為棋局， My old wife draws a chessboard on paper;

²²⁶ Cf. Qiu, 9.764-5. Poem Six, Appendix I.

稚子敲針作釣鉤。 My little boy bent a needle to be his fishhook.

4. 多病所須唯藥物， All one needs in recurrent illness is medication;

微軀此外更何求。 Besides this what else does my humble body desire?

In the third couplet, Du Fu describes the daily life of an impoverished but happy family at this river village. Before this non-figurative depiction, the previous couplet's description of the swallows and gulls set the joyful tone of the poem. Different from the independent, and somewhat haughty attitude of the gulls in the previous stages, the characteristics of the gulls in this poem reveal a docile nature, which best symbolizes the poet's restful mind after the hardships he had suffered during the war.

Though Du Fu evidently enjoyed the temporary peace of his suburban life, the intermittent nostalgia and concerns for the military conflicts caused him constant emotional turbulence. However, because Chengdu was located on the border of the Tang Empire and Tibet, he was often kept in the dark about what is happening in the central court, as expressed in “Yun shan 雲山 [Beclouded Mountains].”²²⁷ The poem reads,

1. 京洛雲山外， Beyond beclouded mountains, from the capitals,

音書靜不來。 there is no news; the letters do not arrive.

2. 神交作賦客， I commune in spirit with the rhapsody writer,

力盡望鄉臺。 my strength exhausted at the terrace for gazing towards home.

3. 衰疾江邊臥， Old and feeble, I lie down by the river's bank,

親朋日暮迴。 family and friends go back under the setting sun.

4. 白鷗元水宿， The white gulls slumber as always on the water;

何事有餘哀。 What makes they cry so much?

²²⁷ Cf. Qiu, 9.749-50. Poem Eight, Appendix I.

Although four years had passed after the An Lushan Rebellion, its aftermath constantly troubled the Tang central court. Earlier in the year northern barbarians invaded the border and threatened the capital. Later in the year, Tang generals went to pacify these enemies and the remnants of An Lushan's troops. Because of the distance and the road obstructions between the central plain and Sichuan, these war messages could not be sent instantly. This handicap is hinted at in the title "Mountains Overcast by Clouds," which implies that little light passes through the clouds to reach the mountains, let alone the area beyond. Therefore, Du Fu could only gaze toward his homeland and desperately hope for letters from his family and friends in his hometown. As the poet "exhausts" himself, the poem smoothly transitions to the next couplet, which informs the readers that he lay down by the riverbank because of his poor health. This image artfully corresponds to the white gulls that inhabit the river shores in the final couplet. By asking what causes the grief of these white gulls, the poet shows his own sorrow due to the lack of messages from his homeland during the wartime.

Despite the Sichuan's unique location, the land could not escape from political turbulence caused by military chaos, which overwhelmed the entire Tang Empire. This chaos began with the demise of Emperor Xuanzong and Emperor Suzong in the first month of 762, and it led the Tang Empire to a series of power struggles both within and outside the central court. Therefore, in the following two years, the poet left his newly-built thatched house in Chengdu and took occasional trips to the Zi 梓 and Lang 阆 Prefectures to avoid the ravages of military conflicts. "Baxi yiting guan jiangzhang cheng Dou Shiwu Shijun ershou 巴西驛亭觀江漲呈竇十五使君二首" [Two Poems Presented to Mr. Dou, While Observing the River Rising in the Post Pavilion in Baxi Prefecture]²²⁸ is one of the poems that describe Du Fu's traveling experience.

1. 轉驚波作怒, Frightening is the sudden race of the raging waves,

²²⁸ This is the second poem in Du Fu's two-poem series. It is dated to 763 when Du Fu traveled to Mianzhou 綿州, cf. Qiu, 12.1005. Poem Thirteen, Appendix I.

即恐岸隨流。 I fear the torrents will even take the banks away.

2. 賴有杯中物， We have only the thing within the cup,

還同海上鷗。 to turn us to those gulls upon the sea.

3. 關心小剡縣， My heart then flies with streams to the Shan County,

傍眼見揚州。 and Yangzhou appears as if it were in front of my eyes.

4. 為接情人飲， It is this drinking with a close friend,

朝來減片愁。 that alleviates my worries a bit in the morning.

Whereas the use of gull imagery in “Mountains Overcast by Clouds” creatively indicates Du Fu’s drifting lifestyle, the gulls return to its original allusive meaning in stanza two for this sequence. Mr. Dou and the poet are probably strangers before because the previous poem hints at that they just met in the post.²²⁹ If both had taken a trip just as other travelers would, they might have passed each other without any significance in their lives. However, fate brought them together when they were stranded by the raging waves of the river. To kill time they sat in the pavilion to observe this striking scene while drinking wine. Drinking is good social means in many cultures, especially in the gatherings of traditional Chinese literati. Over drinks they exchanged ideas, watched performances, and played games that originated from the famous Orchard Pavilion gatherings in the Jin Dynasty. All of these activities, with the help of alcohol, fostered acquaintanceship between the two men. This poem presents a rather unique condition – the loneliness and terror of a devastating power, that granted the two unrelated literati an opportunity to become close in a very short time.

Stanza two starts with the poet’s own feelings toward this torrential scene. After drinking, Du Fu compares himself to a gull on the seas with a heart that longs to go to the lower Yangtze River which he used to traverse. This metaphoric use of gull imagery not only indicates the poet’s eagerness

²²⁹ The final couplet in the first stanza reads, “Traveling afar, we reside in the same post, opening our minds hand to hand. 天邊同客捨，攜我豁心胸。” Cf. Qiu, 12.1004.

to free himself but also reveals the intimacy between him and his new friend as told in the final couplet. Both diction and metaphoric meaning are almost exact replications of those found in the *Lie Zi* text, with the only difference being that the gull is the subject in this instance. As the subject of the poem, “the gull” assumes the poet’s persona and displays his need for and his enjoyment of companionship.

In the spring of 764, Yan Wu 嚴武 was appointed the Military Commissioner of Jiannan, and he sent letters to invite Du Fu back to Chengdu to help with establishing his governorship. Thus, the poet brought his whole family back to the thatched house by the Flower-Washing Creek. This opportunity granted Du Fu sufficient provisions as well as the final opportunity to serve the Tang Empire. He contributed by assisting Yan Wu in the many affairs concerning the security of the southwestern border, but the poet was constantly distressed because of his upright and blunt character, as evidenced by the poems he composed in this period. Du Fu expresses his disappointment with the official system in a commemoration of his friend, “Guo gu Husi jiaoshu zhuang ershou 過故斛斯校書莊二首” [Two Poems Written after Passing by the Mansion of the Former Secretary, Mr. Husi].²³⁰

1. 燕入非旁舍, Swallows will enter no other house,
鷗歸祇故池。 the gulls return only to their old pond.
2. 斷橋無復板, There are no new planks in the broken bridge ,
臥柳自生枝。 but new branches sprout on the fallen willows.
3. 遂有山陽作, Therefore, I write this poem to remember our friendship,
多慚鮑叔知。 ashamed I was not the friend who could recommend your worth.
4. 素交零落盡, My acquaintances expired and perished all;
白首淚雙垂。 with white hairs on my head, I shed my tears in twin-lines.

²³⁰ These two poems were written in 764, cf. Qiu, 14.1188-9. Poem Fifteen, Appendix I.

This is the stanza two in the sequence. From the stanza one we know that Mr. Husi refers to Husi Rong 斛斯融, an aged Confucian with no official appointment as well as Du Fu's neighbor and drinking partner. The official title of Secretary was bestowed to him only after his death. In stanza one, Du Fu compares his friend's talents to those of Jia Yi and Sima Xiangru, two famous Han literati. He laments the fact that no one wanted to employ Husi Rong, unlike Jia Yi who was fortunate enough to be summoned by Emperor Xuanzong of the Han dynasty. The reference to Sima Xiangru indicates the poet's remorse over the local government's neglect of his friend.

In stanza two that is shown here, Du Fu first points out the huge changes to the Husi Rong residence by explaining that he has to observe the whereabouts of the swallows and gulls in order to identify his friend's mansion. Again, the swallows and gulls serve as literary means of self-representation since it is the poet himself who took the time to commemorate his friend. In "Jiang cun" and many other poems composed during Du Fu's Sichuan period, swallows and gulls are paired images, which usually refers to the peace of Du Fu's detached suburban life. However, in this poem, the poet gives them a different meaning. The paired image symbolizes loyalty to his deceased friend, and it triggers the poet's nostalgia for the time he and his friend spent together, especially after seeing the dilapidated garden. Then the poet further commemorates his relationship to Husi Rong by paralleling it to the deep friendship between Ji Kang and Xiang Xiu 向秀 (ca.227-ca.272). This comparison points out Du Fu's missing of Husi Rong as deep and special as Xiang Xiu expresses in his "Si jiu fu 思舊賦 [Rhapsody on Missing an Old Friend]"²³¹ for Ji Kang. Additionally, Husi Rong and Du Fu's lifestyle reveal an unbridled and high-minded attitude that is comparable to the Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove, who deliberately avoided engaging in official obligation. But in the latter allusion to Bao Shu 鮑叔, the poet discloses his contradictory attitudes towards the officialdom, for he repents of not recommending Husi Rong for a position in the local government. His remorse

²³¹ Cf. *Wenxuan* 文選 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1986), 719-22.

eventually leads Du Fu to reflect on his other friends' misfortunes and demotions during the severe political struggles of the transition period between Emperor Xuanzong and Emperor Suzong. As a result of the struggles, many Du Fu's friends died miserably. With the indication of the demise of all his old friends in the last couplet the poet foretells Yan Wu's death, which comes a year after the poem is written.

After Yan Wu's sudden demise in 765, Sichuan again lacked a mighty person who could control the political situation as well as resist the southwestern barbarians who made repeated attempts to invade the Tang border. The political and military unrest drove Du Fu to leave Chengdu in favor of drifting down the Yangtze River. Many scholars speculate that Du Fu originally wanted to return to the capital area as stated in "Qu shu 去蜀 [Leaving the Shu Area]" (Poem Nineteen in the Appendix) composed shortly after Yan Wu's death. In the summer of 765, Du Fu decided to take his family on a boat journey to go east along the Yangtze River. During his journey, the poet writes a famous poem, "Lu ye shu huai 旅夜書懷 [Thoughts While Traveling at Night],"²³² presenting himself as a lonely sand gull drifting in a vast expanse. The poem reads,

1. 細草微風岸, Fine grasses on the bank sway in the breeze,

危檣獨夜舟。The highest mast, alone at night on a boat.

2. 星垂平野闊, Stars hang down over the vastness of the plain,

月湧大江流。The moon rushing forward in the great river's flow.

3. 名豈文章著, Is it that my fame only won by writings?

官因老病休。In age and illness, I had to resign from the office.

4. 飄飄何所似, Drifting, drifting, what am I like?

²³² This poem is said to be composed in 765, cf. Qiu, 14.1228-30. Poem Twenty, Appendix I.

天地一沙鷗。 between heaven and earth, a single sand gull.

The first two couplets present a picture of a skiff moving forward in the torrents of the river at a mooned and starring night. The sense of loneliness is well established by the image of the great flowing river and the vast plain. The dread of traveling on the solitary boat as described in the opening couplet contrasts to the screen of stars and the shining reflection of the moon in the second couplet. Gazing into the vast space, Du Fu momentarily forgets his own woes, and expresses a sense of pride in his uniqueness. This boost of self-esteem provokes the poet's reflection on his achievements at the beginning of the third couplet – his fame as a literatus. The poet seeks to demonstrate that he has achieved more than the skill of composing poetry and writing rhapsodies for the emperor, and he uses his poor health to justify his resignation. Neither the denial of his failure as a politician nor the blindness to his own fate petrifies the poet's born dignity, which is demonstrated in the last couplet by “the single sand gull” drifting between heaven and earth. Although he is old, sick and lonely, Du Fu still retains the untamable character as portrayed in his first gull poem sent to Wei Ji.

Sailing down the Yangtze River, “this proud gull” first stops by the Rong 戎 Prefecture²³³ and winters in Yun'an 雲安, where Du Fu stayed at until the spring of 766. In Yun'an, Du Fu continued to feel threatened by the conflicts among the local warlords, especially after seeing Yan Wu and Fang Guan's coffins escorted to their respective hometowns. After a few months, the poet recuperated and voyaged down to the Kui 夔 Prefecture, a doorway to the Three Gorges and a strategic fort surrounded by the Yangtze River on three sides. He spent a whole year in the Kui Prefecture until early 768. He bought a small farm and planted grains and vegetables outside Baidi Cheng 白帝城 [the Whitelord City]. With no official obligations, the poet spent more time reading and writing. While Du Fu still lived semi-secluded in Sichuan which was reflected by his many verse of correspondence with his colleagues, the rural life in the Kui Prefecture granted the poet the first opportunity to retreat

²³³ The Rong 戎 Prefecture was located about 120 miles south of modern Chengdu 成都. Cf. Tan Qixiang, 5:34-5.

completely from his political career and to live as a reclusive peasant, the way the wise old rustic who was respected by Confucius in the *Analects* encouraged. In this period we see more verse concentrating on the poet's inner-self, and at this stage of Du Fu's poetic career, any subject matter, from creatures to weather conditions, could serve as an image upon which he could project his feelings.

The gull imagery in Du Fu's Kuizhou poems always appears with the occurrences of unstable weather influenced by the humidity of the river valley. Living in Kui Prefecture as a farmer, Du Fu studied meteorological conditions for two reasons. First, the climate had a great influence on his harvest. Secondly, and more importantly, the sultry weather corresponded with the poet's inner struggle with his anguish caused by homesickness as well as his desire to return home, hindered by his age, illness, and the chaos of the state, all of which rendered him without hope. Among all possible subjects, "rain" captures most of the poet's attention, appearing as the only subject in twelve poems and as a significant image in dozens of other verses composed during the two years in Kui Prefecture. "Yu, Sishou 雨四首 [Raining, a Sequence of Four Verses],"²³⁴ written in the late autumn of 767, portrays a detained weary traveler, who is concerned about the barbarian's intrusion into Tang territory, through the shifting scenes from dawn to dusk. The last stanza in this sequence enacts the gull imagery to illustrate an oppressed, poor, righteous persona tortured by gloomy weather.

1. 楚雨石苔滋, Under Chu rains the lichen grows on stones,

京華消息遲。from the capital the news is late.

2. 山寒青兕叫, Black rhinoceros roar in the cold mountain,

江晚白鷗飢。on the river, white gulls cry of hunger at sundown.

3. 神女花鈿落, The Goddess' floral hairpin falls;

鮫人織杼悲。in the sounds of mermaids operating their looms.

²³⁴ Cf. Qiu, 20.1798-1800. Poem Thirty-three, Appendix I.

4. 繁憂不自整, I am worried, weighed down and torn apart,

終日灑如絲。looking at drizzle strewn all day long.

In the late fall of 767, Tibetan troops surrounded the Ling 靈 Prefecture,²³⁵ about 250 miles northwest of the Tang capital. The troops would have probably taken another one and half months to reach Chang'an if without much resistance. But their cavalry had already approached Yilu 宜祿,²³⁶ about sixty miles northwest of Chang'an, with another two or three days on foot remaining before reaching the capital walls. Tang court commanded Guo Ziyi 郭子儀 to gather his army in response to this immediate threat.

The final couplet of stanza three confirms the poet's concerns regarding the perilous situation and the limited communication with his old friends. The opening couplet of stanza four arouses the sense of depression by showing the poet's sadness due to the late arrival of messages in the protracted rains. This gloominess is further strengthened in the next couplet. The wailing *qingsi* 青兕 [the black rhinoceros], a visual pun of the graph *xiong* 兇 [evil], is a ferocious beast that symbolizes the looming threat facing the Tang court. The gull crying in hunger in the antithetical line contradicts the usual dignified and self-contented image of white gulls. Additionally, the crying gulls portray the impoverished poet²³⁷ whose disturbed mind is indicated by the prolonged drizzle in the final couplet.

This fine texture created by the link between the white gull and the poet marks an important feature of Du Fu's poetry. The lone sand gull easily identified by the mark of simile in "Luye shuhuai 旅夜書懷", the white gull sleeping over on the water in "Yunshan 雲山," the spotting gulls

²³⁵ Cf. Tan Qixiang, 5:40-1.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*

²³⁷ Scholars hold different opinions on the interpretation of this line. Chen Yixin 陳貽焮 thought it would be an over-interpretation to read the hungry gull as a representation of Du Fu, cf. *Du Fu pingzhuan* 杜甫評傳, p.1038. But I agree with Wang Sishi 王嗣奭, a traditional scholar who annotated Du Fu's verse during the demise of the Ming dynasty. According to Wang Sishi's analysis, the black bull refers to the dangerous society and the white gulls crying of hunger allude to the impoverished people, cf. *Du yi* 杜臆, 9.335. The interpretations of Chen Zi'ang and Li Bai agree that the white gulls represent clear-hearted pureness. Wang Sishi's reading corresponds well to Du Fu's technique of self-representation in his Kuizhou poems, thus reading it as an autobiographical image is appropriate.

symbolizing the harmonizing family life in “Jiangcun 江村” and the gull who only return to the deceased friend’s mansion for condolences in “Guo gu Husi Jiaoshu zhuang 過故斛斯校書莊” all draw connections to other self-images of our poet in the same verse. Through this textural layering Du Fu brings his inner state into one vision after another, successfully bringing his impressions into lyrical existence.

The primary character of self-representation in the treatment of the image of gulls is constant in Du Fu’s poetry. Gull imagery not only occurs as allegorical references to Du Fu’s political life but also signifies mature artistry in the poet’s later compositions. This systematic evolution of one image is not found in the writings of the poets before or after him. What has been shown in this chapter only concentrates on one facet of this mode of self-representation through the subjective use of gull imagery, which does not wholly define Du Fu’s ingenious artistry of imagery creation. What are embodied in his poetics is much more than allusion, allegory and metaphor. Beyond these literary devices, a series of motifs joins to the gull imagery in the songs of our poet’s life.

Chapter Five

Drinking, Farming and the Floating Boat: Three Motifs Joined to Gull Imagery

The previous chapter showed the historical development of self-representation by gulls and analyzed how Du Fu employs it in his verses. This chapter is not concerned with the subjectivity of gull imagery, but rather different motifs that are combined with gull imagery. Although not all of these gulls appear as Du Fu's self images, they still reflect the poet's feelings and thoughts on the different stages of his life. This chapter will focus on how gull imagery functions in his poems along with other motifs as the means by which the poet reveals his semi-recluse heart.

The concentration on his inner-self marks Du Fu's artistic creations in the last decade of his life. This shift from the outside world and his youthful ambitions to the perceptions of his inner states coincides with changes in his life journey: from a naive scholar seeking commendation, to a demoted politician, afterwards to a semi-recluse hermit and a counselor in Yan Wu's government, later to a peasant living without any official titles and duties, and finally to an aged wanderer in the Chu 楚 area. Our poet's perception of gulls also went through drastic changes from topical allegory in early days to lyrical expressions during his years of seclusion and wandering. Alongside this change three motifs signify Du Fu's verse respectively: drinking that was reflected in his poems of the Sichuan period, farming scenes in poems written during Kuizhou period, and the floating boat on which our poet took his journey in the last two years of his life along the mid-Yangtze River.

Gulls in Du Fu's Drinking Moments

Drinking plays a special role in traditional Chinese literati's lives, both politically and privately. It took place both in court banquets and in the private social gatherings in the literati's own backyards. For some it was a way to increase and strengthen professional connections, for others it was to enrich

their social life, while for still others it was simply a way to express both their joy and anguish in life. The reflection of drinking in literature started very early in the Chinese poetic tradition and it can be traced back to the oldest poetry anthology, the *Book of Poetry*. The first preserved verse containing a drinking motif composed by a known writer was Cao Cao's poem, "Duange xing 短歌行 [A Short Ballad]," in which the powerful statesman voiced his ambition to rule the world. Later, drinking became a regular part of life for intellectuals in the Wei-Jin period. It was widely represented in verses written by the famous "Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove" to not only express their disappointment and resistance to reality, but also to voice their thirst for spiritual freedom. Eventually, it was Tao Yuanming who in his poetry formally established drinking as its own poetic motif by entitling a series of his poems "Yin jiu 飲酒 [On Drinking]." From then on, this motif often occurred in the hermit poets' verses.

In his gull poems before the Chengdu period, Du Fu tended to mention drinking when narrating his life or thinking of friends. For instance, in "Fengzeng Wei Zuocheng Zhang Ershier yun 奉贈韋左丞丈二十二韻 [Twenty-two Rhymes Presented to the Left Chancellor, Mr. Wei],"²³⁸ he described his life during years of searching for recognition in Chang'an 長安 as "with left-over wine and the roast that is cold, in every place it underflows grief and desolation."²³⁹ Another good example is what Du Fu wrote when he thought of Zheng Qian 鄭虔 (685-764) who was exiled far away. In "You huai Taizhou Zheng Shiba Sihou 有懷台州鄭十八司戶 [Thinking of Zheng Qian, the Commissioner of Consensus of Taizhou],"²⁴⁰ he wrote,

平生一杯酒, Enjoying a cup of wine,

見我故人遇。 whenever I meet my old friend.

²³⁸ This poem has been dated to 748, cf. Qiu Zhao'ao 仇兆鰲 (1638-1717), *DushiXiangzhu* 杜詩詳注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), 1.73-80.

²³⁹ This is a quote of the twelfth couplet from this poem. Cf. Poem One in Appendix I.

²⁴⁰ Qiu Zhao'ao dated this poem to 758. Cf. Qiu, 7.559-61. Cf. Poem Three in Appendix I.

相望無所成， But now I can only long for you in vain,

乾坤莽回互。 because heaven and earth exist in between.²⁴¹

In both of the above cases drinking and gull imagery are two independent subjects in Du Fu's narration. This shows that in this phase, the poet had not yet developed a clear lyrical line reflecting his life and emotions by combining gull imagery and drinking in one poem.

Du Fu's gull imagery poems in the Sichuan period abound with reflections on drinking. In these poems Du Fu draws a comparison between himself and those most famous drunken recluses in history through his special gift of applying allusions. In contrast to the verses written before Sichuan, these poems all show strong lyrical sentiments. In the first spring after Du Fu settled down in the western suburb of Chengdu in his newly-built thatched house, he had his first guest pay a visit. Du Fu thus composed "Ke zhi 客至 [The Guest Comes]"²⁴² for this occasion. The poem reads,

1. 舍南舍北皆春水， Spring rain gathers in pools north and south of my hut,
但見群鷗日日來。 only a flock of gulls comes to visit everyday.
2. 花徑不曾緣客掃， The path strewn with fallen petals was never swept for any guest,
蓬門今始為君開。 but now my rustic door begins to open for you, my friend.
3. 盤餐市遠無兼味， The market far; no more tasteful than this plate of food,
樽酒家貧只舊醅。 I am poor and have only this pot of aged home-brew.
4. 肯與鄰翁相對飲， Would you like to drink with a neighbor of mine?
隔籬呼取盡餘杯。 I will call him over the fence to finish the remaining wine.

²⁴¹ Cf. Poem Three in Appendix I, the eleventh and twelfth couplets.

²⁴² This poem is dated to 761 after Du Fu resided in the western suburb of Chengdu, cf. Qiu, 9.793. Cf. Appendix I, Poem Nine.

In the first couplet Du Fu compares himself to the hermit who is standing in the islet surrounded by water in “Jianjia 蒹葭” and to the seaman who enjoys the gulls’ companionship in *Lie Zi*. These allusions reveal the temporary peace that the poet acquired after his new settlement near Washing-flower Creek. However, the word *danjian* 但見 at the beginning of the second line discloses the poet’s loneliness: he is eager to meet people aside from a flock of gulls. The occurrence of *qun’ou* 群鷗, rather than the metaphorical *ou* 鷗, on one hand renders the gulls as a more concrete part of the real scene. On the other hand, this phrase evokes resonance with Zhang Jiuling’s depiction of a flock of gulls coming to welcome him in “Xixing ji Wang Zhen 溪行寄王震,”²⁴³ which was composed by him in exile. By using this characteristic gull imagery, recognizable both in actual experience and in metaphysical propensities, Du Fu manifests his banished soul and hints at his self-deceiving joy in compulsive seclusion.

Through this, Du Fu shows great passion in welcoming his first visitor by sweeping the path in front of his door himself. Then the poem goes on to describe how Du Fu delectates this distinguished guest: not only does he treat him with food cooked by his wife and home-brewed wine, he but also invites his neighbors to accompany his guest. These four lines are not only objective descriptions, but are also allusive lyrics, causing a natural association to Tao Yuanming’s drinking poems. They show that Du Fu enjoys making the wine himself as a peasant and is fond of socializing with other countrymen, despite his hermit status.

Besides Tao Yuanming, Du Fu also compares himself to Wang Ji 王績, a famous poet and drunken recluse in the early Tang Dynasty who planted his own field of millet and made home-brewed

²⁴³ For my analysis of this poem, cf. Chapter Four.

wine with it every spring and autumn. In “Qian yi 遣意 [Voicing My Mind],”²⁴⁴ the poet tries to create a persona with the characters of two drunkards.

1. 嚶枝黃鳥近, Chirping on branches, yellow orioles sound close;

泛渚白鷗輕。swimming by islets, white gulls move nimbly.

2. 一徑野花落, On a single path, petals fall from wild flowers;

孤村春水生。In the isolated village, the spring creeks are growing .

3. 衰年催釀黍, My years of decay propel me to make liquor;

細雨更移橙。The drizzle spurs me on to move oranges.

4. 漸喜交遊絕, More and more, I enjoy cutting myself off,

幽居不用名。living secluded, all fame renounced.

Wang Ji was renowned for his skills of playing *qin*, medication and composing poems. He was extremely fond of drinking, but in contrast to all the other famous drunkards, he creates the drunken persona “as a vehicle to demonstrate certain fundamental philosophical precepts drawn from *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi*, namely the ever-changing course of the Way and the illusory nature of knowledge.”²⁴⁵ For Wang Ji, drinking was neither a way to avoid political obligation as in the “Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove”, nor a comfort from sorrows to his soul, or a means to forget the fragility of human life and suffering as represented by Tao Qian’s drunkenness. Although Du Fu borrows the imagery of an oriole chirping from Wang Ji’s poem and alludes to him overtly in line five, his attempt to achieve Wang Ji’s imagination of drinking as a metaphor for the enlightened man’s realization of his philosophical ideas was only mildly effective.

²⁴⁴ This poem is dated to 762 when Du Fu is traveling back and forth between Zizhou 梓州 and Langzhou 閬州, cf. Qiu, 11.929-30. Cf. Appendix I, Poem Ten.

²⁴⁵ Warner, Ding Xiang, “Mr. Five Dippers of Drunkenville: The Representation of Enlightenment in Wang Ji’s Drinking Poems,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 118, no. 3 (1998): pp.347-55.

This ineffectiveness can first be discerned by the weakness of white gull imagery in this poem. The white gull is incorporated into a real scene, and only well-versed and prudent readers are able to sense the metaphorical meaning underneath, that is the light-heartedness and pureness that the nimbly moving white gulls represent contrasted to the burdened mind of the poet. Du Fu's difference from Wang Ji is also indicated by his use of *shuai nian* 衰年 in line five and *jianxi* 漸喜 in line seven. These betray the poet's true state of mind: viewing Wang Ji's style of drunkenness as a choice when nothing other can help to resolve his problems.

Therefore, Du Fu could only resort to the spirit of the drinking of the Wei-Jin literati to escape from reality. In "Chui gui 春歸 [Return in Spring]"²⁴⁶ the poet expresses his disappointment towards the military chaos in Sichuan caused by local powers²⁴⁷ in the past year (763), as well as voices his desperation and powerlessness in changing anything.

1. 苔徑臨江竹, The mossy path overlooks the bamboo grove by the stream;
茅簷覆地花。 The roof of the reed hut covers flowers on the ground.
2. 別來頻甲子, Between my leaving and returning, it is more than a year;
歸到忽春華。 After I returned, in a second, the spring blooms.
3. 倚杖看孤石, Leaning against my cane, I watch the solitary rock,
傾壺就淺沙。 Pouring my wine pot, I drink at the sandy strand.
4. 遠鷗浮水靜, Far-off gulls, afloat on the water, remain still,
輕燕受風斜。 light swallows, sheering in the wind, are aslant.
5. 世路雖多梗, Journeys in the world are filled with thorns,

²⁴⁶ This poem was composed at the time Du Fu came back from Zizhou 梓州 to Chengdu 成都 in 764. Cf. Appendix I, Poem Fourteen.

²⁴⁷ Cf. Chen Yixin's discussion in *Du Fu pingzhuan* 杜甫評傳, 2:719-23.

吾生亦有涯。 but the span of my life too has its end.

6. 此身醒復醉， This body will sober up just to be drunk again;

乘興即為家。 I can quickly make my home anywhere, fain.

The poem opens with a desolate scene of his thatched house with a mossy path and a yard completely covered by falling flowers. It then continues to the description of the persona's emotions and actions. In the spring of 764, Yan Wu was appointed the Military Commissioner of Jiannan 劍南 and ruled the entire Sichuan area. Thus, Du Fu was invited back from the Zi 梓 Prefecture to Chengdu to assist Yan Wu in his local government. The allusion of *jiazi* to the senior native of Jiang County, who was humiliated by local officials, but later was appointed to the governor of Jiang County by Zhao Wu 趙武 (B.C.591-B.C.589), the prime minister of the Jin 晉 State, illustrates Du Fu's wish to be used by Yan Wu in his governance.

However, the later half of this poem represents well the poet's powerless spirit by the contrast between the still and calm gulls floating on the far-off water and the light swallows advancing in the wind in great difficulty. This antithetical image of swallows makes it more possible that the characterization of the gull as "far-off" comments on its relationship to the surroundings: it looks "remote," "unattached" and "self-contented" in the landscape. *Yuan'ou* immediately directs the readers' sights to the settings, while *qun'ou* and *bai'ou* in previous poems keep our attention to the gull itself. This image is not only compatible with the natural scene, but also creates a foil to the poet's persona in this poem. It is through the transition of the light swallows sheering in the wind that the poet's sadness evoked by his mentioning of heavy drinking becomes obvious.

The fifth couplet makes evident the parallel between the hardly advancing swallows and the drunken poet himself. Ye Mengde 葉夢得 (1077-1148) once wrote in *Shilin shihua* 石林詩話, "Jin literati always talked about drinking, and some of them hardly remained sober. They were not really so

fond of drinking. It is only because all people fear persecutions during a chaotic time. Therefore, these literati could only resort to drinking to narrowly avoid misfortune.”²⁴⁸ Alluding to Wang Ziyou’s unbridled and unintentional behaviors, the last two couplets well represent this spirit described in the above sentences.

The Wei-Jin literati not only viewed drinking as a means to avoid persecutions, they also used it as an excuse to avoid political engagement in the period of loose morals in which they lived. Du Fu inherited this characterization in his poem “Zhengyue sanri gui xishang you zuo Jianyuan nei zhugong 正月三日歸溪上有作簡院內諸公 [Writing on the Third Day of the First Month After Returning to the Creek, as a Memo to My Colleagues in the Governor’s Office].”²⁴⁹

1. 野外堂依竹， Beyond the wilds, my hut built by the bamboos;
 籬邊水向城。 beside the hedge, a river flowing into the town.
2. 蟻浮仍臘味， Ants-like foam floating on wine, still tastes weak;
 鷗泛已春聲。 gulls, bugling on water, already sing the spring song.
3. 藥許鄰人斲， I allow my neighbors to dig out the herbs;
 書從稚子擎。 in his small palms I let hold my books, my little son.
4. 白頭趨幕府， White haired, I rush to work in the local governor’s office,
 深覺負平生。 to live such a life feels deeply wrong.

From the analysis of the last poem, we have already seen that the poet went back to reside in the suburb of Chengdu at Yan Wu’s invitation. Yan Wu also managed to grant him an official title.

²⁴⁸ Ye Mengde 葉夢得, *Shilin shihua* 石林詩話, Guangu Tang 觀古堂 edition, 14b.

²⁴⁹ This poem is dated to 765, cf. Qiu, 14.1201-2. Cf. Appendix I, Poem Sixteen.

However, our poet did not take delight in serving the local government. He even voiced his disappointment and his wish to relinquish his job in a poem written to Yan Wu.²⁵⁰

The poem presented here starts with a portrait of the beautiful and peaceful scenery of his thatched house. By the bamboo grove and the river by his hedge, the poet only thinks of enjoying his life by drinking his home-brewed wine and by living like gulls at a sedate pace. The spring songs the gulls sing render an overtone of happiness and hopefulness. It evokes our longing for recluse with fine wine, friendship with neighbors, and a warm family. Thus it dyes a bright color over the sadness that the drinking motif usually arouses.

Compared with previous representations of drinking, the Sichuan poems developed a very clear lyrical tendency. One distinguishing feature is that the word *jiu* 酒 only occurred once in these poems while for the rest the poet resorts to metonymy and synecdoche to represent this motif. Sometimes it is the method of making the home-brew, while at other times it is the container of the wine. For the remainder, the poet uses some features of the wine to represent drinking, such as *jiupei* 舊醅 in “The Guest Comes” and *fuyi* 浮蟻 in “Writing on the Third Day of the First Month After Returning to the Creek, as a Memo to My Colleagues in the Governor’s Office.” The other trait which shows a lyrical tendency, is the way by which Du Fu integrates the gull imagery into the drinking motif. The gull imagery in general represents calm and mild wisdom, which is in sheer contrast to the strong emotional reactions that drinking usually evokes. However, the combination of the two in one poem results in a tension of aesthetic feelings. The ends of this poetic tug of war, images of gulls and a burdened drunkard, cannot achieve a balance. Instead, the gull imagery submerges leaving the bitterness and sorrow of drinking on the surface.

²⁵⁰ Cf. “Qianmen fengcheng Yangong ershi yun 遣悶奉呈嚴公二十韻 [Twenty Rhymes Written to Master Yan to Voice My Depression],” Qiu, 14.1179-82.

Gulls in Du Fu's Farming Fields

During the Sichuan period the poet still relied on the salary earned from his post as a local government official to make a living. After Yan Wu's death he lost both political and economic patronage. Du Fu's decision to leave Sichuan for Kuizhou 夔州 was wise, allowing him to escape the military chaos and slaughter after Yan Wu's death and the likely persecution he would have otherwise encountered. Kuizhou, for him, was a temporary but safe resort. When he sailed down to Kuizhou, he was probably attracted and amazed by the beauty of the Qutang Gorge 瞿塘峽, deciding then to buy a farming field to settle down for some time. It was the only period in the poet's life during which he earned a living solely by farming. Gulls sometimes appear in this picture, and are incorporated into the pastoral scenes painted in his poems of this period.

The "Ou 鷗 [The Gull],"²⁵¹ read closely in the previous chapter, well represents Du Fu's strained feeling in this period. In this poem the single shivering river gull plays the role of the persona. It reads,

1. 江浦寒鷗戲, On the river bank plays a shivering gull;
無他亦自饒。without other desires could also be contented.
2. 卻思翻玉羽, But he thinks of spreading his white wings,
隨意點青苗。and at his ease he darts atop the green grass.
3. 雪暗還須浴, As soon as snow obscures the sun, he will have to return to bathe,
風生一任飄。and when wind rises, he will be forced to soar.
4. 幾群滄海上, How can he get together with gulls over the blue sea?
清影日蕭蕭。with clear shapes, they day by day live at ease.

²⁵¹ Huang He dated this poem to the beginning of 766, cf. Qiu, 17.1532. Cf. Appendix I, Poem Twenty-five.

The gull is depicted as a greedy carnivore being whose only desires is for the cereals and thus has to live in labor in the farming fields during terrible weather conditions. This self-portrait reveals the poet's stirred minds and conflicted feelings about his detainment in Kuizhou. Du Fu makes it obvious that he envies those sea gulls who take simple delight in life. However, the "river gull" is not able to get rid of his additional desire. This contrast results in a strong poetic tension between the poet's longing for a carefree mind and his decision to make a living by farming while being detained in Kuizhou.

This gull poem presents us with an important question: what was troubling Du Fu's mind in Kuizhou? If we read the "Qiuxing bashou 秋興八首 [Eight Autumn Meditations]" which represent the poets' thoughts in this period, it is not difficult to sense his lament over the disappearance of a glorious time and his grief over his inability to return "home," the ideal political and culture regime reigned by a great ruler. Bearing these cares for the state in mind, Du Fu could neither go back to the capital, nor was he able to live in contentment.

Although Du Fu was never able to truly enjoy his peasant life in Kuizhou and always painted his verse with a rather gloomy hue, he still tried to seek joy amidst sorrow. This was represented by the gulls' companionship while he was farming in his fields. In the middle of the summer in 766, a few months after he reached Kuizhou, Du Fu composed "Kuizhou ge shi jueju 夔州歌十絕句 [Songs of Kuizhou, Ten Quatrains]," which marvels at the historical importance of Kuizhou and depicts the beautiful sceneries of this place.²⁵² The sixth of this series depicts a scene of Du Fu farming. It reads,

1. 東屯稻畦一百頃, Rice fields of the eastern plain, a hundred *qing*;

北有澗水通青苗。pond waters from north of the city, reach the greenish sprouts.

2. 晴沿狎鷗分處處, In the sunny weather the playful gulls are all about;

²⁵² This is the sixth of a ten-poem sequence. Huang He dated this poem to the summer of 766, cf. Qiu Zhao'ao, 15.1305. Cf. Appendix I, Poem Twenty-three.

雨隨神女下朝朝。Rain, according to the Goddess of the Wu mountain, falls every morning.

The first two lines describe the wide expanse of the fields noting the bright color of the greenish sprouts. Although Du Fu mentioned the rainy weather only in the final line, it is evident that the poet enjoyed what he saw in the fields by including playful gulls in this picture. The gull in this poem, like that in the *Lie Zi* text, reveals the tranquil and carefree mind of the persona. In addition, it acquires an adorable feature by use of the word, *xia* 狎 [playing], which suggests the poet's involvement in this scene, albeit lacking a persona.

This light-hearted emotion also appears in “Xingguan Zhang Wang bu daoqi shuigui 行官張望補稻畦水歸 [Traveling Official, Zhang Wang, Returning from His Work of Improving the Irrigation of Rice Fields],²⁵³ which was composed in the summer of 767, the second year after Du Fu moved to Kuizhou.

1. 公私各地著, Public and private farmers both took care of their fields;

浸潤無天旱。by irrigation there is no drought land left.

2. 主守問家臣, The official in charge asks his retainers about irrigation;

分明見溪畔。they reply, “it can be clearly seen at the creek banks.”

3. 芊芊炯翠羽, The lush rice sprouts glow, like emerald feathers,

剡剡生銀漢。their sharp tips shine, as if they grew in the milky way.

4. 鷗鳥鏡裏來, Reflected in the mirror of the water, gulls come by,

關山雪邊看。fortresses and mountains are seen by the snow crystal water.

²⁵³ Huang He dated this poem to 767, cf. Qiu Zhao'ao, 19.1645. Cf. Appendix I, Poem Twenty-eight.

Different from the previous poem, this poem describes people's activities in addition to natural scenery. Zhang Wang, the official in charge of irrigation, joins Du Fu's imagery to ask if every field is properly watered, and then the official's sights are directed to the shining rice sprouts in the fields. Although the poet does not mention peasants' activities directly, the fact that gulls shadows are reflected in the water hints that farmers, including the poet himself, all concentrate on planting the fields so that they do not scare the gulls away.

Gulls Over Du Fu's Boat

After almost two years detainment in Kuizhou, Du Fu decided to resume his voyage and headed for the lower Yangtze River. Years before this period, right after Du Fu left Sichuan to begin his journey towards the east, boats had become one of the most important residences in his life. During the last two years of his life, the poet spent almost every moment on his boat, whether he was sailing on a journey, or spending a night by the riverbank. Sometimes when he was not on board, Du Fu directed his lamentable gaze to the boat disappearing on the horizon after seeing off a friend. Boat imagery is dominant in the verses composed in this period. It represents the poet's life, sometimes in aspects of self and at other times as an image in landscapes. In this period, gull imagery also occurs frequently, for it is natural to have gulls gliding above a moving boat. Gull imagery appears as a significant indicator of a maritime environment. The two imageries are compatible, in the sense that they can both be images of the self. Two of Du Fu's most familiar lyrics will serve to illustrate this aspect of self-reference. The first good example in this case is "Qu Shu 去蜀 [Leaving the Shu Area]."²⁵⁴ In 765, after Yan Wu's demise, Du Fu decided to take his family to leave Sichuan. Despite his wish to return to the capital area, he took a boat journey heading down the Yangtze River. The poem reads,

²⁵⁴ This poem is said to be composed in the summer of 765, cf. Qiu, 14.1217. Cf. Appendix I, Poem Nineteen.

1. 五載客蜀郡， For five years I sojourned in Shu,
 一年居梓州。 and for one year lived in Zi Prefecture.
2. 如何關塞阻， Helplessly, blocked by passes and fortresses;
 轉作瀟湘游。 I changed to the Xiao and the Xiang Rivers.
3. 萬事已黃髮， The world's many affairs have already whitened my hair;
 殘生隨白鷗。 the rest of my life I will follow white gulls.
4. 安危大臣在， To make peace in peril is for great ministers;
 不必淚長流。 there is no need for my free-flowing tears.

Direct boat imagery is absent here, but it is inferred by white gull imagery. The second couplet first implies boat travel, and the third couplet goes on to describe what kind of voyage it is. By saying that “what little life I have left will follow white gulls” the poet delivers two significant messages to us. First, he will continue to keep the pure heart and high morality represented by the white gull. The second message is associated with boat travel. Since gulls naturally appear around a floating boat, this line also suggests that the poet will spend the rest of his life in a boat, traveling, making him a wanderer like the gulls.

This sense of wandering reoccurs in “Bo Songzi jiangting 泊松滋江亭 [Anchoring My Skiff by the River Pavilion of Songzi County],”²⁵⁵ written when Du Fu had just left Kuizhou heading down the Yangtze River. After surviving a dangerous boat voyage from the Three Gorges to the Songzi County, the poet utters his wish not to return to the Gaotang temple located in Kuizhou. With this fortune of survival, Du Fu then expresses his aspiration of sacrificing himself for the nonviolence of the country:

²⁵⁵ This poem is dated to 768, cf. Qiu Zhao'ao, 21.1874-5. Cf. Appendix I, Poem Thirty-seven.

to be an old folk-star on the far south pole, which is said to bring the peace to the world when it appears in the sky.²⁵⁶ The poem reads,

1. 沙帽隨鷗鳥, With my official cap on, following gulls,
扁舟繫此亭。 I tie my skiff by this pavilion.
2. 江湖更深白, River and lake, deeper and clearer,
松竹遠微青。 pines and cypresses, in the distance a faint blue.
3. 一柱全應近, Close to the Taoist Temple, Yizhu Guan,
高唐莫再經。 I will never return to Gaotang Temple again.
4. 今宵南極外, Tonight beyond the south pole,
甘作老人星。 I'd like to be the old-folk star.

Very similar to the words used in “Leaving the Shu Area,” the poet identifies himself with the flying gulls. Only this time it is “his official cap” that travels with them. The boat imagery is no longer self-effacing and is specified by a skiff fastened by the river pavilion of Songzi 松滋 County. The second line starts with *pian zhou* [skiff] imagery, a reference to Fan Li 范蠡 (536 B.C.-448 B.C.), a fabled minister to the King of Yue, who, in the fifth century B.C., helped defeat the King of Wu. Fan Li also abjured the trappings of fame and glory and disappeared in a skiff. This imagery always symbolizes a life of seclusion and freedom, after enduring the struggles of a political career. However, in this line *xi* 繫 renders a sense of holding back, divergent from the sense of being set free implied by traveling with gulls in the first line. The stop here turns readers’ sights to the lake view in front of the pavilion: a vast expanse of water, like a mirror reflecting a vague vision of the dark pines and cypresses in the distance.

²⁵⁶ For the functions of this old-folk star, Cf. note 2 in Qiu, 21.1678.

It is easy to sense coldness in this description of the still views. Not only is there an absence of warm colors, but the picture of the whole poem is also static, without any verbs denoting actions.

However, most of the gull poems with the boat motif involve numerous actions. After Du Fu recovered from his illness, he left Yun'an 雲安²⁵⁷ in which he stayed for more than half a year for Kuizhou. In “Chuanxia Kuizhou guo su yushi bude shang'an bie Wang Shi'er panguan 船下夔州郭宿雨溼不得上岸別王十二判官 [On a Boat to Kuizhou I Spend the Night in the Suburbs; Because of the Rain I cannot Go Ashore to Bid Farewell to Judge Wang the Twelfth],”²⁵⁸ Du Fu renders a much more vivid nighttime lake view containing rapids brimming over stones, an eyebrow-shaped crescent moon, pouring rain and flickering candlelight. The poem reads,

1. 依沙宿舸船, On the sandy shore, I spend my night on a ship;
石瀨月娟娟。 rapids brimming over stone, the eyebrow-shaped moon.
2. 風起春燈亂, A wind begins to blow, spring candlelight flickers,
江鳴夜雨懸。 the river sounds, night rain pours.
3. 晨鐘雲岸溼, The morning bell rings, in a faint haze, the bank damp;
勝地石堂煙。 In this marvelous place, from stone halls, mists arise.
4. 柔櫓輕鷗外, Beyond the slowly-moving oars, light gulls around,
含悽覺汝賢。 embracing sorrow, I am grateful to your favor.

Despite the lyricism, the poem can be read as a short story. Du Fu gives all the necessary information: time, location, subjects and the event in the title, as well as present two scenarios in detail in the poem. The narration starts from the poet mooring on a sandy shore in the suburb of Kuizhou and spending a

²⁵⁷ Yun'an is located approximately 320 miles east of modern Chengdu, and about forty miles west of the capital of Kuizhou, cf. Tan Qixiang, 5:52-3.

²⁵⁸ This poem is said to be composed in the late spring of 766, cf. Qiu, 14.1209. Cf. Appendix I, Poem Twenty-one.

night with pouring rain outside. Then the poem continues to the second scene when he is awake in a misty morning on his boat. He not only sees the lakeshore in a faint haze and the stone hall with mist arising, but also hears the sound of morning bells. In this scenery the poet bids farewell to his friend who comes to see him off after a night of pouring rain. When the boat slowly starts, gulls fly nimbly above the moving oars.

In this poem, gulls and boats hold a different relation to the poet from the one seen in “Qu Shu” and “Bo Songzi jiangting.” In these two latter poems, both the gulls and the boat symbolize the poet himself, however in this poem these two imageries are clearly differentiated from the poet by the adoption of *wai* 外 at the end of the seventh line. It is the first person “I” rather than the boat and gulls that is alienated. This alienation is also presented by the fact that after the exposition, the poet does not insert “I” until the last line of the poem: lines two to six are objective description, and even the seventh line fits relatively well to this category. However, Du Fu’s moods are underlined by the words he chooses to describe the scenes. In the second couplet, *luan* 亂 and *xuan* 懸 disclose the worried and uncertain mood of the poet. In line seven, two adjectives, *rou* 柔 and *qing* 輕 reveal the reluctance of the poet to part from his friend. The movements are so gentle that readers can barely hear the noise made by the rowing boat and gliding gulls, which is in sheer contrast to the flickering candlelight and sounding rain in the second couplet.

Not all moves that gulls and oars make turn out to be so unnoticeable in Du Fu’s poems. During the boat journey from Yun’an to Kuizhou, Du Fu composed “Ji Wei Youxia langzhong 寄韋有夏郎中 [Sent to Wei Youxia, the Chief Secretary of the Merit-examination Bureau].”²⁵⁹ In this poem spring gulls manifest themselves by washing their wings around moving oars and crying out loudly.

²⁵⁹ Huang He dated this poem to 766, cf. Qiu, 15.1287-8. Cf. Appendix I, Poem Twenty-two.

1. 省郎憂病士，The Chief Secretary worries about my sick body,
書信有柴胡。he sent a letter with some herbs.
2. 飲子頻通汗，I drink a soup of them and frequently sweat,
懷君想報珠。thinking about repaying him for this favor.
3. 親知天畔少，Connections and friends, at the edge of the azure are few,
藥味峽中無。the smell of herbs, in the gorges, found nowhere.
4. 歸楫生衣臥，On the returning oars the water fungi spread,
春鷗洗翅呼。spring gulls, washing their wings, cry out.
5. 猶聞上急水，Hearing the upper stream running rapidly,
早作取平途。I plan in advance to take the safer route.
6. 萬里皇華使，An imperial envoy from ten thousand miles away,
為僚記腐儒。and a colleague of mine, cares for me, a pedantry.

The narratives also characterize this poem. It is written as a thank-you note to the poet's friend, Mr. Wei Youxia, who earlier had sent him some herbal medicine to treat his cold. This herb, referred to as *radix bupleuri*, is a very common medicine used by traditional Chinese doctors, and it is neither expensive, nor difficult to obtain in any pharmacy. However, on his boat journey, Du Fu could neither seek help from his acquaintances, nor was he able to find any medical treatment for his disease. The water fungi spread on the oars also indicates Du Fu's poverty, for he could only employ a boat that had been neglected for quite a long time. In these dire straits, the spring gulls cannot remain light-hearted and calm, like those in the previous poem. The modifier, *chun* 春 [spring], demonstrates an enormous vitality, which is further signified by the rest of the line: gulls present themselves to the front of the picture through shouting and touching the water close to the dilapidated boat. In this couplet, characters of both gulls and boat identify with the poet himself. In bad health, Du Fu had no one to

take care of him, like the battered boat. To survive, he made himself noticeable to Mr. Wei as the vigorous gulls cried out their needs. These beautiful parallels implicitly representing Du Fu make a nice transition from the poet's narration of his disease to his plan to set sail.

In a poem that was written to gain recognition, “Xingci gucheng dian fanjiang zuo bukui bizhuo fengcheng jiangling mufu zhugong 行次古城店泛江作不揆鄙拙奉呈江陵幕府諸公 [Coming to Guchengdian on My Trip, Floating on the River, Without Much Consideration of My Clumsiness, I Present My Verses to My Hosts, Officials in the General Command of Jiangling's Government],”²⁶⁰ the poet also bestows a bit more vigor to the gulls by using *chun* 春 [spring] to modify it. In the spring of 768, Du Fu left Kuizhou and headed down in the Yangtze River. Feeble and poor, he asked favors from his acquaintances in the government of the Military Commissioner of Jiangling 江陵節度使. The poem reads,

1. 老年常道路, In spite of my age, always on the road,
遲日復山川。 on this spring day, I returned to the mountains and rivers.
2. 白屋花開裏, White houses stand behind a wealth of bloom,
孤城麥秀邊。 the lonely town is built by a wheat field.
3. 濟江元自闊, Crossing the river with an exceedingly wide span,
下水不勞牽。 my skiff does not need further tow in the water.
4. 風蝶勤依槳, Butterflies in the wind are eager to dance around oars;
春鷗懶避船。 spring gulls are too lazy to avoid the boat.
5. 王門高德業, The prince's gate has a high standard of morality,
幕府盛才賢。 his government is bound with worthy talents.

²⁶⁰ This poem is dated to the spring of 768, cf. Qiu Zhao'ao, 21.1875-6. Cf. Appendix I, Poem Thirty-six.

6. 行色兼多病, I am not only on a trip, but also feeble,

蒼茫泛愛前。and in this sky cloud expanse, I hope you can extend a helping hand.

Differing from the previous two poems, this verse does not render a clear narrative to readers. It starts with the poet's agenda to set sail, continues to depict the scenery, and at last expresses Du Fu's admiration to his potential patrons, those staff and retainers of Wei Boyu 衛伯玉, the Military Commissioner of Jiangling and the Prince of Yangcheng 陽城. Gulls in this poem are personified as behaving "lazily," although spring gulls should be exuberant. Unlike the waving butterflies, they choose to stand on the deck on which the first person "I" is standing. Resonant to the *Lie Zi* passage, the gull's "laziness" to move reflects the mental processes of people on the boat, since gulls will only approach and be close to those who do not bear any scheming in their mind. It is obvious that in the poem, gulls belong to the category of otherness while the boat shares the same point of view as the poet.

This otherness is sometimes symbolized by the boat in Du Fu's poems. In "Dali sannian chun Baidi Cheng fangchuan chu Qutang Xia jiuju Kuifu jiangshi Jiangling piaobo youshi fan sishi yun 大曆三年春白帝城放船出瞿塘峽久居夔府將適江陵漂泊有詩凡四十韻 [Forty-Rhymes Composed in the Spring of the Third Year of Dali Reign When I Loosen My Boat to Go out via Qutang Strait after a Long Time Living in Kuizhou, Soon to Travel to Jiangling],"²⁶¹ Du Fu describes a dangerous voyage he took to leaving the Qutang Gorge 瞿塘峽 heading for Jiangling 江陵. The poem opens with the poet setting sail. It reads,

1. 老向巴人裏, Staying in the area of the Ba people for a long time,

²⁶¹ See this poem in Qiu Zhao'ao, 21.1866-74. Appendix I, Poem Thirty-five.

Having been made clear in the title, this poem was written in 768 when Du Fu was about to travel to the area of Jiangling 江陵. Huang He misunderstood that it was written when the poet arrived at Yidu, since it was the farthest east place Du Fu mentioned. However, a close reading of that couplet reveals that it is only the poet's anticipation of arriving in Yidu. For Huang He's discussion, cf. Qiu Zhao'ao, 21.1866.

今辭楚塞隅。 now I bid farewell to the corner of the Chu region.

2. 入舟翻不樂, I do not feel joy once I get on the boat,

解纜獨長吁。 and loosing the rope, I still cannot stop sighing.

By implying the first person subject in these two couplets, Du Fu clearly differentiates the boat image from himself. The poem then goes on to recount the danger the poet encounters during his journey. Du Fu concludes that he almost died while traveling through the treacherous whirlpools in the Qutang Gorge. After this dreadful experience, Du Fu takes great delight in appreciating the exotic river scenery.

3. 不有平川決, Without the wide expanse of flat land flowing forth,

焉知眾壑趨。 how could I know the fleeing view of valleys?

4. 乾坤霾漲海, The whole world seems to be buried in the rising vast expanse of water,

雨露洗春蕪。 and raining dews wash off the spring weeds.

5. 鷗鳥牽絲颺, The rain blew with the wind as if dragged by gliding gulls,

驪龍濯錦紆。 and the river dragon washes its colorful patterns.

6. 落霞沈綠綺, The sunset glow sinks in the greenish river,

殘月壞金樞。 and the crescent moon falls in the sky.

7. 泥筍苞初荻, Mud like bamboo roots wrap up young wormwoods,

沙茸出小蒲。 and soft sands leak from small weeds.

8. 雁兒爭水馬, Geese labor to eat shrimps,

燕子逐檣烏。 and swallows chase the birds painted on ships' masts.

9. 絕島容煙霧, Mist and clouds blanket the lonely island,

環洲納曉晡。and the sun and moon circle the round islet.

This passage is loaded with references to earlier poetry in the Six Dynasties, including a couplet similar to Xie Lingyun's verse in "Yu Nanshan wang Beishan jing huzhong zhan tiao 於南山往北山經湖中瞻眺 [Gazing at views while crossing the lake, during my journey from the Southern Summit to the Northern Summit]."²⁶² However, after careful reading of the entire verse, the poem reminds readers more of Qu Yuan's 屈原 composition from its structure and the overtones of the poet. Du Fu voices his worries about the chaotic military and political situation of the state through his depiction of a dangerous voyage. The echoes to the earlier texts in this passage are purely artistic for better wording to better describe the striking scenery, except for the couplet including gulls. These two lines are exceptional in two ways: first, the imageries are more imaginary than real; second, both lines allude to *Lie Zi*. The river dragon, which is said to have colorful patterns, like brocade on its body, in "Lie Yukou 列御寇," *Zhuang Zi* 莊子, indicates a dangerous situation.²⁶³ When it awakens, the dragon will destroy whoever took the precious pearl under its lower jaw. The fact that the gulls glide in the wind and drizzle while waves move like a dragon bathing in colorful bends suggests the instability of the river and weather, and furthermore, reflects the uneasy mind of the poet. In this poem, gull imagery takes the opposite point of view from the poet. The poet observes the gulls' moves in the drizzle, which have no intention to come close to him when his mind is not yet tranquil after the horrifying voyage through the Qutang Gorge.

Du Fu also employs gull imagery to reflect his unease in two other poems with the boat motif; only the reasons causing a disturbed mind are different. In "Dongwan song Zhangsun Jian Sheren guizhou 冬晚送長孫漸舍人歸州 [Farewell to Zhangsun Jian, Who Returned to the Prefecture at the

²⁶² See my analysis of this poem in Chapter Three.

²⁶³ Cf. Guo Qingfan 郭慶藩, ed. *Zhuang Zi Jishi* 莊子集釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju), 3:1061-2.

End of the Winter],”²⁶⁴ the poet observes that gulls dance in the wind when he sees off his friend, Zhangsun Jian, who will take a boat back to the capital.

1. 參卿休坐幄, A military counselor having quit his position;
蕩子不還鄉。 a traveler cannot return to his hometown.
2. 南客瀟湘外, While I live beyond the Xiao and Xiang Rivers,
西戎鄴杜旁。 the western barbarians invaded the capital area.
3. 衰年傾蓋晚, In my decrepit years, I finally made acquaintance with you,
費日繫舟長。 as long as it can, I want to keep your boat here.
4. 會面思來札, Haven’t departed, I already think about your coming letters,
銷魂逐去檣。 as if my grieving soul had gone with the leaving mast.
5. 雲晴鷗更舞, Under cleared azure, more gulls move to dance,
風逆雁無行。 with wind blowing against, not in trail, geese advance.
6. 匣裏雌雄劍, In this box, a pair of sharp swords,
吹毛任選將。 you can test and choose any of them to possess.

It is obvious that the boat in this poem does not represent the poet. The secured boat and the disappearing mast symbolize Zhangsun Jian whom Du Fu has just seen off. When the poet states that his grieving soul had gone with the disappearing mast, Du Fu directs his vision to his friend departing for the capital. It is the dancing gulls that catch the poet’s eyes and pull back his attention. Du Fu’s wording, *wu* 舞, refers readers to the *Lie Zi* text that gulls dance in the wind and do not come down to the seaman when he wants to catch them in his mind. Gulls are an extremely sensitive species, capable

²⁶⁴ Liang Quandao 梁權道 dated this poem to 769, cf. Qiu, 23.2033-4. Cf. Appendix I, Poem Thirty-eight.

of detecting any ill intention towards them. The response of gulls to the farewell, dancing in the wind, likewise implies a certain amount of hostility towards them in Du Fu's mind. It may well be that Du Fu envies the gulls who can go with his friend to return to the capital area, his hometown. In spite of Du Fu's longing to go with them, he can only watch the returning geese flying freely an image reflecting the poet's anxiousness. This restless heart not only influences Du Fu because of the departure, but it also echoes the nostalgia evoked by seeing his friend off to return to his hometown, stated at the beginning of the poem.

This concern for the realm he formerly called home also appears in many other of Du Fu's compositions during his traveling in Hunan 湖南. In 770, the last year of Du Fu's life, besides the usurpation of local powers, the Tang Dynasty's central court experienced yet another major turmoil. First, Yuan Zai 元載 (?-777) conspired to frame Yu Chao'en 魚朝恩, in a conspiracy that resulted in the latter's death. He then seized power and behaved as arrogant and imperious as Yu Chao'en. Du Fu knew of these events and clearly saw the huge crisis the central court was facing at the end of a glorious era. However, he could do nothing but voice his concerns in his verses. "Xiao Hanshi zhouzhong zuo 小寒食舟中作 [Written in the Boat on the Second Day of the Cold Food Festival]"²⁶⁵ was composed under this situation.

1. 佳辰強飲食猶寒, On this fine morning, I force myself to sip wine, food still cold,
 隱几蕭條帶鶻冠。lean on the stool, desolate, wearing a hermit's cap.
2. 春水船如天上坐, Over the rising water in spring I sail as if in the sky;
 老年花似霧中看。to my aged eyes flowers appear as though in a fog.
3. 娟娟戲蝶過閒幔, Graceful and free sporting butterflies flutter between parted curtains;

²⁶⁵ This poem is dated to 770, cf. Qiu Zhao'ao, 21.1874-5. Cf. Appendix I, Poem Thirty-nine.

片片輕鷗下急湍。Strips of feathers, light gulls descend the rapid torrent.

4. 雲白山青萬餘里，Through white clouds and green mountains, thousands of miles,

愁看直北是長安。I direct my worried gaze to the north, and there's Ch'ang an.

The first line of the poem tells us of the poet's reluctance to celebrate the festival, even to drink any wine. It foreshadows the grief and desperate overtones of the following lines. With aged eyes, the poet is sailing on a vast expanse of rising water. Since in Chinese, *tian* 天, which literally means "sky," has the connotation of "heaven", the poet had already sensed his impending death while on this voyage. On his boat, the poet watches the butterflies coming and going between the curtains of his chamber and gulls gliding in front of his boat. Two words, *pianpian* 片片 and *qing* 輕 in line six, show the diminutiveness of the gulls, which glide down the rapid stream, having no control of events and being swept with the water. The whirlwind river, implying difficult situations, is beautifully connected to the last couplet in which the poet overtly expresses his concerns for the political upheaval taking place in the capital.

The drinking, farming and the floating boat motifs combined with the gull imagery often reveal an uneasy spirit of Du Fu and his conflicted attitudes toward reclusion. The concerns of the outside world, even in his poems of farming, such as "Xingguan Zhang Wang bu daoqi shui gui 行官张望補稻畦水歸," are quite apparent in Du Fu's poetry. Drinking, for Du Fu, is not a mean to enjoy his freedom from the burdens of the mundane world, but rather a resort to escape from his anguish in life. This reluctance of withdrawal is also features his poems composed during the Kuizhou period. In his farming scenes, although Du Fu attempts to show his serenity by revealing the intimacy between him and the gulls, this sense of placidity is often interspersed with his concerns of the reality, sometimes it is the livelihood of peasants, and some other time it is the historical importance of the sites. These concerns of reality are more evident in his poems featuring the floating boat. Aside from the temporary

stable life in Kuizhou, Du Fu spent most of the time on a boat journey after he left Chengdu in 756. Different from the delight of seclusion often seen in the boat imagery, Du Fu's floating boat represents his unsettling heart as a weary traveler. Old, homesick and feeble, Du Fu always directs his thoughts towards the political and military situations in the central court, the whereabouts of his hometown. In a word, Du Fu never truly enjoyed his secluded life as the precedent hermit poets did. For him, instead of reflecting a Daoist mode of thinking, reclusion is rather a choice made with no better resolutions available for his life.

Conclusions

Among various literary genres, only poetry solely relies on images to convey its meanings. Without imagery, poetry would become too dry to gain its vitality. There are numerous types of imagery which serve as languages of a poem. Two major types of imagery are explored in this dissertation. Allusions, the first type, help to create associations to previous events or ideas. This type of imagery is of particular use when historical resonances need to be established. The meanings of imagery might be slightly different, but in general they awake certain connections to the poet's original ideas. Moreover, the newly-written poem can be understood more smoothly if readers access the original meaning of this imagery. However, in the second type of imagery, simile or metaphor, the original meaning is more inclined to fit into the current literary contexts. An understanding of this kind of imagery is often not as stable as the previous one. The symbolic connection depends more on individual experience in poetry composition. The topic in this dissertation, gull imagery in Du Fu's poetic creation, combines the traits of these two types.

From a viewpoint of creative writing, these two types of images are generated by two distinctive motivations. According to Harold Bloom,²⁶⁶ alluding to a previous text or event has to do with the initial learning phase of a new poet. In this phase, the new poet imitates the figures already written in a previous text in order to acquire poetic competence. However, if this writer ever wants to be a strong poet, he must work against this pure rewriting, and move to transform, redirect and reinterpret those already occurred images. If we situate the gull imagery in Chinese poetic tradition, we will find that before Du Fu, all the other poets simply completed this first phase of composition. Even in Du Fu's early compositions, he had not entirely transcended *Lie Zi* text and precedent use of gull imagery. Only until his later years in Sichuan, Kuizhou and on River Xiang and Tan, his reclusive living and boat traveling granted him enough individual experience to create his own imagery of the

²⁶⁶ Cf. *Anxiety of Influence: a Theory of Poetry* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp.1-16.

gull. This bestowed him the status of a strong poet, or a great poet as many later critics have dubbed him.

Among many antecedent poets, Du Fu is perhaps paralleled only by Qu Yuan for the most personal complaints. Du Fu, like Qu Yuan, was exiled by his sovereign. He did not resign his job voluntarily as Tao Yuanming did, nor could he imitate the total unbridled behavior of the “Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Groove.” Although he once compared himself to Wang Ji 王绩 (590-644), an early Tang poet who farmed in seclusion, Du Fu could never find enjoyment in the peace of his reclusion as Wang Ji did. Gull imagery was one means by which Du Fu expressed discontentment with this reality and contradictory attitudes toward reclusion. On one hand, Du Fu envied the peaceful and unfettered life of the seagulls. On the other hand, till the end of his life the poet could not discard his cares and concerns of the state. Du Fu’s verse not only gives expression to his pursuit of sublime morality, but it also reflects his hope to serve the sovereign and benefit his country. His emotions and attitudes, including his chance demise in what is now Hunan 湖南, bear marked similarities to Qu Yuan, who differs from Du Fu only in voicing his ambition and frustration through the metaphors of scented flora and beauties rather than gulls.

In his application of imagery, Du Fu masters an artistry unmatched by other poets in the *shi* genre. The gull imagery is not an allegorical and symbolic sign in Du Fu’s verse; instead, it becomes a way to systematically represent the self, which dominates the poems composed during the last thirteen years of his life. The gull images change from the initial proud white gull, to a bird persecuted by vultures, then to a companion of the poet in his secluded life and his voyage down the Yangtze. Du Fu not only succeeds to what have been written by previous poets, but he also innovates in his own application of this particular imagery. To add on the calmness and moderation of the original gull image, Du Fu presents us with variations, such as the mournful gull who visits a demised friend’s mansion, the greedy river gull who desires to dine on grains and the light gull accompanying the poet

bidding farewell to a dear friend on the boat, etc. Besides these disparate gulls, Du Fu also inventively incorporates his gulls into a number of literary motifs. Its integration into the drinking motif demonstrates a sweet bitter-sweet attitude towards life. Gulls playing with the poet in his farming fields reveal Du Fu's longing for a serene life at the time of extreme uncertainty. Towards the end of his life, gulls guiding Du Fu's skiff represent the sorrow and anguish of a weary traveler.

Differing from the scented flora in *Chuci* which to a great degree Qu Yuan fantasizes to wear and the beauty that he imagines to be, gulls in Du Fu's verse in most times appear in the real settings of the poet's life. Du Fu applies this imagery through his careful observations and detailed depiction of the sceneries. Only by means of close readings are readers able to discover the implied metaphorical meanings. Du Fu excels at granting different characters to his gulls and situating them in specific scenes. These distinctive gulls, together with other images compose a variety of peculiar pictures characterizing the late years of the poet's life. In these pictures, there are a flock of gulls visiting the poet every day in his thatched house, a white gull lodging on the water in distress, a spring gull washing its wings and crying out in front of the poet's boat, dancing gulls accompanying the poets while he is farming and a greedy river gull intending to dine on green sprouts. Besides these vivid images, Du Fu parallels himself to the only sand gull flying between the heavens and earth.

Although this strong sense of loneliness leads to the tragic fate of the poet, it contributes a great deal to the extraordinariness of Du Fu. Like many other geniuses in history, the loneliness of Du Fu lies in his consciousness of the cruel reality and his refusal to compromise his principles for the purpose of political success. Unlike the Wei-Jin literati, Du Fu does not escape to the world of drinking and drugs in order to forget the common customs, nor does he become unbridled to avoid social and political obligations. In his reclusion Du Fu cannot be contented with a peaceful pastoral life as Tao Yuanming and Wang Ji did. The concerns of the state voiced in his verse makes him live with extremely contradictory mental states in most of the times. Like Qu Yuan, Du Fu from time to time laments over his sobriety in the drunken world. Therefore, it is that particular time and Du Fu's poetic

talent and personal disposition, which contribute to the greatness of Du Fu. Although his pursuit of the sublime morality lead to the tragedy of his personal life, it was due to this tragedy that Du Fu became the “sage of poetry.”

Appendix I: Translations of Du Fu's Poems Featuring Gull Imagery

Translation is a precarious work, especially the translation of poetry. Aside from syntax and semantics, translators confront an interlingual prosodic problem between the original verse and their recreated poems. To ever compound these three facets into one perfect translation is almost a mission impossible, let alone when dealing with Du Fu, whose verse is among the most delicate art in the realm of poetry. His verse, especially later octaves (pentasyllabic or heptasyllabic), represents the ideal Chinese value of poetry: a perfect union of parallelism with highly condensed imagery. The tonal and mono-syllabic features of old Chinese yielded in Du Fu's hands to the regulated octaves reflecting the essence of this language: lyric-compressed, image-condensed, syntax-minimal, highly allusive with a perfect rhyming scheme. To find a way not to be lost in translation, scholars can neither be so steadfast that they puzzle readers, nor should they overly twist the poet's words to suit the readers' ends. Therefore, in this appendix, the important question I have to ask myself and to answer is how to translate these thirty-nine gull poems so that my readers can find themselves in a comfortable intermediate position to appreciate the artistry of the original Du Fu with my renditions.

Before I touch on the topic of translation artistry, I will have to make a few claims concerning formal features of my renditions. The first claim speaks to the way I mark the lines. In the past, scholars have always counted the number of lines in a *shi* poem. This practice does not reflect the basic unit of this poetic genre. It is the couplet, however, which presents one complete meaningful constituent, whether or not it is propositional or non-declarative in syntax. Even a couplet composed of two antithetical lines, which mainly contain static images in isolating syntax, usually conveys an integral concept. This is especially true concerning the regulated verse to which most of the poems in my dissertation belong. Therefore, I will only number couplets in each poem in order to demonstrate this unique quality of the *shi* genre.

My second claim has to do with annotations. Since Du Fu's poems are famous for their employment of metaphorical tropes, traditional Chinese scholars produced numberless annotations of his poetry, including allusions and intertextual citations. I could note every line of his poems in my translation to provide a detailed English version of it. But for the purpose of rendering comprehensible and concise translations, I only choose to note those puzzling lines which likely hinder our understanding of the original verse. Often these notes are about historical figures; some proper nouns including places and things needed explanations; lexicons which are hidden allusions; intertextual lines and stock phrases borrowed from previous poets which usually reach an extension of meanings in Du Fu's verse; and the last category, textual variants.

Among these notes textual variants are the most intricate to handle. Due to the great textual complexity of Du Fu's verse, it is extremely complicated and pointless to note all of them. In my translations, I will only bring variants of significant textual meanings into discussion. For the principles of choosing the variants, Tian Xiaofei set up an excellent model in *Tao Yuanming and Manuscript Culture*,²⁶⁷ noting that some variants can change the meaning of the line and even that of the entire poem. It is the textual variants in this category, which are of literary interest and therefore worth of discussion.

Thirdly, I consult Erwin von Zach's complete German translation of Du Fu's verse in my rendition of each poem. Other translators which my renderings owe much to include A.C. Graham,²⁶⁸ Burton Watson,²⁶⁹ David McCraw,²⁷⁰ Eva Shan Chou,²⁷¹ Stephen Owen,²⁷² William Hung,²⁷³ and a helpful modern Chinese translation of Du Fu's poems written by two Chinese scholars, Han Chengwu 韓成武

²⁶⁷ *Tao Yuanming and Manuscript Culture: The Record of a Dusty Table*. Seattle & London: University of Washington Press, 2005.

²⁶⁸ *Poems of the Late T'ang*. Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1965.

²⁶⁹ *The Selected Poems of Du Fu*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.

²⁷⁰ *Du Fu's Laments from the South*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1992.

²⁷¹ *Reconsidering Tu Fu: Literary Greatness and Cultural Context*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

²⁷² *Traditional Chinese Poetry and Poetics: Omen of the World*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985.

²⁷³ *Tu Fu, China's Greatest Poet*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952.

and Zhang zhimin 張志民.²⁷⁴ Some of the revisions I made result from my different understandings of these previous translators and commentators.

Almost all the above translators more or less kept linguistic features of the original verse in their translations. A.C. Graham noted the strife between catching all meanings and conveying the overtones and formal features. This dilemma also caused a great deal of deliberation in my translations. To partially solve this problem, I grouped the poems in two major categories, respectively the archaic verse and long regulated verse, and the regulated octaves. Du Fu's archaic poems show a clear narrative tendency. This trait carries on to his long regulated verse, whose titles always indicate the number of rhyming words. It is apparent that this characteristic becomes less and less dominant in Du Fu's compositions in his last ten years, during which the poet concentrated on composing regulated octaves and experimenting on rhyming schemes, which produced many of the best fine verse in Chinese literary history. For the gull poems, Du Fu most frequently chose to present a painting with juxtaposed images, which convey subtle overtones. The sheer difference between his narrative verse and regulated octaves led to my choices of two styles of translation. For the former, I will render a prose-style translation with more syntactical structures, and for the latter I will agree with A.C. Graham and David McCraw in their preference of "terseness" in using words, which means to adhere to the original Chinese word order with minimal interpretations as much as possible. But sometimes I found myself in a dilemma between keeping the word order and reaching an ideal sound effect. Therefore, in those translations I will scramble the syntax to reach the desired balance between semantics and prosody.

²⁷⁴ *Du Fu shi quanyi* 杜甫詩全譯. Shijiazhuang: Hebei renmin chubanshe, 1997.

Poem One

奉贈韋左丞丈二十二韻

Twenty-two Rhymes Presented to the Left Chief Minister, Mr. Wei.²⁷⁵

1. 紈褲不餓死, Those in fine silk trousers never starve to death,
儒冠多誤身。 but one's life is often ruined by the scholar cap of a Confucian.
2. 丈人試靜聽, If you, sir, will quietly listen to me,
賤子請具陳。 I, the humble lad, request to offer my dissertation.
3. 甫昔少年日, When I was still in my youth,
早充觀國賓。 very early in my life I became a candidate for the Imperial examination.
4. 讀書破萬卷, Reading books, I have worn out thousands of rolls of texts;
下筆如有神。 whenever I set my brush to paper, my thoughts were in inspiration.
5. 賦料揚雄敵, My rhapsody was thought to rival Yang Xiong's,
詩看子建親。 My poetry was regarded as approaching Cao Zhi's composition.
6. 李邕求識面, Even Li Yung wanted to seek my acquaintance,
王翰願卜鄰。 and Wang Han wished to have a close accommodation.
7. 自謂頗挺出, I regarded myself as quite extraordinary,
立登要路津。 and should immediately climb to an important position;
8. 致君堯舜上, to help my sovereign to surpass Yao and Shun,
再使風俗淳。 and to restore the purity of culture and civilization.
9. 此意竟蕭條, But all these intentions were sadly shattered;
行歌非隱淪。 singing and traveling, I am unwilling to live in seclusion.

²⁷⁵ This poem has been dated to 748, cf. Qiu Zhao'ao 仇兆鰲 (1638-1717), *DushiXiangzhu* 杜詩詳注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), 1.73-80. Translation of this poem can be found in Erwin von Zach, 1.19-21, Burton Watson, 5-7 and William Hung, 56-7.

10. 騎驢十三載， Now for thirty years on a donkey's back,
 旅食京華春。 I've lodged and eaten in the capital in spring.
11. 朝扣富兒門， Mornings, I knock on the doors of rich people;
 暮隨肥馬塵。 evenings, I follow in the dust of the stout-horse excursion.
12. 殘杯與冷炙， with left-over wine and roast that is cold,
 到處潛悲辛。 in every place it underflows grief and desolation.
13. 主上頃見徵， In answer to His Majesty's recent summons,
 欵然欲求伸。 suddenly I leapt in the hope of vindication.
14. 青冥卻垂翅， But like a magnificent bird with drooping wings I dropped from the clear skies;
 蹭蹬無縱鱗。 like a carp I slipped and could not free my fins.
15. 甚愧丈人厚， Though I hardly deserve your generosity,
 甚知丈人真。 I do appreciate your genuine affection.
16. 每於百僚上， I know that frequently among your associates,
 猥誦佳句新。 You have quoted good and fresh verses of my creation.
17. 竊效貢公喜， I secretly take the same pleasure as Master Gong;
 難甘原憲貧。 How can I bear Yuan Xian's poverty?
18. 焉能心怏怏， How can I allow my heart to be so restless;
 祇是走踆踆。 As I do nothing but run about submissively?
19. 今欲東入海， Now I intend to go eastward to the sea,
 即將西去秦。 and will leave the Qin area in the west soon.
20. 尚憐終南山， I will still love Zhongnan Mountain;
 回首清渭濱。 and turn my head back to look for the banks of the clear Wei.

21. 常擬報一飯， With a grateful heart which always intends to repay the simple meal,

況懷辭大臣。 I feel it hard to bid farewell to a great statesman.

22. 白鷗沒浩蕩， When a white seagull disappears into the vast expanse,

萬里誰能馴。 who can tame him from thousands of miles afar?

Title: Wei Zuocheng 韋左丞 refers to Wei Ji 韋濟 (688-755). Wei Ji was born in an influential family of dignitaries. Wei Siqian 韋思謙 (?-689), his grandfather was appointed to chief minister in both Gaozong 高宗 (r. 650-683) and Wu Zetian's 武則天 (r. 684-705) reigns. Wei Ji's father, Wei Sili 韋嗣力 (654-719), was the second son of Wei Siqian. He and his older brother Wei Chengqing 韋承慶 (?-706) were chief ministers during Empress Wu's reign. The *Old Tang History* has such an account of his family: "Not only due to the fact that [Wei Chengqing and Wei Sili] had replaced each other in four official positions, but also that both the father [Wei Siqian] and the two sons once held the position of chief minister, it can be claimed that no other family can be compared with them since the beginning of the Tang." Cf. Liu Xu 劉昫 (887-946), *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 88.2873-4.

When Du Fu wrote to him in 748, Wei Ji was transferred to be Governor of Henan 河南. Both of the two positions were special in the sense that the two districts were directly under the central court. Shortly after, in the winter of that year, Wei Ji was promoted to the Assistant Secretary of the Left, together with the Assistant Secretary of the Right, taking charge of the administration of the Department of State Affairs. For other information on him, cf. Chen Guanming 陳冠明 (1952-), Sun Suting 孫愷婷 (1952-). *Du Fu qinjuan jiaoyou xingnian kao* 杜甫親眷交游行年考 (Shanghai: Shanghai gu ji chu ban she, 2006), pp. 132-3.

Couplet 6: Li Yong 李邕, was renowned for his annotation of *Wenxuan* 文選. Highly versed in literature himself, he also patronized other famous literati, including Li Bai. He died under the

persecution of Li Linfu, cf. Li Yong's biography in *XTS*, 202.5754-7. Du Fu's biography in the *New Tang History* noted Li Yong's marveling at Du Fu's poetic talents and that he went to visit him, cf. *XTS*, 201.5736.

Wang Han 王翰, was a literati who received special attention from Zhang Yue 張說. He was portrayed as an arrogant literati in his official biography in the *New Tang History*, cf. *XTS*, 202.5759. Couplet 10: A variant of thirteen years 十三 reads thirty years 三十. William Hung translated this poem based on thirty years, Hung, pp.54-55. However, if it were thirty years, the poem would mean Du Fu stayed on a donkey's back since 718, when he was only six years old. Therefore, I agree with 三十, which *Du shi xiang zhu* and most editions have.

Couplet 13: The summons refers to Emperor Xuanzong's edict summoning the worthy talents who had been neglected by the court in 747. Li Linfu reporting that the ignored talents didn't exist prevented these potential political rivals from official engagement. In his poetry, Du Fu, who sat the examination but received no recognition, satirized Li Linfu's unfair treatment of scholars like him.

Couplet 14: *Chui chi* 垂翅 references Feng Yi's 馮異 story in *Hou Han shu* 後漢書, 17.646. Feng Yi was said to be defeated by rebels, but later vanquished his enemies with tactful strategy. The employment of this allusion indicates Du Fu's wish to rise from his fall.

Couplet 17: Gong Gong 貢公 refers to Gong Yu 貢禹 (127 B.C.-44 B.C.), who served in Emperor Yuan's court in the Han dynasty. Befriended by Wang Ji 王吉, he celebrated and benefited from the latter's success in officialdom. Cf. *Hou Han shu* 漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju,), 27.931.

Yuan Xian 原憲 was one of the seventy-two disciples of Confucius. He was born in an impoverished family. Although he had chances to improve his financial status, he was content in poverty and devoted to things spiritual throughout his whole life, cf. *Shi ji* 史記 (Beijing: Zhonghua

shuju, 1959), pp.2207-8 and Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764-1849), *Lun yu zhushu jiejing* 論語注疏解經, *Chongkan Songben shisanjing zhushu* 重刊宋本十三經注疏, 6.51-2.

Couplet 21: To repay the simple meal alludes to Han Xin's 韓信 reciprocation of the meal he received from the washing lady when he was a nobody, cf. *ibid*, 92.2609. This parallelism indicates Du Fu's political ambition and his urgent desire for recognition.

Couplet 22: *Bo* 波 which Song Minku prefers to *mo* 沒 prevailed before Guo Zhida's edition.

However, Guo Zhida cites Zhao Cigong's comment to support Su Shi's preference of *mo*, which renders a more metaphorical image of the white gull who disappears in the sky, instead of the rather literary interpretation which *mo* suggests of the gull floating on water.

Poem Two

獨立 Standing Alone²⁷⁶

1. 空外一鷺鳥, Up beyond the sky a single raptor,
河間雙白鷗。Down on the river a pair of white gulls.
2. 飄飄搏擊便, As the vulture seizes and attacks swiftly as he pleases;
容易往來遊。How can the white gulls swim back and forth at ease?
3. 草露亦多溼, The dew on the grass all the more wet;
蛛絲仍未收。The spider's web not yet withdrawn.
4. 天機近人事, Nature's design is similar to human affairs;
獨立萬端憂。Standing alone, my worries trail in a myriad of threads.

Couplet 1: Qiu Zhao'ao points out the intertextual link between this poem and He Xun's "Yong baiou jian chao biezhe shi 詠白鷗兼嘲別者詩 [An Ode to White Gulls, Which Satirize Others]," which

²⁷⁶ This poem has been dated to 758. Cf. Qiu, 6.495-6. For translation of this poem, cf. Erwin von Zach, 5.106; Stephen Owen, 103-4.

starts with “可憐雙白鷗，朝夕水上游。” Cf. He Xun 何遜 (d. 517), Li Boqi 李伯齊 ed., He Xun ji jiaozhu 何遜集校注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2010), pp. 291-2.

Poem Three

有懷台州鄭十八司戶（虔）

Thinking of Zheng Qian, the Commissioner of Consensus of Taizhou²⁷⁷

1. 天台隔三江， Three rivers separated Tiantai Mountain from the central plain,
風浪無晨暮。 and the wind and waves blow through dusk and dawn.
2. 鄭公縱得歸， Even though Mr. Zheng, you are allowed to return;
老病不識路。 Ailing and feeble, you are not able to recognize the road.
3. 昔如水上鷗， Before, you were like a gull upo the water,
今如置中兔。 now, you are like a rabbit in a cage.
4. 性命由他人， Your life is in the hands of others,
悲辛但狂顧。 in grief and sorrow, can only desperately search for help.
5. 山鬼獨一腳， There exist single-legged mountain demons,
蝮蛇長如樹。 and serpents as long as trees.
6. 呼號傍孤城， Wailing and crying in the isolated city,
歲月誰與度。 with whom can you spend time?
7. 從來禦魑魅， Those who resisted the temptations of evil spirits,
多為才名誤。 have always been hindered by talent and fame.
8. 夫子嵇阮流， Belonging to the class of Ji Kang and Ruan Ji,

²⁷⁷ Qiu Zhao'ao dated this poem to 758. Cf. Qiu, 7.559-61. For translation of this poem, cf. Erwin von Zach, 5.170.

更被時俗惡。 He was especially detested by the people of his time.

9. 海隅微小吏， He was demoted to a sinecure in the corner close to the sea,

眼暗髮垂素。 with murky eyes and loose hair turning white.

10. 鳩杖近青袍， The dove-cane supporting a man wearing uniform of low-status officials,

非供折腰具。 is not an instrument used for bowing to younger superiors.

11. 平生一杯酒， To enjoy, it only takes a cup of wine,

見我故人遇。 whenever I meet my old friend.

12. 相望無所成， But now I can only long for you in vain,

乾坤莽回互。 because mountains and rivers exist in between.

Title: Zheng Shiba Sihou 鄭十八司戶 refers to Zheng Qian 鄭虔 (685-764), a famous gifted literati excelling at calligraphy, poetry and painting. Emperor Xuanzong appointed him the first *boshi* 博士 of Guangwen 廣文 Library in 750. Therefore, Du Fu sometimes addressed him by this honorific title, Zheng Guangwen in poems. He and Du Fu probably became acquainted when he came back to Chang'an in 750 after a ten-year prison life. Du Fu composed many poems dedicated to their happy gatherings. The famous pieces include “Ten Poems of Accompanying Zheng Guangwen to the Mountain Forest of General He 陪鄭廣文游何將軍山林十首,” “Drinking with Zheng Guangwen after Happily Running into Him in the Ponds and Terrace of Imperial Son-in-Law, Mr. Zheng 鄭駙馬池台喜遇鄭廣文同飲.” In 758 Zheng Qian was demoted to Taizhou because of his receipt of an official appointment during An Lushan Rebellion. Tai Prefecture 台州 was located in modern Zhejiang province. Cf. Zheng Qian’s biography in *XTS*, 202.5766-7.

Couplet 1: Tiantai refers to the Tiantai Mountain close to the Tai Prefecture to which Zheng Qian was demoted.

Couplet 8: Ji Ruan refer to Ji Kang and Ruan Ji, the two most famous literati of the “Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove.” Highly talented, however, both of them chose to live in reclusion and deliberately maintained themselves in drunkenness in order to avoid the persecution led by any official engagement.

Couplet 10: *Jiuzhang* 鳩杖 a cane with a dove sculpture on the head was bestowed to people who surpassed the age of seventy by the government in the Han dynasty. This dove-cane represents a honor received from the emperor, cf. “Liyi zhi 禮儀志” in *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), 95.3124. This allusion indicates Zheng Qian’s glorious past and the high status he used to have.

Qingpao 青袍 was the official robe for the eighth and ninth level positions. Cf. “Chefu zhi 車服志” in *XTS*, 24.519. This image indicates the low status of Zheng Qian for his current position, which is in stark contrast to the honor represented by the dove-cane Zheng Qian held.

Poem Four

寄岳州賈司馬六丈巴州嚴八使君兩閣老五十韻

Fifty Rhymes to Jia Zhi, Assistant Prefect of Yuezhou and Yan Wu, Perfect of Bazhou²⁷⁸

1. 衡岳啼猿裏, Hearing Gibbon’s wailing in Yuezhou,
巴州鳥道邊。 and at the sideway of a precipitous path in Bazhou;
2. 故人俱不利, both of my old friends, not at ease,
謫宦兩悠然。 are far apart after their demotion.
3. 開闢乾坤正, They broke the path to save the country,
榮枯雨露偏。 but the honor declined and the gracious favors were slanted.
4. 長沙才子遠, This is like Jia Yi who was sent far away to Changsha,
釣瀨客星懸。 and Yan Guang compared to a threatening star hanging in the sky.
5. 憶昨趨行殿, I recall days of serving in the traveling palace in Fengxiang,

²⁷⁸ Huang He 黃鶴 dated this poem to 759, cf. Qiu, 8.645-54. For translation of this poem, cf. Erwin von Zach, 6.194-8.

- 殷憂捧御筵。and harboring worries in the imperial feast;
6. 討胡愁李廣，We were worried about lacking a general like Li Guang who could defeat the barbarians,
奉使待張騫。and were waiting for a loyal envoy like Zhang Qian.
7. 無復雲臺仗，In those days Yuntai palace guards were of no avail,
虛修水戰船。and our fleet remained useless.
8. 蒼茫城七十，Numerous Hebei's cities fell into enemy's hands,
流落劍三千。and the defeated Tang troops were drifting about.
9. 畫角吹秦晉，The bugle horns sounded around the capital area,
旄頭俯澗瀍。and the demon star was lighting near Luoyang.
10. 小儒輕董卓，Though poorly informed, I believed that the traitorous vassal would fail;
有識笑苻堅。With better knowledge, you predicted the rebels' wretched end.
11. 浪作禽填海，Stirring up the waves, the rebels are like birds trying to fill up the ocean,
那將血射天。and the daring fool who shoot arrows to heaven.
12. 萬方思助順，Myriads of people thought of assisting the emperor,
一鼓氣無前。and their courage was never mightier before.
13. 陰散陳倉北，The gloom disappeared in the north of Chencang,
晴熏太白巔。and the sunshine fumigated the peak of Taibai.
14. 亂麻屍積衛，The corpses of rebels piled up in a hideous mess in Weizhou,
破竹勢臨燕。and the Tang swordsmen smashed into Yan territory like splitting bamboos.
15. 法駕還雙闕，The imperial chariots returned to the capital,

王師下八川。 and the royal armies marched along the eight rivers near the capital.

16. 此時霑奉引, At that moment I assisted the emperor at his sides,

佳氣拂周旋。 sharing his glory, I was surrounded by auspicious prospects.

17. 貔虎開金甲, Brave warriors unbuttoned their golden armor,

麒麟受玉鞭。 and spurred by whips, fine horses drove the emperor's carriage.

18. 侍臣諳入仗, The nearby vassals understood their places in the parade,

廐馬解登仙。 and even long-stabled horses were aware of their new honors.

19. 花動朱樓雪, Snowflakes sprinkled the red-lacquered towers,

城凝碧樹煙。 and the evergreen trees merged in the surrounding mist.

20. 衣冠心慘愴, Those with titles and ranks felt deep sorrow in their heart,

故老淚潺湲。 and the former vassals' tears flowed down.

21. 哭廟悲風急, Amid a sorrowfully hard-blowing wind, the emperor went to weep for the burnt
imperial temple;

朝正霽景鮮。 On the New Year's Day, courtiers celebrated the fresh new look of the court.

22. 月分梁漢米, We courtiers will get our share of the tribute rice every month,

春得水衡錢。 and in the spring we received a commission from the imperial treasury.

23. 內蕊繁於纈, Brighter than brocade and softer than silk floss,

宮莎軟勝綿。 flowers garnished the imperial gardens more than the brocade knots.

24. 恩榮同拜手, You and I often bowed together to thank His Majesty for gracious favors, 出入

出入最隨肩。 Entering or leaving the palace, we were shoulder to shoulder.

25. 晚著華堂醉, Working late, I drank in the grand halls;

- 寒重繡被眠。Freezing at night, I slept under embroidered quilts.
26. 轡齊兼秉燭, With candles in hands, we rode with horses abreast;
書枉滿懷牋。The memorandum brimmed over our pockets.
27. 每覺升元輔, Whenever I found a vacancy of elevated ranks,
深期列大賢。I had hoped to see one of you promoted to the post.
28. 秉鈞方咫尺, When you were but a short step from the top,
鍛翮再聯翩。you were dropped from the sky like birds with clipped wings.
29. 禁掖朋從改, While my colleagues in the service changed,
微班性命全。I was allowed to live in an obscure post.
30. 青蒲甘受戮, When I was willing to die on the green cattail for the stand I took,
白髮竟誰憐。Who would sympathize with me, the gray-haired one?
31. 弟子貧原憲, I am as poor as the disciple, Yuanxian,
諸生老服虔。and my friends are as old as the scholar, Fuqian.
32. 師資謙未達, If my ability could not match students' needs,
鄉黨敬何先。why should I be honored merely because of my age?
33. 舊好腸堪斷, While my heart was almost broken in the reminiscence of days gone by,
新愁眼欲穿。new worries arose when I allowed my longings to reach far.
34. 翠乾危棧竹, With the fading green of the bamboo poles, the plank path in Shu is in danger;
紅膩小湖蓮。While the lotus blossom, glowing red all over the palace ponds.
35. 賈筆論孤憤, Mr. Jia must have written about his lonely indignation;
嚴詩賦幾篇。Mr. Yan too must have composed a number of poems.

36. 定知深意苦, I know these writings represent thoughts sober and timely,
莫使眾人傳。 but it would be safer not to have them widely spread.
37. 貝錦無停織。 Shell-shaped brocade, like slanders, was never stopped to be woven;
朱絲有斷弦。 for righteous vassals, like straight silk threads, in occasions will be broken.
38. 浦鷗防碎首, Let the beach gulls be careful lest their heads be crushed,
霜鵠不空拳。 by the ruthless autumn vultures that never strike in vain.
39. 地僻昏炎瘴, In far-off places where you were obscured by the warm and gloomy miasma,
山稠隘石泉。 or where the springs were jammed in the mountains;
40. 且將棋度日, You can better spend your days playing chess,
應用酒為年。 and can forget the dreary year by drinking wine.
41. 典郡終微眇。 Though the position of a prefect is too small for Mr. Yan,
治中實棄捐。 and that of an assistant prefect too negligible for Mr. Jia;
42. 安排求傲吏, Yet a high-minded official will manage well even a petty job,
比興展歸田。 which perhaps should be taken in the spirit of humble retirement.
43. 去去才難得, Leave not, for your talents are too rare to be spared,
蒼蒼理又玄。 Though to understand the ways of heaven just now is profound.
44. 古人稱逝矣, As for me, I follow the ancient advice which said, "Let it go!"
吾道卜終焉。 For I can predict that my way is finished.
45. 隴外翻投跡, I have taken refuge in the remote Qinzhou,
漁陽復控弦。 since the rebels in Youzhou regained their control of the place.
46. 笑為妻子累, Though ridiculous for one so much burdened with a family,

甘與歲時遷。I am quite willing to be idle and to let time pass.

47. 親故行稀少, My relatives and friends become fewer and fewer,

兵戈動接聯。as the war spreads from one place to another.

48. 他鄉饒夢寐, In a foreign land, I always dream about my friends;

失侶自屯遭。but without companions, I can only be soaked in distress.

49. 多病加淹泊, Much illness on top of the inconveniences of a sojourner's life,

長吟阻靜便。Has made the writing of this long poem hard.

50. 如公盡雄俊, You, two friends, are both in magnificent health and strength;

志在必騰騫。Keep your ambition, you will rise again highly.

Couplet 1: *Hengyue* 衡岳 refers to Mount Heng 衡, the southern peak of the Five Mountains 五岳.

Here it indicates Yue Prefecture, to which Jia Zhi was demoted.

Bazhou 巴州 was located in the northeast of modern Sichuan province, approximately 180 mile northeast of Chengdu. It was the doorway to Shanxi province, cf. Tan Qixiang, 5:34-5.

Niaodao 鳥道 indicates the height and steepness of the road, because of the flying birds above it, cf. note 2, in Qiu, 8.645.

Couplet 4: This couplet is composed of two allusions to historical figures. The first one refers to Jia Yi 賈誼 (200 B.C.-168 B.C.), an extraordinary politician and literati in the early Western Han dynasty.

His gift was noticed when he was as young as eighteen, and he was summoned to serve the Han central court at age twenty-one. Providing much advice in political, economic and military spheres, Jia Yi successfully gained the recognition of Emperor Wen 文 (r.180 B.C.-157 B.C.) and was promoted quickly. However, some of his suggestions offended those powerful nobles, and soon Jia Yi was demoted to be the Advisor of the Prince of Changsha 長沙. Cf. *HS*, pp.2221-64.

The second line alludes to Yan Guang 嚴光, style Ziling 子陵, who was born at the end of the Western Han dynasty and in his youth used to study with Liu Xiu 劉秀, the first emperor of the Eastern Han dynasty. After the coronation, Liu Xiu once invited him to lie down on the same couch, and the Grand Scribe then reported that the threatening star offended the Emperor. In spite of Liu Xiu's recruitment, Yan Guang chose reclusion in Mount Fuchun 富春 and his fishing spot there was called Yanling Lai 嚴陵瀨. Cf. *HHS*, 83.2763-4.

Couplet 6: Li Guang 李廣 (?-119 B.C.), a renowned Han general who terrified Xiongnu with his military talent and his gifts for shooting and riding horses. In 129 B.C. Xiongnu troops invaded Shanggu 上谷 in modern Hebei 河北 province. Li Guang was captured in a battle with far fewer soldiers than his enemies. He then cleverly faked his death and escaped. This story alludes to Geshu Han's 哥叔翰 capture by An Lushan.

Zhang Qian 張騫 (164 B.C.-114 B.C.), a famous Han diplomat who was sent by Emperor Wu 武 (r.141 B.C.-87 B.C.) as an envoy to Xiongnu 匈奴 in 138 B.C. Although he was retained there for ten years, Zhang Qian never betrayed the Han court. In 126 B.C. Zhang Qian fled back to the Han just as chaos broke out within the Xiongnu tribes. He then assisted Emperor Wu in establishing diplomatic relations with many small countries in the Hexi corridor to defeat Xiongnu.

Couplet 7: The fleet is an allusion to Kunming 昆明 lake made by Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty to train his navy. Cf. *SJ*, 30.1435.

Couplet 8: "The seventy cities" in line one alludes to the event that the Yan 燕 State subdued seventy cities of the Qi 齊 State. This parallelism makes sense because most of the prefectures conquered by An Lushan were located in the former Qi territory. Cf. *Du yi* 杜臆 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1983), p.99.

Couplet 9: *Jingtou* 旄頭, also named mao 昴, was regarded as a symbol of misfortune in Chinese astrology. Jian Chan 澗瀾 refers to River Jian and River Chan, both of which flowed towards the capital area. Cf. note 10, in Qiu, 8.647.

Couplet 10: Dongzhuo 董卓 (?-192) was a traitorous vassal under Emperor Xian 獻 of the Han dynasty (r.189-220), and Pu Jian 苻堅 (338-385), a northern barbarian, who led an expedition to the Eastern Jin dynasty, but was finally defeated and retreated to the north. Both of the two figures here allude to An Lushan, a savage northern traitor.

Couplet 11: Line one is an allusion to the parable in *Shanhai jing* 山海經: The daughter of the Red Emperor drowned in the sea, and transformed into a bird flying across to fill the sea with branches.

Line two compares the rebels to the King of Song 宋, Yan 偃, and Di Yi 帝乙 depicted in the *Grand Scribe's Record* who shot a leather bag filled with blood and bragged that he could hit heaven. Cf. note 14, Qiu, 8.648.

Couplet 12: Both Chencang 陳倉 and Taibai 太白 refer to Fengxiang 鳳翔, the temporary palace of Emperor Suzong in the An Lushan Rebellion. Baoji County in Fengxiang was named Chencang before 757. Mount Taibai was located in the Mei County in Fengxiang, cf. Tan Qixiang, 5:40-1.

Couplet 17: *Pihu* 貔虎 refers to brave warriors, cf. its *locus classicus* “*ru hu ru pi* 如虎如貔” in “Mu shi 牡誓 [Oath in Muye],” King Wu 武 of Zhou’s encouragement to his soldiers right before the battle against King Zhou 紂 of Shang 商. Cf. Zeng Yunqian 曾運乾, *Shang shu zhengdu* 尚書正讀 (Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe, 2011), p.132.

Couplet 22: *Shuiheng qian* 水衡錢 refers to the imperial treasurer. Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty first created an official, Shuiheng duwei 水衡都尉 [Captain of Shuiheng] to take charge of his wealth in the Shanglin garden, cf. *SJ*, 30.1435.

Couplet 30: Line one compares Du Fu's support to Fang Guan with Shi Dan's 史丹 prevention of Emperor Yuan 元 of the Han dynasty (r.49 B.C.-33 B.C.) to alter his heir, cf. *HS*, 82.3377-8.

Couplet 31: Yuan Xian 原憲 was one of the seventy-two disciples of Confucius. He was very poor and was content with his poverty. Cf. *SJ* 史記, 67.2208.

Fu Qian 服虔 is a variant of Fu Qian 伏虔。Qiu and Guo both read the latter, cf. Qiu, 8.650 and Guo, 12.336. Some scholars think that Fu Qian is a mistake for Fu Sheng 伏勝, who was a famous scholar who Emperor Wen 文 of the Han dynasty summoned to serve his court. However, *Sheng* does not rhyme with the rest of the poem. Therefore, Qiu Zhao'ao in his note of lower case character agrees that it should be “Fu Qian 服虔,” cf. Qiu, 8.650.

Couplet 35: Different interpretations of “Jiabi 賈筆” [essays written by Mr. Jia] and “Yanshi 嚴詩” [Mr. Yan's verse] occur in Qiu Zhao'ao's notes. Since Jia Yi 賈誼 has already been alluded in couplet four as a victim of the slanders, and since he is the receiver of this poem, I agree with Qiu Zhao'ao that the essays written by Jia also refers to Jia Yi. For Mr. Yan's verse, Qiu Zhao'ao notes that it refers to Yan Zhu 嚴助 (?-122 B.C.), who was renowned for his rhapsodies during Emperor Wu's reign of the Han dynasty. But he was implicated in King Huai'an's 懷安 (179 B.C.-122 B.C.) rebellion against the emperor, and therefore was beheaded in 122 B.C.

Poem Five

石櫃閣

The Plank Path above the Shigui Bridge²⁷⁹

1. 季冬日已長, In the third winter month, the day has become long;

²⁷⁹ This is one poem in a series which were composed during Du Fu's journey from Tonggu 同谷 to Chengdu 成都 in the last month of 759. Cf. Qiu, 9.716-7. For translation of this poem, cf. Erwin von Zach, 6.227-8.

山晚半天赤。The Sun is setting above the mountain and half of the sky has turned red.

2. 蜀道多早花, On the Shu path, plenty are the early blossoms,

江間饒奇石。In the river, marvelous rocks abound.

3. 石櫃曾波上, The Shigui plank path set above the waves,

臨虛蕩高壁。swings on the high cliff in the air.

4. 清暉回群鷗, In clear sunshine, a flock of gulls fly back;

暝色帶遠客。the sunset's hue calls back the traveler.

5. 羈棲負幽意, The drifting journey let my mind of seclusion down,

感歎向絕跡。and I signed towards the untrodden path.

6. 信甘孱懦嬰, I believe this is because of my weak body,

不獨凍餒迫。not merely caused by the coldness and hunger.

7. 優游謝康樂, Unlike Xie Lingyun who traveled at leisure,

放浪陶彭澤。and Tao Yuanming who defied convention;

8. 吾衰未自由, Old and feeble already, things are beyond my control,

謝爾性所適。and I will just let you live the way you want.

Couplet 7: Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 inherited his grandfather's aristocrat status, and was enfeoffed to become the Duke Kangle 康樂. Cf. note 3, in Qiu, 9.717.

Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 used to be the Magistrate of Pengze 彭澤 County, therefore he was often referred by this official title. Cf. note 4, *ibid*.

Poem Six

江村

A River Village²⁸⁰

1. 清江一曲抱村流, A curve of clear river hugging the village flows;
 長夏江村事事幽。 in the long summer of this river village everything secluded.
2. 自去自來堂上燕, Fly back and forth at ease: swallows to the hall;
 相親相近水中鷗。 dear and close to one another: gulls on the water.
3. 老妻畫紙為棋局, My old wife draws a chessboard on paper;
 稚子敲針作釣鉤。 My little boy bent a needle to be his fishhook.
4. 多病所須唯藥物, All one needs in recurrent illness are herbs;
 微軀此外更何求。 What else besides this does my humble body desire?

Couplet 2: Yan 燕 [swallow] is usually used as a symbol of a dear couple, as it first occurred in the *Shijing* verse, “yanyan yu fei, shangxia qiyin 燕燕于飛，下上其音,” cf. “Yanyan 燕燕” in the “Air of Bei 邶” in the *Book of Poetry*, cf. Chu Jiebin 褚傑斌 annotated, *Shijing quanzhu* 詩經全注 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1999), pp. 27-9. In this poem, however, Du Fu exchanges the features between swallows and gulls: the former flies freely and the latter appears affectionate.

Couplet 3: According to Qian Qianyi 錢謙益 (1582-1664), the game played is called “*siwei xi* 四維戲”. People playing this game usually drew the board on paper and cut wood to be the chess, cf. Qian Qianyi, *Qianzhu Dushi* 錢注杜詩 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1979), p. 375.

Poem Seven

江漲 The River Rises²⁸¹

²⁸⁰ This poem is dated to the summer of 760 right after Du Fu had settled down in Chengdu, cf. Qiu, 9. 764-5. This poem is widely selected by translators and scholars, cf. Burton Watson, 81; David McCraw, 25; Erwin von Zach, 7.242; Eva Shan Zhou, 170; William Hung, 168.

²⁸¹ This poem is dated to 760 after Du Fu built up the thatched hut, cf. Qiu. 9.747-8. Translation of this poem can be found in Erwin von Zach, 7. 242.

1. 江漲柴門外, The river rises beyond my shabby door,
兒童報急流。 children calling me out the rushing torrent.
2. 下床高數尺, When I get up, the river rises a few meters,
倚杖沒中洲。 as soon as I grab my cane, islets are drowned.
3. 細動迎風燕, Hardly advancing, swallows on a wind;
輕搖逐浪鷗。 slightly swaying, gulls carried astern by the tide.
4. 漁人繫小楫, A fisherman fastens short oars,
容易拔船頭。 pushing the front, he cannot easily start his boat.

Couplet 4: According to Qiu Zhao'ao's interpretation, the boat is easily started because of the widened expanse of the river after the flood, cf. Qiu, 9.747. Yang Lun 楊倫 disagrees with Qiu Zhao'ao, reading *rongyi* 容易 as "not easily," for the rushing currents make it harder to safely start the small fishing boats, cf. *Du shi jingquan* 杜詩鏡銓 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1952), 7.321. I follow Yang Lun's interpretation in my rendition, because the difficulty the fishermen had is in accordance with the overall dreadful scene of the flood.

Poem Eight

雲山 Beclouded Mountains²⁸²

1. 京洛雲山外, Beyond beclouded mountains, from the capitals,
音書靜不來。 there is no news; letters do not arrive.
2. 神交作賦客, I commune in spirit with the rhapsody writer,

²⁸² This poem is composed in the same period of the previous one, 760 in Chengdu, cf. Qiu, 9.749-50. Translation of this poem can be found in Erwin von Zach, 7.240.

力盡望鄉臺。My strength exhausted, at the terrace for gazing towards home.

3. 衰疾江邊臥, Old and feeble, I lie down by the river's bank,

親朋日暮迴。family and friend go back under the setting sun.

4. 白鷗元水宿, The white gulls slumber as always on the water;

何事有餘哀。What makes them cry so much?

Couplet 2: “Zuo fu ke 作賦客” refers to Sima Xiangru 司馬相如 (179 B.C.-127 B.C.) and Yang Xiong 楊雄 (53 B.C.-18 A.D.), both of whom were natives of Sichuan. Saying he could only interact with these two past literati indicates the poet's loneliness.

“Wangxiang tai 望鄉臺” was built by Yang Xiu 楊秀 (573-618), who was the fourth son of Emperor Wen 文 of the Sui 隋 Dynasty (r. 581-604), and was enfeoffed to become the Prince of Shu 蜀.

Poem Nine

客至 The Guest Comes²⁸³

1. 舍南舍北皆春水, Spring rain gathers in pools north and south of my hut,

但見群鷗日日來。only a flock of gulls comes to visit everyday.

2. 花徑不曾緣客掃, The path strewn with fallen petals was never swept for any guest,

蓬門今始為君開。but now my rustic door begins to open for you, my friend.

3. 盤餐市遠無兼味, The market far; no more than this plate of food,

樽酒家貧只舊醅。I am poor and have only this pot of aged home-brew.

²⁸³ This poem is dated to 761 when Du Fu resided in the western suburb of Chengdu, cf. Qiu, 9.793. Translation of this poem can be found in Erwin von Zach, 7.253-4, Stephen Owen, p.103-4 and William Hung, 177.

4. 肯與鄰翁相對飲，Would you like to drink with a neighbor of mine?

隔籬呼取盡餘杯。I will call him over the fence to finish the remaining wine.

Couplet 1: The first line compares the poet to the persona in “Jianjia 蒹葭” in the *Book of Poetry*. In the second line Du Fu employs the flock of gulls coming to visit to refer to himself as a high-minded recluse like the seaman in *Lie Zi*. Cf. note 1, in Qiu, 9.793.

Couplet 3: Qiu Zhao’ao points out a parallel text alluding to Yan Yuan 顏淵 in *Zhuang Zi* 莊子, “Yan Yuan said, ‘I am poor, I don’t drink, nor do I have meat,’” cf. note 5, in Qiu, 9.793.

Poem Ten

遣意二首 Voicing My Mind²⁸⁴

1. 嚶枝黃鳥近，Chirping on branches, yellow orioles sound close;

泛渚白鷗輕。swimming by islets, white gulls move nimbly.

2. 一徑野花落，On a single path, petals fall from wild flowers;

孤村春水生。In the isolated village, growing are the spring creeks.

3. 衰年催釀黍，My years of decay propel me to make liquor,

細雨更移橙。The drizzle spurs me on to move oranges.

4. 漸喜交遊絕，More and more, I enjoy cutting myself off,

幽居不用名。living secluded, all fame renounced.

Couplet 1: A parallel text can be found in the “Huang niao 黃鳥 [Yellow oriole]” poem in the “Air of Qin” in *Book of Poetry*, which reads, “jiao jiao huang niao 交交黃鳥 [Chirping and chirping, the yellow

²⁸⁴ This poem is dated to 762 while Du Fu is traveling back and forth between Zizhou 梓州 and Langzhou 閬州, cf. Qiu, 11.929-30. Translation of this poem can be found in Erwin von Zach, 9.308.

orioles].” The poem depicts an ethical man persecuted by the lord of the Qin State, cf. Chu Jiebin 褚傑 斌 annotated, *Shijing quanzhu* 詩經全注 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1999), pp. 138-9. In another verse with the same title in the “Xiaoya 小雅 [Minor Odes of the Kingdom]” in the *Book of Poetry*, yellow orioles eat the grains the persona planted, which symbolizes an uneasy start in a foreign land, cf. *ibid*, pp. 211-2.

Couplet 3: *Niang shu* 釀黍 alludes to Wang Ji 王績 (590-644), a hermit famous for his fondness of heavy drinking. He acquired a nickname of “Doujiu xueshi 斗酒學士 A-Dipper-of-Wine Scholar” during his years in the capital. He gave up his political career around an age of forty, and lived a reclusive life for the last fifteen years of his life. During these years he was said to plant his own field of millet and make home-brewed alcohol with it every spring and autumn. Cf. *XTS*, 196.5594.

Couplet 4: The first line echoes Tao Yuaming’s line in “Gui qu lai ci 歸去來辭,” “*xi xijiao yi jueyou* 喜息交以絕游 [I would like to give up my social life and cut myself out from contacts].”

Poem Eleven

題玄武禪師屋壁

Writing My Verses on the Wall of the House of the Abbot Xuanwu²⁸⁵

1. 何年顧虎頭, In which year did Gu Kaizhi come to the house,
滿壁畫滄州。 to paint river banks on every corner of the wall?
2. 赤日石林氣, Beneath the glowing sun, mists snake around the upright stones,
青天江海流。 under the blue sky, rivers and the sea flow.
3. 錫飛常近鶴, Flying with the zinc cane, the abbot bypasses the crane;

²⁸⁵ This poem is dated to 762 while Du Fu is traveling back and forth between Zizhou 梓州 and Langzhou 閬州, cf. Qiu, 11.929-30. Translation of this poem can be found in Erwin von Zach, 9.308.

杯度不驚鷗。crossing the river on a wooden cup, so as not to startle the gull.

4. 似得廬山路, As if I've found the Way to Mount Lu,

真隨惠遠遊。really following Master Huiyuan's travels.

Couplet 1: According to Guo's edition, Hutou 虎頭 indicated the famous painter, Gu Kaizhi 顧愷之 (c.345-c.406). This may either be his style name or the official title, the General Hutou. Cangzhou 滄州 has a variant in Guo's edition of Yingzhou 瀛洲, an immortal residence. Cangzhou, literally meaning river bank, always refers to a reclusive location in poetry. It is often associated with Zhi Bo, a famous hermit, in literature, cf. Ruan Ji 阮籍, "Wei Zheng Chong quan Jinwang jian 為鄭冲勸晉王箋" in *Ruan Ji ji* 阮籍集 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1978), pp.79-80. and *Zhuang Zi ji shi* 莊子集釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2004), 9.966.

Couplet 3: 錫飛常近鶴: This line alludes to a fable in *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳, in which a Buddhist monk and Taoist priest competed for the right to land at the foot of Mount Qian 潛. They agreed that whoever arrived first could build houses on the land. The Taoist priest started first, racing his white crane to dash to the mountain. Just before he arrived the Buddhist monk's zinc cane flew straight past him to the destination. Feeling extremely frustrated, the Taoist priest kept his promise to let the monk have the land.

Bei du 杯度: Qiu Zhao'ao recorded a previous annotation, which refers to a fable. A man who stole a golden Buddha sculpture fled away from the river by riding a wooden cup. Cf. note 4 in Qiu, 11.930.

Ou 鷗: The occurrence of "gull" in this couplet aroused a number of speculations. In *Lu shan lue ji* 廬山略記, Monk Hui Yuan 惠遠 wrote, "Under the peak at the back of the Eastern Grove Monastery, there seemed to be a pagoda, above which the white gulls fly, and into which the black

clouds go. 其下似一層浮圖，白鷗之所翔，玄雲之所入也。” This may well rebut Qiu Zhao’ao’s speculation that the gull featured in this couplet either because of its accidental appearance on the painting or for the sake of the rhyme. In fact, the gull imagery corresponded to the philosophical theme, which was also conveyed by the imagery of the river bank in the first couplet and Hui Yuan’s excursion on Mount Lu at the end of the poem.

A parallel text in Yu Xin’s 庾信 “Maiji Ya foukan ming 麥積崖佛龕銘” reads, “flying zinc cane flies from a distance and the wooden cup floats far away 飛錫遙來，杯度遠至。”

Couplet 4: Hui Yuan 惠遠, customarily recorded as 慧遠 (334-416) in Chinese characters, established the Eastern Grove Monastery 東林寺 on Mount Lu in 384 in which the Pure Land Sect 淨土 came into being. In 400, the venerable Monk Hui Yuan led a group of about thirty monks to go for an outing to Stone Gate Ravine Mountain on the northern part of Mount Lu 廬 and there they composed “You Shimen shi bing xu 游石門詩並序.” Cf. *Quan Jin shi* 全晉詩, 20.1085-6.

Poem Twelve

倚杖

Leaning Against My Cane²⁸⁶

1. 看花雖郭內，Watching flowers inside the town walls;

倚杖即溪邊。leaning against my cane, I walk to the creek bank.

2. 山縣早休市，In the mountain village, the market has long been dismissed;

江橋春聚船。under the river bridge, spring boats assemble near.

3. 狎鷗輕白浪，Loving gulls are sporting with white sprays of waves, without fear;

²⁸⁶ Since 762, the poet was forced to travel between the two cities of Zizhou and Langzhou to avoid the military ravage. This poem was composed in 763 while Du Fu resided in Zizhou 梓州, cf. Qiu, 12.1001.

Translation of this poem can be found in Erwin von Zach, 9.334. Also see Eva Shan Chou’s discussion on this poem in *Reconsidering Tu Fu*, 173.

歸雁喜青天。Returning geese fly delightedly in the azure.

4. 物色兼生意，In front of things full of color and vigor,

淒涼憶去年。Decrepit, alone, as I recall the past year.

Couplet 3: *Yan* 雁 [goose] appears in the poem, “Hongyan 鴻雁,” symbolizing migrants who were forced to wander around wearied by endless toil, cf. Chu Jiebin 褚傑斌 annotated, *Shijing quanzhu* 詩經全注 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1999), pp. 205-6. Here the delightfulness of the returning geese contrasts with the poet’s agony as a wanderer.

Poem Thirteen

巴西驛亭觀江漲呈竇十五使君二首

Two Poems Presented to Mr. Dou, While Observing the River Rising in the Post Pavilion in Baxi Prefecture²⁸⁷

1. 轉驚波作怒，Freighting is the sudden race of the raging waves,

即恐岸隨流。I fear the torrents will take even the bank away.

2. 賴有杯中物，We have only the thing within the cup,

還同海上鷗。To turn us into those gulls upon the sea.

3. 關心小剡縣，My heart flies with streams to little Shan County,

傍眼見揚州。Yangzhou appears as if in front of my eyes.

4. 為接情人飲，It is this drinking with a close friend,

朝來減片愁。in the morning, alleviates my worries somewhat.

²⁸⁷ This is the second in the two-poem series. It was dated to 763 while Du Fu traveled to Mianzhou 綿州, cf. Qiu, 12.1005. Translation of this poem can be found in Erwin von Zach, 9.334.

Couplet 3: 剡縣 Shan County was located in modern Zhejiang 浙江 province, about sixty miles southwest of modern Hangzhou 杭州, cf. Tan Qixiang, 5:55-6.

Couplet 4: 情人 refers to Mr. Dou who accompanied the poet in the post pavilion.

Poem Fourteen

春歸 Return in Spring²⁸⁸

1. 苔徑臨江竹, The mossy path overlooks the bamboo grove by the stream;
茅簷覆地花。 The roof of the reed hut covers flowers on the ground.
2. 別來頻甲子, Between my leaving and returning, it is more than a year;
歸到忽春華。 After I returned, in a second, the spring blooms.
3. 倚杖看孤石, Leaning against my cane, I watch the solitary rock,
傾壺就淺沙。 Pouring my wine pot, I drink at the sandy strand.
4. 遠鷗浮水靜, Far-off gulls, afloat on the water, remain still,
輕燕受風斜。 light swallows, sheer in the wind, are aslant.
5. 世路雖多梗, Journeys in the world are filled with thorns,
吾生亦有涯。 but the span of my life too has its ends.
6. 此身醒復醉, This body will sober up just to be drunk again;
乘興即為家。 I can quickly make my home anywhere, fain.

Couplet 2: Traditional Chinese used *jiazi* 甲子 to record days, months and years. One *jiazi* equals to a circle of sixty days. Here it indicates the rough number of days since Du Fu left his thatched house in

²⁸⁸ This poem was composed at the time Du Fu came back from Zizhou 梓州 to Chengdu 成都 in 764. Translation of this poem can be found in Erwin von Zach, 10.380 and William Hung, 204. Eva Shan Chou translates the second half, cf. *Reconsidering Du Fu*, p.50.

Chengdu to avoid military turbulence in 761. The days past are about twelve *jiazi*, Cf. note 2, Qiu, 13.1111. Besides its indication of time, *jiazi* also alludes to the senior native of Jiang 絳 County in *Zuo zhuan* 左傳, who claimed to live for 445 *jiazi*. He were humiliated and forced to do corve labor at the age of seventy-three. Knowing his situation, Zhao Wu 趙武 (B.C.591-B.C.589), the prime minister of the Jin 晉 State, remitted his labor and appointed him to be the governor of Jiang County. Cf. Li Mengsheng 李夢生 annotated, *Zuo zhuan yi zhu* 左傳譯注 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1998), 878-9.

Couplet 3: The first line of this couplet alludes to Xie An 謝安 (320-385), a renowned statesman and military general of the Eastern Jin Dynasty, who used to watch the solitary rock in his yard, leaning against his cane. Cf. note 4, Qiu, 13.1111.

Couplet 6: *Chengxing* 乘興 echoes to Wang Ziyou's 王子猷 story in *Shishuo xinyu* 世说新语, in which Wang Ziyou traveled to visit a friend, but returned without seeing his friend in front of the door. Wang Ziyou then explained his queer behavior, "I was fain to come, but when I got bored, I returned." Cf. Yu Jiaxi 余嘉錫 annotated, *Shishuo xinyu jianshu* 世說新語箋疏 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), pp.893.

Poem Fifteen

過故斛斯校書莊二首

Two Poems of Passing by the Mansion of Mr. Husi, the Former Secretary²⁸⁹

1. 燕入非旁舍, The swallows will enter no other house;

鷗歸祇故池。the gulls return only to their old pond.

2. 斷橋無復板, There are no new planks in the broken bridge,

²⁸⁹ These two poems are dated to 764, cf. Qiu, 14.1188-9. The one I translate here is the second poem, which contains gull imagery. For the translation, cf. Erwin von Zach, 11. 387.

臥柳自生枝。 but new branches sprout on the fallen willow.

3. 遂有山陽作， Therefore, I write this poem to remember our friendship,

多慚鮑叔知。 ashamed I was not the friend who could recommend your worth.

4. 素交零落盡， My acquaintances expired and perished all;

白首淚雙垂。 white-haired, tears falling down in twin-lines.

Couplet 3: “Shan yang 山陽” refers to the residence of Ji Kang 嵇康 and Xiang Xiu 向秀. After Ji Kang’s death, Xiang Xiu once passed by this residence on Mount Ji 嵇 and composed “Si jiu fu 思舊賦 [Rhapsody on Missing an Old Friend],” cf. Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 (578-648), *Jin shu* 晉書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 49.1373-4.

“Bao shu zhi 鮑叔知” is an allusion to the friendship of Guan Zhong 管仲 and Bao Shu 鮑叔, cf. Sima Qian 司馬遷 (ca.145-ca.86 B.C.), *Shi ji* 史記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), 62.2131-2. Bao Shu recommended Guan Zhong to Duke Huan of Qi, who appointed Guan Zhong his Chief Minister. Du Fu used it to express his regrets at not being able to recommend Husi Rong to Yan Wu.

Poem Sixteen

正月三日歸溪上有作簡院內諸公

**Writing on the Third Day of the First Month in Return to the Creek, as a Memo to My
Colleagues in Governor’s Office²⁹⁰**

1. 野外堂依竹， Beyond the wilds, my hut built by the bamboos;

籬邊水向城。 beside the hedge, river flowing into the town.

2. 蟻浮仍臘味， Ants-like foam, floating on wine, still tastes weak;

鷗泛已春聲。 gulls, bugling on water, already sing the spring song.

²⁹⁰ This poem is dated to 765, cf. Qiu, 14.1201-2. Translation of this poem can be found in Erwin von Zach, 7.415.

3. 藥許鄰人斲, I allow my neighbors to dig out the herbs;
 書從稚子擎。 in his small palms I let hold my books, my little son.
4. 白頭趨幕府, White haired, I rush to work in the local governor's office,
 深覺負平生。 to live such a life feels deeply wrong.

Poem Seventeen

春日江村五首 Five Poems Spring Days in the River Village²⁹¹

1. 扶病垂朱紱, Being sick, I untie the crimson silkribbon;
 歸休步紫苔。 Coming back to rest, I stroll on the purple moss.
2. 郊扉存晚計, Behind my rustic door I plan my living in my late years;
 幕府愧群材。 On the official post, humbled among the many talents.
3. 燕外晴絲卷, Beyond flying swallows, sunlit gossamer twirls;
 鷗邊水葉開。 by gulls, leaves of water plants are moving apart.
4. 鄰家送魚蟹, My neighbors send me some fish and turtles,
 問我數能來。 asking if I can make a visit a few times.

Couplet 3: Qiu Zhao'ao points out a parallel text in Ruan Ji's poem, "Bathing gulls part leaves of water plants, sporting butterflies avoid wind gossamer 浴鷗開水葉, 戲蝶避風絲," cf. Qiu, 14.1207.

Poem Eighteen

長吟 Chanting the Poem²⁹²

²⁹¹ These five poems are dated to 765, cf. Qiu, 14.1205-8. The poem featuring gull imagery is the fourth of this series, cf. Qiu, 14. 1207-8. The translation of these five poems can be found in David McCraw, 168 and Erwin von Zach, 12.416-8.

1. 江渚翻鷗戲, At the bank, waves splash, gulls play;
官橋帶柳陰。 the state-owned bridge, covered in willow-shades.
2. 花飛競渡日, Petals fly, on the day of the dragon-boat contest;
草見蹋青心。 grasses show roots, trodden by people on outings.
3. 已撥形骸累, Already I threw away all the burden of this body,
真為爛漫深。 feeling a deep true joy at Nature's beauty.
4. 賦詩新句穩, Composing a poem, new lines sound in tune,
不覺自長吟。 I found myself recite it long.

Poem Nineteen

去蜀 Leaving the Shu²⁹³

5. 五載客蜀郡, For five years I sojourned in Shu,
一年居梓州。 and for one year lived in Zi Prefecture.
6. 如何關塞阻, Helplessly, blocked by passes and fortresses;
轉作瀟湘游。 I changed to the Xiao and the Xiang Rivers.
7. 萬事已黃髮, The world's many affairs have already whitened my hair;
殘生隨白鷗。 the rest of my life I will follow white gulls.
8. 安危大臣在, To make peace in peril is for great ministers;
不必淚長流。 there is no need for my free-flowing tears.

²⁹² This poem is said to be composed in the spring of 765, cf. Qiu, 14.1209. Translation of this poem can be found in David R. McCraw, 168; Erwin von Zach, 11.393/22.

²⁹³ Agreeing with Cai Mengbi 蔡夢弼, Qiu Zhao'ao dated this poem to the summer of 765, cf. Qiu, 14.1217. Translation of this poem can be found in Burton Watson, 117 and Erwin von Zach, 12.422.

Poem Twenty

旅夜書懷
Thoughts While Traveling at Night²⁹⁴

1. 細草微風岸， Fine grasses on the bank sway in the breeze,
危檣獨夜舟。 The highest mast, alone at night on a boat.
2. 星垂平野闊， Stars hang down over the vastness of the plain,
月湧大江流。 The moon rushing forward in the great river's flow.
3. 名豈文章著， Is it my fame only won by writings?
官因老病休。 In age and illness, I've resigned from office.
4. 飄飄何所似， Drifting, drifting, what am I like?
天地一沙鷗。 between heaven and earth, a single sand gull.

Couplet 3: A parallel text in “Yang Xiong zhuan zan 楊熊傳贊” reads, “[Yang] Xiong was fond of the antique values and would love to follow the Way. He attempted to earn fame after his demise by his writings.” Cf. note 5, Qiu, 14.1229.

Poem Twenty-one

船下夔州郭宿雨溼不得上岸別王十二判官
On the Boat to Kuizhou I Spend the Night On the Suburbs of the City; Because of the Rain I
Cannot Go Ashore to Bid Farewell to Judge Wang, the Twelfth²⁹⁵

1. 依沙宿舸船， On the sandy shore, I spend my night on a ship;

²⁹⁴ This poem is said to be composed in 765, cf. Qiu, 14.1228-30. This poem is widely selected by scholars and translators, for the rendition, cf. Burton Watson, 118; David R. McCraw, 63-4; Erwin von Zach, 12.428; Eva Shan Zhou, 189; Stephen Owen, 12; William Hung, 256.

²⁹⁵ This poem is said to be composed in the late spring of 766, cf. Qiu, 14.1209. A previous translation of this poem can be found in Erwin von Zach, 13.480.

石瀨月娟娟。rapids brimming over stone, the eyebrow-shaped moon.

2. 風起春燈亂，A wind begins to blow, spring candlelight flickers,

江鳴夜雨懸。the river sounds, night rain pours.

3. 晨鐘雲岸溼，The morning bell rings, in a faint haze, the bank damp;

勝地石堂煙。In this marvelous place, from stone halls, mists arise.

4. 柔櫓輕鷗外，Beyond the slowly-moving oars, light gulls around,

含悽覺汝賢。embracing sorrow, I am grateful for your favor.

Title: Wang Shier 王十二 was the twelfth child in his family. He was the Judge in the government of the Military Commissioner of Jingnan 荊南, cf. *Du Fu qinjuan jiaoyou xingnian kao* 杜甫親眷交游行年考 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2006), p.51.

Poem Twenty-two

寄韋有夏郎中

Sent to Wei Youxia, the Chief Secretary of the Merit-examination Bureau²⁹⁶

1. 省郎憂病士，The Chief Secretary worries about my sick body,

書信有柴胡。and sent a letter with some herbs.

2. 飲子頻通汗，I drink a soup of them and profusely sweat,

懷君想報珠。thinking about repaying you for this favor.

3. 親知天畔少，Connections and friends, at the edge of the azure, are few,

藥味峽中無。the smell of herbs, in the gorges, found nowhere.

4. 歸楫生衣臥，On the returning oars the water fungi spread,

²⁹⁶ Huang He 黃鶴 dated this poem to 766, cf. Qiu, 15.1287-8. Translation of this poem can be found in Erwin von Zach, 13.460.

春鷗洗翅呼。spring gulls, washing their wings, cry out.

5. 猶聞上急水, Hearing the upper stream running rapidly,

早作取平途。I plan in advance to take the safer route.

6. 萬里皇華使, An imperial envoy from ten thousand miles away,

為僚記腐儒。and a colleague of mine cares for me, a pedantry.

Title: Wei Youxia 韋有夏, a native of Wannian 萬年, the modern Xi'an City. His sister married Du Ji 杜濟, a grandson of Du Fu's cousin. Wei Youxia was the Chief Secretary of the Merit Examination Bureau in 766, *ibid*, p. 39.

Couplet 1: *Chaihu* 柴胡 [Latin *radix bupleuri*] in Chinese medication is used to cure heavy colds. It helps to combat the flu virus.

Couplet 2: Watching the decayed politics in the Eastern Han Dynasty, Zhang Heng 張衡 composed “Sichou shi 四愁詩” to express his conflicted feelings between his willing to serve the court and his worries to be persecuted by evil officials. One line in this poem reads, “The beauty gave me the marten clothes as a gift. What shall I do to repay the favor? By giving the pearl shining like the bright moon. 美人贈我貂襜褕, 何以報之明月珠,” cf. Li Shousong 李壽松, Li Yiyun 李翼雲 annotated, *Quan Dushi xinshi* (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 2002), p. 1079. Du Fu used this image of shining pearl to parallel himself with Zhang Heng, who harbored the same political ambition with Du Fu, but was worried about the persecution.

Couplet 6: The term *huanghua shi* 皇華使 comes from “Huanghuang zhe hua 皇皇者華” in the Book of Poetry. Here it refers to Wei Youxia 韋有夏. Cf. Chu Jiebin 褚斌傑, *Shi jing quanzhu* 詩經全注 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1999), pp.175-6.

Poem Twenty-three

夔州歌十絕句
Songs of Kuizhou, Ten Quatrains²⁹⁷

3. 東屯稻畦一百頃, Rice fields of the eastern plain, a hundred *qing*;

北有澗水通青苗。pond waters from north of the city, reach the greenish sprouts.

4. 晴沿狎鷗分處處, In the sunny weather the playful gulls are all about;

雨隨神女下朝朝。Rain, according to the Goddess of the Wu mountain, falls every morning.

Couplet 1: One hundred *qing* is about 1600 acres.

Traditional commentators, such as Qian Qianyi 錢謙益 and Wang Shipeng 王十朋, interpreted *qingmiao* 青苗 to be a place name, Qingmiao Pi 青苗陂. However Jian Jinsong 簡錦松 thinks that *qingmiao* simply refers to the rice field, especially the fields newly transplanted with rice seedlings, cf. Jian Jisong 簡錦松, *Du Fu Kuizhou shi xiandi yanjiu* 杜甫夔州詩現地研究 (Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, 1999), pp. 225-9. I follow Jian Jinsong's interpretation in my translation.

Couplet 2: "Shen nu 神女" refers to the Goddess occurring in the King of Chu's dream. Cf. note 4, Qiu, 15.1305.

Poem Twenty-four

秋興八首
Autumn Meditation²⁹⁸

1. 瞿唐峽口曲江頭, At the mouth of Qutang Gorge and the head of the River Qu,

²⁹⁷ This is the sixth of a ten-poem sequence. Huang He 黃鶴 dated this poem to the summer of 766, cf. Qiu Zhao'ao, 15.1305. For a translation, cf. Erwin von Zach, 16.609.

²⁹⁸ Huang He 黃鶴 dated this poem to 766, cf. Qiu Zhao'ao, 17.1493. Ye Jiaying 葉嘉瑩 had done an exegetical study for this series of eight poems, cf. *Du Fu "Qiu Xing" bashou jishuo* 杜甫秋興八首集說. *Zhonghua congshu* 中華叢書. Taipei: Zhonghua congshu bian shen wei yuan hui, 1966. Reprint, Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2000. This poem is widely selected by translators and scholars, cf. A.C. Graham, 54; Burton Watson, 137; David R. McCraw, 203; Erwin von Zach, 15.563; William Hung, 235.

萬里風煙接素秋。Wind and mist welcome dismal autumn to vast expanse.

2. 花萼夾城通御氣, The royal air passed through the closed gallery running from Flower and Leaves Tower;

芙蓉小苑入邊愁。The anxieties on frontier matters enter the small lotus park.

3. 朱簾繡柱圍黃鵠, Beaded curtains and carved columns circled the yellow cranes;

錦纜牙檣起白鷗。Brocade ropes and ivory masts flushed white gulls.

4. 迴首可憐歌舞地, I painfully turn my thoughts back to Qin territory full with songs and dances,

秦中自古帝王州。the seat of emperors since the earliest times.

Couplet 1: Qutang xia 瞿唐峽 [Qutang Gorge], the upper end of the Three Gorges, was three hundred meters east of the capital of Kui Prefecture. Qu jiang 曲江 [River Qu], a resort for outings, was located in Dunhua Fang 敦化坊, closely connected to Furong Yuan 芙蓉園 [the Lotus Park]. Cf. Ye Jiaying 葉嘉瑩, *Qiuxing bashou jishuo* 《秋興八首》集說 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1988), pp.353-4.

Couplet 2: The Flower and Leaves Tower is located in the southwest corner of Xingqing 興慶 Palace. In 738, Emperor Xuanzong ordered to expand the tower and build a closed gallery to reach the lotus park. Cf. Qiu, note 3, 17.1493.

Poem Twenty-five

鷗

The Gull²⁹⁹

1. 江浦寒鷗戲, On the river bank plays a shivering gull;

²⁹⁹ Huang He 黃鶴 dated this poem to the beginning of 766, cf. Qiu, 17.1532. Translation of this poem can be found in David McCraw, 64-5 and Erwin von Zach, 15.573.

無他亦自饒。 without other desires could also be contented.

2. 卻思翻玉羽， But he thinks of spreading his white wings,

隨意點青苗。 and at his ease he darts atop the green grass.

3. 雪暗還須浴， As soon as snow obscures the sun, he will have to return to bathe,

風生一任飄。 and when wind rises, he will be forced to soar.

4. 幾群滄海上， How can he get together with gulls over the blue sea?

清影日蕭蕭。 with clear shapes, they day by day live at ease.

Couplet 4: According to *Du shi xiang zhu, xiaoxiao* 蕭蕭 indicates leisureliness, cf. Qiu, 17.1531.

Poem Twenty-six

灤西寒望

Gazing the West of the Rang River in Coldness³⁰⁰

1. 水色含群動， The clear water reflecting all living things, bobs up and down.

朝光切太虛。 when rays of morning light pierce through the endless azure.

2. 年侵頻悵望， At the end of the year, I always look longingly,

興遠一蕭疏。 to enjoy the withered scenes in the distance.

3. 猿挂時相學， Gibbons are dangling with one and another,

鷗行炯自如。 bright gulls are dancing by themselves freely.

4. 瞿唐春欲至， The spring is coming at the Qutang gorge,

定卜灤西居。 I will move to the west of Xiang river.

³⁰⁰ Huang He 黃鶴 dated this poem to the winter of 766, cf. Qiu, 18.1562-3. Translation of this poem can be found in Erwin von Zach, 15.581-2.

Title: Rang 瀼 refers to the Great Rang River, located in Fengjie 奉節 County. The natives called rivers in the valley running towards the Yangtze River *rang* 瀼, cf. Qian Qianyi, *Qianzhu Du shi* 錢注杜詩 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1979), p.483. Du Fu built a thatched house and bought a garden in which he planted vegetables and fruit trees. This garden is located north to the Baidi Mountain. For more information, cf. Jian Jinsong, *Du Fu Kuizhou shi xiandi yanjiu* 杜甫夔州詩現地研究 (Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, 1999), pp.267-89.

Poem Twenty-seven

覆舟二首 The Sunk Ship³⁰¹

1. 巫峽盤渦曉, At the Wu Gorge, the stream swirls at dawn,
黔陽貢物秋。from Qianyang, the tribute comes in the fall.
2. 丹砂同隕石。Cinnabar sands fell into the water, like the fallen rock,
翠羽共沈舟。emerald feathers have the same fate as the sunken ship.
3. 羈使空斜影, The envoy left only an oblique shadow,
龍居閼積流。in the dragon's palace, locked by a rush of flow.
4. 篙工幸不溺, The sailor, fortunately, not drawn,
俄頃逐輕鷗。after a while, chased nimble gulls.

Poem Twenty-eight

行官張望補稻畦水歸 Traveling Official, Zhang Wang, Returns from His Work of Improving the Irrigation of Rice Fields³⁰²

³⁰¹ Qiu Zhao'ao roughly dated this poem to the years in Kuizhou, cf. Qiu, 18.1592. Translation of this poem can be found in Erwin von Zach, 15.546-7.

³⁰² Huang He 黃鶴 dated this poem to 767, cf. Qiu Zhao'ao, 19.1645. For a translation, cf. Erwin von Zach, 16.605.

1. 公私各地著, Public and private farmers both took care of their fields;
 浸潤無天旱。 by irrigation there is no drought land left.
2. 主守問家臣, The official in charge asks his retainer about irrigation;
 分明見溪畔。 the peasants are clearly seen at the creek bank.
3. 芊芊炯翠羽, The lush rice sprouts glow like emerald feathers,
 剡剡生銀漢。 their sharp tips shine, as if they grew in the milky way.
4. 鷗鳥鏡裏來, Reflected in the water, shadows of gulls come by,
 關山雪邊看。 fortresses and mountains are seen by the snow crystal water.

Poem Twenty-nine

季秋蘇五弟纓江樓夜宴崔十三評事韋少府姪三首

In the Third Autumn Month My Younger Cousin Su Ying, Fifth of His Clan, Hosts a Night Banquet for Judge Tsui, Thirteenth of His Clan and Vice Prefect Wei, My Nephew, on the Tower on the River Bank, Three Poems³⁰³

1. 對月那無酒, Facing the moon, how could one stand the lack of wine?
 登樓況有江。 especially when we ascend the tower along the river.
2. 聽歌驚白鬢, With white hair on my temples, songs surprise my ears;
 笑舞拓秋窗。 I smile on the dance, and push open the autumn windows.
3. 尊蟻添相續, Filling my cup with the foam wine over and over;
 沙鷗並一雙。 Sand gulls stand by in pairs.
4. 盡憐君醉倒, Deeply sympathizing with your drunken stupor,

³⁰³ This poem is dated to 767, cf. Qiu Zhao'ao, 20.1776. I translate the second poem in this series, and for a previous translation, cf. Ervin von Zach, 17.640.

更覺片心降。in my small heart I feel more pleasure.

Title: Su Ying 蘇纓 was one of Du Fu's maternal cousins, and he was the fifth child in his family, cf. *Du Fu qinjuan jiaoyou xingnian kao* 杜甫親眷交游行年考 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2006), p.40. Cui Shisan Pingshi 崔十三評事 refers to Cui Gongfu 崔公輔, a grandson of one of Du Fu's maternal uncles, *ibid*, 42-3. Vise Prefect Wei, the first child in his family, was a paternal nephew of Du Fu. *ibid*, 38.

Poem Thirty

悶 In Low Spirits³⁰⁴

1. 瘴癘浮三蜀, Toxic Miasma circulates in the three Shu,
風雲暗百蠻。and wind-whipped clouds darken the region of a hundred barbarians.
2. 卷簾唯白水, Rolling up the curtains, only the white water comes to my sight;
隱几亦青山。Leaning back on my stool, the green mountains also stand out.
3. 猿捷長難見, Gibbons are swift, often out of my sight;
鷗輕故不還。gulls nimbly slide, surely do not come back.
4. 無錢從滯客, No money is carried by me, a remaining traveler,
有鏡巧催顏。but there happens to be a mirror to remind me of my aging.

Couplet 2: The phrase, *Yi ji* 隱几, came from “Qi wu lun 齊物論” in *Zhuang Zi* 莊子, “Zi Ji from the southern city sit on the bench, looking up, and signed. 南郭子綦隱几而坐, 仰天而噓” Cheng Xuanying annotated that, “Zi Ji sits on the bench to meditate. He concentrated on thinking far.

³⁰⁴ This poem is dated to 767, cf. Qiu Zhao'ao, 20.1790. For a translation, cf. Ervin von Zach, 15.569-70.

Poem Thirty-one

朝二首 Morning, Two Poems³⁰⁵

1. 浦帆晨初發, On the river, the sails begin to take off in the morning;
郊扉冷未開。 in the cold countryside, hut doors do not open yet.
2. 林疏黃葉墜, The woods sparse, with yellow leaves falling off,
野靜白鷗來。 to this quiet wilderness, white gulls fly.
3. 礎潤休全溼, The moistened stones are only partially wet,
雲晴欲半迴。 clouds start to withdraw in the cleared sky.
4. 巫山冬可怪, The winter in the Wu mountain truly surprises me:
昨夜有奔雷。 peal of thunder rolled yesterday night.

Poem Thirty-two and Poem Thirty-three

雨四首 Rain, Four Poems³⁰⁶

1. 江雨舊無時, The rain falling in the river always comes randomly,
天晴忽散絲。 from a clear sky spreading strands.
2. 暮秋霑物冷, The late fall moistens things chilly,
今日過雲遲。 today's sun is detained by passing clouds.

³⁰⁵ Cai Mengbi 蔡夢弼 dated this poem to 767, cf. Qiu Zhao'ao, 20.1791-2. I translate the second poem in this series, for a previous translation, cf. Erwin von Zach, 15.570-1.

³⁰⁶ Huang He 黃鶴 dated these four poems of rain to 767 while Du Fu was staying in Xiangxi, cf. Qiu Zhao'ao, 20.1798-1800. I translate the second and fourth poems featuring gull imagery in this series, also see David McCraw, 145 and Erwin von Zach's translation, 17.661-2.

3. 上馬回休出, Having mount my horse, I returned and did not go out;

看鷗坐不移。Watching gulls, I sit steadily.

4. 高軒當灩澦, My high window facing the Yanyu Rock,

潤色靜書帷。the moistened view quiets my study drapes.

Couplet 4: The Yanyu 灩澦 Rock was located in a river, about one hundred feet southwest to the Baidi Mountain. The rock is about 330 feet high, 130 feet long and thirty to eighty feet wide. For more information, cf. Jian Jinsong, *Du Fu Kuizhou shi xiandi yanjiu* 杜甫夔州詩現地研究 (Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, 1999), pp.206-8.

1. 楚雨石苔滋, Under Chu rains the lichen grows on stones,

京華消息遲。from the capital the news is late.

2. 山寒青兕叫, Black rhinos bellow on the cold mountain,

江晚白鷗飢。on the river, white gulls cry with hunger at dawn.

3. 神女花鈿落, The Goddess' floral hairpin falls,

蛟人織杼悲。in a gloom of the mermaid operating her looms.

4. 繁憂不自整, My heart is torn apart, worried and weighed down,

終日灑如絲。looking at strands strewn all day long.

Poem Thirty-four

白帝城樓

The Tower on the Walls of the City of White Lord³⁰⁷

1. 江度寒山閣, The river flows under the belvedere stretching along the cold mountain,

³⁰⁷ Huang He 黃鶴 dated this poem to the end of the second year of Dali reign, the beginning of the year of 768, cf. Qiu Zhao'ao, 21.1840. For a translation, cf. David R. McCraw, 145; Erwin von Zach, 17.679-80.

城高絕塞樓。the guard tower rises highly on the wall of the border fortress.

2. 翠屏宜晚對, Emerald slopes have a beautiful view in the sunset,

白谷會深遊。the white valley invites us to go on a long outing.

3. 急急能鳴雁, In sharp and intense voices, wild geese sing;

輕輕不下鷗。Nimbly sliding, gulls do not quit dancing.

4. 夷陵春色起, When the spring colors appear in Yiling,

漸擬放扁舟。I start to think about setting my skiff free.

Title: Baidi 白帝 City was built by the order of Gongsun Shu 公孫述 (?-36 A.D.). Gongsun Shu, style Ziyang, was a native of Maoling 茂陵, modern Xingping 興平 County in Shanxi 陝西 Province. Gongsun Shu was the governor of Shu Prefecture during Wang Mang's 王莽 reign (8 A.D.-23 A.D.). In 25 A.D., Gongsun Shu rebelled to enthrone himself as the Emperor, making Chengdu his capital, and resisting the Han armies by building a city in Fengjie 奉節. Because Gongsun Shu preferred the white color for his clothes, historians called Fengjie the City of White Lord. For more information, cf. Jiang Xianwei 蔣先偉, "Du Fu yu Baidi cheng 杜甫與白帝城," in *Du Fu Kuizhou shi lungao* 杜甫夔州詩論稿 (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 2002), pp.48-59.

Poem Thirty-five

大曆三年春白帝城放船出瞿塘峽久居夔府將適江陵漂泊有詩凡四十韻

Forty-Rhymes Composed in the Spring of the Third Year of Dali Reign When I Loosen My Boat to Go out via Qutang Gorge after a Long Time Living in Kuizhou Soon to Travel to Jiangling³⁰⁸

³⁰⁸ See this poem in Qiu Zhao'ao, 21.1866-74. For translation of this poem, cf. Erwin von Zach, 18.693-6. Having been made clear in the title, this poem was written in 768 when Du Fu was about to travel to the area of Jiangling 江陵. Huang He 黃鶴 misunderstood that it was written when the poet arrived at Yidu, since it was the farthest east place Du Fu mentioned in the poem. However, a close reading of that couplet reveals that it is only the poet's anticipation of thinking of arriving in Yidu some time later. For Huang He 黃鶴's discussion, cf. Qiu Zhao'ao, 21.1866.

1. 老向巴人裏, Staying in the area of the Ba people for a long time,
今辭楚塞隅。 now I bid farewell to the corner of the Chu region.
2. 入舟翻不樂, I do not feel joy once I get on the boat,
解纜獨長吁。 and loosing the cable, I still cannot stop sighing.
3. 窄轉深啼狖, The boat crawls along the twisting narrow river as the sound of gibbons' calls
bound from the cliff,
虛隨亂浴鳧。 it follows the stream, startling the bathing ducks.
4. 石苔凌几杖, The fungus on the cliff approaches my cane;
空翠撲肌膚。 the chilly mountain breeze blows on my skin.
5. 疊壁排霜劍, Layers of cliff, like frozen swords, are arranged one after another;
奔泉濺水珠。 the falling spring sprinkles drops of water.
6. 杳冥藤上下, Dark vines crawl across the cliff;
濃澹樹榮枯。 some trees are darkly withered, some brightly lush.
7. 神女峰娟妙, The summit of this Goddess is graceful,
昭君宅有無。 and is there the residence of Zhaojun?
8. 曲留明怨惜, Resentment and regret are clear in the remaining music of Zhaojun;
夢盡失歡娛。 joy and delight within the Goddess dream vanish upon waking.
9. 擺闔盤渦沸, In the boiling whirlpools the boat sways;
鼓斜激浪輪。 in rapid waves it lurches left and right.
10. 風雷纏地脈, The churning stream roars like thunder, winds howl over the land;
冰雪耀天衢。 icy-white waves light up the sky.

11. 鹿角真走險，Traveling along the antler beach presents real dangers;

狼頭如跋胡。in the wolf-head beach I was caught in a dilemma.

12. 惡灘寧變色，How can my face turn pale traveling through these dangerous shoals?

高臥負微軀。but when I lie down highly on the water, I fear the demise of my small body.

13. 書史全傾撓，My letters and history books scattered all around;

裝囊半壓濡。my luggage was partially wetted.

14. 生涯臨臬兀，My life was put in a violent lurch,

死地脫斯須。but in a while I was out of the deathtrap.

15. 不有平川決，Without the wide expanse of flat land flowing forth,

焉知眾壑趨。how could I know the fleeting view of valleys?

16. 乾坤霾漲海，The whole world seems to be buried in the rising sea water;

雨露洗春蕪。raining dew washes off the spring weeds.

17. 鷗鳥牽絲颺，The rain blew with the wind as if dragged by gliding gulls;

驪龍濯錦紆。waves move, like a black dragon bathing in colorful bends.

18. 落霞沈綠綺，The sunset glow sinks in the greenish river;

殘月壞金樞。the crescent moon falls in the sky.

19. 泥筍苞初荻，Mud like bamboo roots wraps up young wormwoods;

沙茸出小蒲。soft sands leak from small weeds.

20. 雁兒爭水馬，Geese labor to eat shrimps;

燕子逐檣烏。swallows chase the birds painted on ships' masts.

21. 絕島容煙霧，Mist and clouds blanket the lonely island;

- 環洲納曉晡。 the sun and moon circle the round islet.
22. 前聞辨陶牧, I heard before that Jiangling was nearby,
轉眄拂宜都。 and in a short while I will arrive at Yidu.
23. 縣郭南畿好, Passing the Songzi city walls, I can see the beautiful southern capital,
津亭北望孤。 and I gaze lonely to the north past the Jin pavilion.
24. 勞心依憩息, Just as my exhausted heart has a moment of rest,
朗詠劃昭蘇。 I chant in a bold voice, and suddenly feel clear-minded.
25. 意遣樂還笑, Happily smiling, I distract my mind from worries,
衰迷賢與愚。 and hide myself in the world of worthiness and follies.
26. 飄蕭將素髮, With my white hair tossing in the wind,
汨沒聽洪鑪。 I listen to the overwhelming bell-sounding of waves.
27. 丘壑曾忘返, I never forget the road back, even in days on hills and valleys;
文章敢自誣。 dare I accuse myself falsely in my writings?
28. 此生遭聖代, I was born in a grand era in this life,
誰分哭窮途。 who could foresee my crying for a poor end?
29. 臥疾淹為客, Being sick in bed, I remain a traveler;
蒙恩早廁儒。 Receiving favors, early in my life I was a Confucian scholar.
30. 廷爭酬造化, Standing up righteously, I did not let the heavenly morality down;
樸直乞江湖。 simple and straightforward, I continue begging in the rivers and lakes.
31. 灩澦險相迫, Although the danger in Yanyu shoal is ever-present,
滄浪深可逾。 the deepness of dark blue waves can be overcome.

32. 浮名尋已已, Superficial fame has waned,
 懶計卻區區。 and thus idling myself, I am comforted.
33. 喜近天皇寺, I am happy to be close to the Tianhuang temple,
 先披古畫圖。 and appreciate the portraits of the previous sages.
34. 應經帝子渚, Passing by the islet in which the Sovereign Yao's daughters were born,
 同泣舜蒼梧。 I weep with them in the place of the Sovereign Shun's demise.
35. 朝士兼戎服, Officials also wear military uniform;
 君王按湛盧。 the Sovereign holds the Zhanlu sword.
36. 旄頭初倏擾, The Maotou star begins disturbing the sky;
 鶉首麗泥塗。 the central court is caught in chaos.
37. 甲卒身雖貴, Although soldiers have high status,
 書生道固殊。 the scholars' way is indeed excellent.
38. 出塵皆野鶴, Each is as extraordinary as wild cranes,
 歷塊匪轅駒。 and those who pass the capital quickly are not useless ponies.
39. 伊呂終難降, Yi Yin and Lu Shang are difficult to find anymore,
 韓彭不易呼。 and thus it is not easy to summon generals like Han Xin and Peng Yue.
40. 五雲高太甲, The man under clouds of five colors surpasses the sovereign;
 六月曠搏扶。 the auspicious omen of the sixth month was wasted, with the extravagant shadows of the sun.
41. 回首黎元病, Turning my head back, I saw people in hardship;
 爭權將帥誅。 but hungry for power, generals and commanders attack each other.

42. 山林托疲茶, I lay down my tired body in the mountains and woods;

未必免崎嶇。even like this it probably cannot avoid troubles.

Couplet 7: Shennu feng 神女峰 [the summit of Goddess] was one of the peaks on the Wu 巫 Mountain, which is located north of the Wu Gorge in the Yangtze River.

Zhaojun zhai 昭君宅 [the residence of Zhaojun] was built in Gui 歸 Prefecture in Badong 巴東, which was located in the west part of modern Hubei 湖北 Province, cf. note 6, Qiu, 21.1867.

Couplet 22: Tao mu 陶牧 indicates that the poet traveled close to the Tao 陶 County by vaguely seeing the city wall, cf. note 12, Qiu, 21.1870. Yidu 宜都 was located approximately seventy-five miles west of Jiangling 江陵, cf. note 13, Qiu, 21.1870.

Couplet 23: Nanji 南畿 refers to Jiangling 江陵, because Emperor Suzong made it his southern capital, cf. note 14, Qiu, 21.1870.

Couplet 33: Tianhuang si 天皇寺 [Tianhuang Temple] was built on the orders of Emperor Ming 明 of Liang 梁 dynasty (r.562-585). Zhang Sengyao 張僧繇 painted ten portraits of previous sages, including Confucius and stored them in this temple. Cf. note 1, Qiu, 21.1871.

Couplet 34: Dizi 帝子 refers to E Huang 娥皇 and Nu Ying 女英, the two daughters of the Sovereign Yao 堯, who both later married their father's successor, the Sovereign Shun 舜.

Couplet 35: Zhanlu 湛盧 was one of the five finest swords Ouye Zi 歐冶子 forged for Yunchang 允常, the King of Yue 越.

Couplet 36: Maotou 旄頭, see my note for Couplet 9 in Poem Four. Chunshou 鶉首 constellation covers the Fengxiang 鳳翔 area, which is located about a hundred miles west of Chang'an. In this line it is used to refer to the central court.

Couplet 39: Yi Lu 伊呂 refer to Yi Yin 伊尹 (ca. 1630 B.C.-ca.1550 B.C.) and Lu Shang 呂尚 (1156 B.C.-1017 B.C.). The former lived through the end of Xia 夏 dynasty and the beginning of the Shang 商 dynasty. He was the teacher and chief minister of Tang 湯, the first emperor of the Shang dynasty, also renowned for his mastery of medication and cooking. Lu Shang 呂尚 was Jiang Ziya 姜子牙, who assisted Emperor Wen 文 and Emperor Wu 武 of Zhou 周 to defeat Emperor Zhou 紂 and replaced the Shang 商 dynasty.

Han Peng 韓彭 refers to Han Xin 韓信 (231 B.C.-196 B.C.) and Peng Yue 彭越 (?-196 B.C.), who helped Liu Bang to establish the Han dynasty, but both later rebelled against him.

Couplet 40: Cao Mufan 曹慕樊 (1912-1993) thinks these two lines correspond to the two in couplet thirty-nine. He agrees with Zhu Heling's 朱鶴齡 interpretation of the first line, which says that a worthy man secluded himself when clouds of five colors floating in the sky did not bring rains. Emperor Suzong once attempted to appoint Li Tan 李倓 (?-?), his third son, instead of the heir, Li Chu 李俶 (726-779), to the position of Chief Military Commander, but did not succeed because of Li Bi's 李泌 (722-789) opposition. This resulted in Li Tan's seclusion after his brother, Emperor Daizong's accession. Since Li Bi protected the heir who was eventually enthroned, he could be compared to Yi Yin 伊尹 who served and educated Taijia 太甲, the fourth Shang dynasty sovereign. Cao Mufan then concludes that Wuyun 五雲 refers to Li Tan who fled to live in seclusion after his elder brother, Emperor Daizong's accession, and Taijia alludes to Li Chu 李俶, Emperor Daizong who received protection from a loyal subject, like Taijia did. Cf. Cao Mufan, *Dushi zashuo quanbian* 杜詩雜說全編 (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2009), pp.256-7.

Poem Thirty-six

行次古城店泛江作不揆鄙拙奉呈江陵幕府諸公

Coming to Guchengdian on My Trip, Floating on the River, Without Much Consideration of My Clumsiness, I Present My Verses to My Hosts, Officials in the General Command of Jiangling's Government³⁰⁹

1. 老年常道路, In spite of my age, always on the road,
遲日復山川。 on this spring day, I returned to the mountains and rivers.
2. 白屋花開裏, White houses stand behind a wealth of bloom,
孤城麥秀邊。 the lonely town is built by a wheat field.
3. 濟江元自闊, Crossing the river with an exceedingly wide span,
下水不勞牽。 my skiff does not need further tow in the water.
4. 風蝶動依槳, Butterflies in the wind are waving around oars;
春鷗懶避船。 spring gulls are too lazy to avoid the boat.
5. 王門高德業, The prince's gate has a high standard of morality,
幕府盛才賢。 his government is bound with worthy talents.
6. 行色兼多病, I am not only on a trip, but also feeble,
蒼茫泛愛前。 and in this sky cloud expanse, I hope you can extend a helping hand.

Title: Jiangling mufu 江陵幕府 [The General Command of Jiangling's Government] was governed by Wei Boyu 衛伯玉, who was appointed the Military Commissioner of Jiangling. He was enfeoffed to become the Prince of Yangcheng 陽城 in the previous year, therefore, in this poem Du Fu addressed his government as “wang men 王門 [the prince's gate].” For more information on Wei Boyu, cf. *Du Fu qinjuan jiaoyou xingnian kao* 杜甫親眷交游行年考 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2006), pp. 213-4.

³⁰⁹ This poem is dated to the spring of 768, cf. Qiu Zhao'ao, 21.1875-6. For a translation, cf. Erwin von Zach, 18.698-9.

Poem Thirty-seven

泊松滋江亭

Anchoring My Skiff by the River Pavilion of Songzi County³¹⁰

1. 沙帽隨鷗鳥，With my official cap on, following gulls,
扁舟繫此亭。I tie my skiff by this pavilion.
2. 江湖更深白，River and lake, deeper and whiter,
松竹遠微青。pines and cypresses, in the distance a faint blue.
3. 一柱全應近，Close to the Taoist Temple, *Yizhu guan*,
高唐莫再經。I will never return to Gaotang temple again.
4. 今宵南極外，Tonight beyond the far south pole,
甘作老人星。I'd like to be the old-folk star.

Title: Songzi 松滋 was one of the counties of Jiangling 江陵 government, located about forty miles west of the capital of Jiangling, cf. Tan Qixiang, 5: 52-3.

Couplet 3: *Yizhu* 一柱 was a Taoist temple located in Songzi county, cf. note 1, Qiu, 21.1876.

Couplet 4: The old-folk star was called *nanji laoren* 南極老人. According to “Tianguan shu 天官書 [The Astrologist’s Writings]” in *Shiji* 史記, when this star appeared in the sky, it brought peace to the world; when it could not be seen, military turmoil often occurred, cf. note 2, *ibid*.

Poem Thirty-eight

冬晚送長孫漸舍人歸州

Farewell to Zhangsun Jian, Who Returned to the Prefecture at the End of the Winter³¹¹

³¹⁰ This poem is dated to 768, cf. Qiu Zhao’ao, 21.1874-5. For a translation, cf. Erwin von Zach, 18.698.

³¹¹ Liang Quandao 梁權道 in his *Du Gongbu nianpu* 杜工部年譜 dated this poem to 769, cf. Qiu, 23.2033-4. For a translation, see Erwin von Zach, 19.740.

1. 參卿休坐幄, A military counselor having quit his position;
蕩子不還鄉。 a traveler cannot return to his hometown
2. 南客瀟湘外, While I live beyond the Xiao and Xiang Rivers,
西戎鄠杜旁。 the western barbarians invaded the capital area.
3. 衰年傾蓋晚, In my decrepit years, I finally made acquaintance with you,
費日繫舟長。 as long as it can, I want to keep your boat here.
4. 會面思來札, Having not departed, I already think about your coming letters,
銷魂逐去檣。 as if my grieving soul had gone with the leaving mast.
5. 雲晴鷗更舞, Under cleared azure, more gulls move to dance.
風逆雁無行。 with wind blowing against, no goose can advance.
6. 匣裏雌雄劍, In this box, a pair of sharp swords,
吹毛任選將。 you can test and choose any of them to possess.

Title: No more information on Zhangsun Jian 長孫漸 is available except for the title of this poem,
cf. *Du Fu qinjuan jiaoyou xingnian kao* 杜甫親眷交游行年考 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2006), p.110.

Couplet 2: Xirong 西戎 [western barbarians] refers to Tubo 吐蕃, whose troops invaded the territory close to Chang'an and had a few battles with the Tang army from 768 to 769, cf. Chen Yixin 陳貽焮, *Du Fu pingzhuan* 杜甫評傳 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2003), p. 1059 and p.1102.

Hu Du 鄠杜 is a synecdoche, which refers to the capital area. Hu and Du respectively refer to Hu county and Duling 杜陵 county, both of which were close to Chang'an.

Poem Thirty-nine

小寒食舟中作

Written in the Boat on the Second Day of the Cold Food Festival³¹²

1. 佳辰強飲食猶寒, On this fine morning, I force myself to sip wine, food still cold,
隱几蕭條帶鶻冠。lean on the stool, desolate, wearing a hermit's cap.
2. 春水船如天上坐, Over the rising water in spring I sail as if in the sky;
老年花似霧中看。to my aged eyes flowers appear as though in a fog.
3. 娟娟戲蝶過閒幔, Graceful and free sporting butterflies flutter between parted curtains;
片片輕鷗下急湍。Strips of feathers, light gulls descend the rapid torrent.
4. 雲白山青萬餘里, Through white clouds and green mountains, thousands of miles,
愁看直北是長安。I direct my worried gaze to the north, and there's Ch'ang an.

Couplet 1: *Yin ji* 隱几, see Poem Thirty, “Men 悶 [In Low Spirits].”

He guan 鶻冠: Zhao Cigong noted that it is the hermit's cap, but Qiu Zhao'ao did not give further information on this special term. Heguan Zi 鶻冠子 was a hermit living in the State of Chu 楚 at the end of Warring States period. He wore a peasant cap, and therefore was named after it. His thoughts were compiled into a Taoist literature, *Heguan Zi* 鶻冠子, which was recorded in the “Yiwen zhi 藝文志” in *Han shu* 漢書.

Couplet 3: *Juanjuan* 娟娟: Bao Zhao 鮑照 (414-466) had a verse, “Appreciating the Moon under the West City Gate 翫月城西门廨中.” It reads,

始出西南樓, At first it comes out from the Southwest tower,

³¹² This poem is dated to 770, cf. Qiu Zhao'ao, 21.1874-5. For a translation, cf. Erwin von Zach, 20.794-5.

纤纤如玉钩。 as slim as a jade hook.

未映东北墀， At last it sheds light on the Northeast steps,

娟娟似娥眉。 as light and curved as a beautiful eyebrow.

Appendix II: A Chronology of Du Fu from 758 to 770

759, the 2nd year of the Qianyuan 乾元 reign of Emperor Suzong 肅宗, Du Fu 48 Years Old

Month	Historical Events	Literary Events
1 st month	Shi Siming established himself as King of Yan 燕.	In the spring, Du Fu returned Huazhou from Luoyang. During his journey, he composed “Xin’an li 新安吏,” “Shihao li 石壕吏,” “Tongguan li 潼關吏,” “Xinhun bie 新婚別,” “Chuilao bie 垂老別” and “Wujia bie 無家別.”
2 nd month		
3 rd month		
4 th month	Shi Siming enthroned himself as the Emperor of Yan and changed Fanyang 范陽 to Yanjing 燕京. He named his reign as Shuntian 順天.	
5 th month		In the seventh month, due to the famine and his discontent with political situation, he left his position for Qinzhou 秦州. After two months, he left again for Tonggu 同谷. In the winter Du Fu managed to enter Sichuan and arrived in Chengdu 成都. During his travel, he composed “Ji Yuezhou Jia Sima Liuzhang Bazhou Yan Ba Shijun liang gelao wushi yun 寄岳州賈司馬六丈巴州嚴八使君兩閣老五十韻” and “Shigui Ge 石櫃閣.”
6 th month	Shuofang 朔方 was divided into nine military territories.	
7 th month		
8 th month		
9 th month	Shi Siming subdued Luoyang and Li Guangbi retreated to Heyang 河陽.	Xiao Yingshi 蕭穎士 (708-762), one of the pioneers of literary composition movement expired.
10 th month	Li Guangbi defeated Shi Siming beneath Heyang.	
11 th month		
12 th month	Shi Siming attacked the Shan 陝 Prefecture and was defeated.	Li Bai was released from his exile to Yelang. He then traveled to Hunan. Yuan Jie was summoned to Chang’an. Submitting his “Shiyi 時議” to discuss the current military situation, he was appointed as Consultant to the Military Commissioner of the Eastern Shannan Circuit, and later became the Prefect of Daozhou 道州.

**760, the 3rd year of the Qianyuan 乾元 reign, the 1st year of the Shangyuan 上元 reign of
Emperor Suzong 肅宗, Du Fu 49 Years Old**

Month	Historical Events	Literary Events
1 st month		<p>Du Fu built his thatched hut in the western suburb of Chengdu. He composed “Tang cheng 堂成”, “Bu ju 卜居”, “Shu Xiang 屬相”, “Jiang cun 江村”, “Keshi 客至,” “Jiang zhang 江漲” and “Yunshan 雲山”. He went to Shuzhou 屬州 and met Gao Shi and composed “Feng jian Gao sanshiwu shijun 奉簡高三十五使君.”</p> <p>Gao Shi transferred from Prefect of Pengzhou 彭州 to Prefect of Shuzhou. He suggested the government combine the eastern and western Sichuan.</p> <p>Yan Zhenqing 顏真卿 was appointed Vice President of the Department of Punishment.</p> <p>In the fourth month, Yuan Jie 元結 was further promoted because of his military merit. He was assigned to assist Lu Yan 呂煙 in resisting rebels.</p> <p>Yuan Jie compiled <i>Qie zhong ji</i> 篋中集, consisting of a total of twenty-four ancient style poems written by seven poets.</p>
2 nd month	Li Guangbi defeated Shi Siming on the bank of the Qin 沁 River.	
3 rd month	The government granted the Pu Prefecture the same metropolitan status as Henan, directly under the central court's administration.	
4 th month	The name of the reign was changed to Shangyuan 上元.	
5 th month		
6 th month		
7 th month		
8 th month		
9 th month		
10 th month		
11 th month		
12 th month	Tibetan troops subdued the Kuo 廓 Prefecture.	

761, the 2nd year of the Shangyuan 上元 reign of Emperor Suzong 肅宗, Du Fu 50 Years Old

Month	Historical Events	Literary Events
1 st month	Shi Siming changed the name of the reign to Yingtian 應天	<p>Gao Shi served as Prefect of Shuzhou.</p> <p>Du Fu lived in Chengdu. He composed “Chun ye xi yu 春夜喜雨”, “Jiangpan dubu xun hua 江畔獨步尋花”, “Maohu wei qiufeng suopo ge 茅屋為秋風所破歌”. Yan Wu recommended Du Fu the positions of Consultant to the Military Commissioner and Councilor of Ministry of Works.</p> <p>Wang Wei passed away.</p>
2 nd month		
3 rd month	Shi Chaoyi 史朝義 murdered Shi Siming and ascended to the throne.	
4 th month		
5 th month		
6 th month		
7 th month		
8 th month		
9 th month	A famine occurred in Jianghuai 江淮.	
10 th month		
11 th month		
12 th month		

762, the 3rd year of the Shangyuan 上元 reign of Emperor Suzong 肅宗, the 1st year of the Baoying 寶應 reign of Emperor Daizong 代宗 (727-779), Du Fu 51 Years Old

Month	Historical Events	Literary Events
1 st month		Du Fu traveled back and forth between Zizhou 梓州 and Langzhou 閬州. He composed “Ti Xuanwu chanshi bi 題玄武禪師屋壁” and “Qianyi ershou 遣意二首.”
2 nd month		
3 rd month		
4 th month	<p>Emperor Xuanzong expired.</p> <p>Emperor Suzong expired. The powerful eunuch, Li Fuguo 李甫國 killed Empress Zhang and enthroned the heir apparent.</p> <p>The new reign was named Baoying 寶應.</p>	Li Bai passed away.
5 th month		
6 th month	Emperor Daizong dismissed Li Fuguo and replaced him with another eunuch, Cheng Yuanzhen 程元振.	
7 th month	<p>Yan Wu was summoned back to the capital to take charge of building the two emperors’ tombs. He was appointed as Vice President of Chancellery.</p> <p>Xu Zhidao 徐知道, the Commissioner of the Soldiers and Stables of Western Sichuan, rebelled against Yan Wu. Gao Shi sent troops to attack Xu Zhidao.</p>	
8 th month	Xu Zhidao was killed.	
9 th month		
10 th month		
11 th month		
12 th month		

763, the 2nd year of the Baoying 寶應 reign, 1st year of the Guangde 廣德 reign of Emperor Daizong 代宗, Du Fu 52 Years Old

Month	Historical Events	Literary Events
1 st month	Shi Chaoyi was killed by his subordinate. The An Lushan rebellion ended. The royal armies reoccupied Henan and Hebei areas.	<p>Du Fu, in Zizhou, composed “Wen guanjun shou Henan Hebei 聞官軍收河南河北”, “Xi yu 喜雨,” “Yi zhang 倚杖,” “Yi zhang 倚杖,” “Baxi yiting guan jiangzhang cheng Dou Shiwu 巴西驛亭觀江漲呈竇十五使君二首.”</p> <p>Hearing Tibetan’s invasion, Du Fu composed “Sui mu 夕暮.”</p>
2 nd month		
3 rd month		
4 th month		
5 th month		
6 th month	Tian Chengsi 田承嗣 was appointed as Military Commissioner of Weibo 魏博.	
7 th month	Emperor Daizong changed the name of the reign to Guangde. He issued an edict limiting the length of time prefects could hold office to three years, and magistrates to four years.	
8 th month		
9 th month		
10 th month	Tibetan troops attacked the metropolitan area and Emperor Daizong fled.	
11 th month	Cheng Yuanzhen was removed from his official position and released to retirement.	
12 th month	Tibetan troops were pushed back by Guo Ziyi’s army and Emperor Daizong returned to Chang’an. Fang Guan passed away.	

764, the 2nd year of the Guangde 廣德 reign of Emperor Daizong 代宗, Du Fu 53 Years Old

Month	Historical Events	Literary Events
1 st month	Emperor Daizong appointed Li Shi 李适 as heir apparent. The emperor also combined eastern Sichuan and western Sichuan. Yan Wu was appointed to be the military governor of Jiannan. Gao Shi left his position as the Military Commissioner of the Western Sichuan and returned to Chang'an.	At Yan Wu's invitation Du Fu returned to Chengdu from his travels between Zizhou and Langzhou in the early spring, and composed "Chun gui 春歸" and "Guo gu Husi jiaoshu zhuang ershou 過故斛斯校書莊二首." Yan Wu recommended Du Fu to a non-active capital post on his military staff, Assistant Secretary of the Department of Works 工部員外郎. He served in Yan Wu's government as a consultant, but left his job after six months.
2 nd month		Zheng Qian passed away in Taizhou 臺州. Su Yuanming 蘇源明 passed away.
3 rd month		
4 th month		
5 th month		
6 th month		
7 th month		
8 th month		
9 th month	Yan Wu occupied nine cities in Tibet.	
10 th month	Yan Wu subdued Yanchuan 鹽川 in Tibet.	
11 th month		
12 th month		

765, the 1st year of the Yongtai 永泰 reign of Emperor Daizong 代宗, Du Fu 54 Years Old

Month	Historical Events	Literary Events
1 st month	Emperor Daizong changed the name of his reign to Yongtai. Yan Wu was granted an additional title, the President of the Official Department.	Cen Shen was appointed Prefect of Jia Prefecture 嘉州. He was blocked by the turmoil in Sichuan and could not reach Jiazhou.
2 nd month		Du Fu composed “Zhengyue sanri gui xishang you zuo jianyuan nei zhugong 正月三日歸溪上有作簡院內諸公,” “Chang yin 長吟” and “Chun ri jiangcun wushou 春日江村五首” in Chengdu.
3 rd month	Tibet sought appeasement with the Tang court.	
4 th month	Yan Wu expired in Chengdu, 40 years old.	Later this year Du Fu left Chengdu after Yan Wu’s death. In the winter he arrived in Yun’an 雲安 and stayed there because of his illness. Du Fu composed “Qu Shu 去蜀” when he decided to set sail down the Yangtze River, and a later well-known piece “Luye shuhuai 旅夜抒懷” during his journey.
5 th month	Guo Yingyi 郭英乂 replaced Yan Wu as the Military Commissioner of Jiannan.	
6 th month		
7 th month		
8 th month	Pugu Huai’en 僕固懷恩 led Tibetan and Uighur troops in harassing the Tang borders.	Gao Shi passed away in his 60 years old. He is famous for his frontier poetry.
9 th month	Tibetan and Uighur troops robbed the metropolitan area.	
10 th month		
10 th Intercalary month	Guo Yingyi was murdered by Cui Gan 崔旰, and Sichuan fell into turmoil.	
11 th month		
12 th month		

**766, the 2nd year of the Yongtai 永泰 reign, the 1st Year of the Dali 大歷 reign of Emperor
Daizong 代宗, Du Fu 55 Years Old**

Month	Historical Events	Literary Events
1 st month		<p>Cen Shen returned to Chang'an from his journey to Jiazhou.</p> <p>Du Fu stayed in Yun'an until the spring. He reached Kuizhou 夔州 in the fall and stayed there for almost two years. He composed “Chuanxia Kuizhou guosu yushi bude shang'an bie Wang Shier panguan 船下夔州郭宿雨溼不得上岸別王十二判官,” “ Ji Wei Youxia langzhong 寄韋有夏郎中” on his journey from Yun'an to Kuizhou, and wrote “ 夔州歌十絕句,” “Qiu xing 秋興,” “Ou 鷗,” “Xiang'xi hanwang 瀼西寒望” in Kuizhou.</p>
2 nd month	Du Hongjian 杜鴻漸 was appointed to be the chief commander in charge of pacifying the turmoil in Sichuan resulting from Cui Gan's rebellion.	
3 rd month		
4 th month		
5 th month		
6 th month		
7 th month		
8 th month	Du Hongjian negotiated with Cui Gan and appointed him to be the Governor of Chengdu.	
9 th month		
10 th month		
11 th month	Emperor Daizong changed the name of his reign to Dali.	
12 th month		

767, the 2nd Year of the Dali 大歷 reign of Emperor Daizong 代宗, Du Fu 56 Years Old

Month	Historical Events	Literary Events
1 st month	Yuan Jie went to Changsha 長沙 because of military affairs. Cen Shen stayed in Du Hongjian's government in Chengdu.	Du Fu stayed in Kuizhou. He bought forty acres of fields in the suburb of Kuizhou city. There he lived secluded in his farm, and composed “Xingguan Zhang Wang bu daoqi shui gui 行官張望補稻畦水歸,” “Jiqiu Su Wudi Ying jianglou yeyan Cui Shisan pingzhangshi Wei shaofu zhi 季秋蘇五弟纓江樓夜宴崔十三評事韋少府姪三首,” “Men 悶,” “Zhao ershou 朝二首” and “Yu sishou 雨四首.”
2 nd month		
3 rd month		
4 th month		
5 th month		
6 th month	Du Hongjian reported that Cui Gan was capable of being the military governor. Cen Shen left for Jiazhou.	
7 th month	Cui Gan was appointed Military Inspector of Western Sichuan, and Du Ji was appointed Military Inspector of Eastern Sichuan.	
8 th month		
9 th month		
10 th month		
11 th month		
12 th month		

768, the 3rd Year of the Dali 大歷 reign of Emperor Daizong 代宗, Du Fu 57 Years Old

Month	Historical Events	Literary Events
1 st month	Cui Gan (bestowed a given name, Ning) attended the court. Taking this opportunity, Yang Zilin 楊子琳, Prefect of Luzhou 瀘州, occupied Chengdu.	In the first month Du Fu left Kuizhou to travel down to the Yangtze River. He reached Jiangling 江陵 in the third month. In the fall, Du Fu passed through Gong'an 公安, and in the winter he arrived in Yuezhou 岳州.
2 nd month		
3 rd month		During his journey, Du Fu composed “Baidi Cheng lou 白帝城樓,” “Dali sannian chun Baidi Cheng fangchuan chu Qutang Xia jiuju Kuifu jiangshi Jiangling piaobo youshi fan sishiyun 大曆三年春白帝城放船出瞿塘峽久居夔府將適江陵漂泊有詩凡四十韻,” “Xingci Guchengdian fanjiang zuo bukui bizhuo fengcheng Jiangling mufu 行次古城店泛江作不揆鄙拙奉呈江陵幕府諸公” and “Bo Songzi jiangting 泊松滋江亭.”
4 th month		
5 th month		
6 th month		
7 th month	Cui Ning's younger brother repelled Yang Zilin and reoccupied Chengdu.	
8 th month		
9 th month		
10 th month		
11 th month		
12 th month		

769, the 4th Year of the Dali 大歷 reign of Emperor Daizong 代宗, Du Fu 58 Years Old

Month	Historical Events	Literary Events
1 st month		<p>Cen Shen failed to return to the capital and stayed in Chengdu. Hearing of Pei Mian's death, he composed “裴仆射公挽歌.”</p> <p>Du Fu traveled to Tanzhou 譚州 from Yuezhou, and set about to Hengzhou 衡州. After a while he returned to Tanzhou. In the winter he composed “Dongwan song Zhangsun Jian sheren guizhou 冬晚送長孫漸舍人歸州.”</p> <p>Yuan Jie stayed at Daozhou for the mourning period of his mother.</p>
2 nd month	Yang Zilin invaded Kuizhou. The central government appointed him Prefect of Shanzhou 陝州.	
3 rd month		
4 th month		
5 th month		
6 th month		
7 th month		
8 th month		
9 th month		
10 th month		
11 th month	Du Hongjian expired.	
12 th month	The Chief Minister, Pei Mian 裴冕 expired.	

770, the 5th Year of the Dali 大歷 reign of Emperor Daizong 代宗, Du Fu 59 Years Old

Month	Historical Events	Literary Events
1 st month		<p>Cen Shen passed away in Chengdu at 56 years old.</p> <p>Du Fu met Li Guinian 李龜年 in Tanzhou. Because of turmoil in Tanzhou, Du Fu fled to Hengzhou. He was blocked by the flood on his journey to Shenzhou. After the pacification of the turmoil, he intended to return to Chang'an through Yueyang 岳陽. But he passed away in Yueyang.</p>
2 nd month		
3 rd month		
4 th month	Zang Jie 臧玠 murdered his superior and usurped power in Tanzhou.	
5 th month		
6 th month		
7 th month		
8 th month		
9 th month		
10 th month		
11 th month		
12 th month		

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