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Making China's Greatest Poet: The Construction of Du Fu in the Poetic Culture of the Song Dynasty (960-1279)

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MAKING CHINA'S GREATEST POET:

THE CONSTRUCTION OF DU FU IN THE POETIC CULTURE OF THE SONG DYNASTY (960-1279)

Jue Chen

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Abstract

In traditional narrative of Chinese literary history, Du Fu 杜甫 (712-770) is arguably the "greatest poet of China," and it was in the Song 宋 (960-1279) that his greatness was finally recognized. This narrative naturally presumes that the real Du Fu in history is completely accessible to us, which is not necessarily true.

This dissertation provides another perspective to understand Du Fu and the "greatness" of his poetry. I emphasize that the image of Du Fu that we now have is more of a persona that has been constructed from his available poetic texts. Poets in the Song Dynasty, especially those in the eleventh century, took initiative to construct this persona, and their construction of Du Fu was largely conditioned by their own literary and intellectual concerns.

The entire dissertation is divided into five chapters. Chapter 1 investigates how Du Fu's poetic collection emerged. His collection, as it was compiled and edited, not only provided a platform, but also set restrictions, for the construction of Du Fu. Chapter 2 examines how Du Fu used to be remembered before his collection took form. Memory of him before the eleventh century was considerably different from his received image. The remaining chapters focus on three major aspects of Du Fu's persona – namely his images as a poet-historian, a master of poetic craft, and a Confucian poet – to analyze how and why Du Fu was constructed as such in the Song. Song poets accepted poetry as a medium loaded with valuable information, and they thus explored Du Fu's poetry for history; they concerned themselves with issues pertaining to poetic craft, and retrospectively looked for examples in Du Fu's poetry as established standards; they, as scholar-officials, committed themselves to the state, and declared Du Fu as their model. In sum, Song poets provided particular readings to Du Fu's particular poems, and claimed these

readings as the result of Du Fu's intentional production. Through interpretation of Du Fu's surviving poems, they constructed Du Fu as China's greatest poet.

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Chapters 3 and 5 of the dissertation have been presented at the national and Western Branch conferences of American Oriental Society. Questions and comments from colleagues have been useful to revise the entire project. Comments from my committee members, Profs. Martin Kern, Willard J. Peterson, Anna M. Shields, and Ronald C. Egan, have helped to shape the dissertation into its final form. Cameron A. Moore kindly proofread my draft. I am grateful to all of them.

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Introduction

瞻拜荒祠下	I worship outside the wasted shrine,
萍蹤此尚留	Here his wandering traces remain.
心存唐社稷	His mind set on the state of the Tang,
詩續魯春秋	His poetry continues the tradition of the *Spring and Autumns* of the Lu.
竹屋斜通徑	An oblique path leads to his bamboo cottage,
花溪遠抱樓	The Flower-Rinsing Creek surrounds his pavilion.
江山真占絕	While the rivers and mountains indeed exhaust all wonder,
千古獨風流	Through all the ages, his literary talent solitarily emerges to be first.

This anonymous poem, titled "Du Gongbu ci" 杜工部祠 [Shrine of Vice Director Du of the Ministry of Works] and collected in the appendix to Qiu Zhao'ao 仇兆鰲 (1638-1717) *Du shi xiangzhu* 杜詩詳注 [*Detailed Commentary to Du Fu's Poetry*], is a typical example of how Du Fu and his poetry has been perceived.[1] A shrine is perhaps the place that can most easily bring the poet to mind. Du Fu's loyalty to the Tang, as well as the historiographical features of his poetry, appear stressed in the second couplet, which relates an imaginary description of the landscape at his "thatched cottage" (*caotang* 草堂) in Chengdu – arguably the best known landmark in Du Fu's life. The concluding couplet uses two exclusive characters, *jue* 絕 and *du* 獨, to reaffirm the exceptional particularity of both Du Fu's literary talent and the place in which

[1] See the poem in Qiu Zhao'ao 仇兆鰲, ed., *Du shi xiangzhu* 杜詩詳注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), 2273-74.

he lived. Indeed, the forty characters in this poem cover a variety of issues about Du Fu and his poetry: his life, his loyalism, his pursuit of "poetic history," and his unparalleled literary achievements.

A problem emerges, however, when one inquires as to the dated composition of "Du Gongbu ci." *Du shi xiangzhu* contains a note under the poem's title, which claims that it was "also a poem by Song people" (此亦宋人詩). Yet there is no internal or external evidence that concretely states that this poem was composed in the Song. The Qing Dynasty commentator Qiu Zhao'ao felt justified in regarding it as a Song poem due to the fact that the Du Fu in this poem fit well into the received image of Du Fu that existed during his time, and that had been appreciated from the Song forward. To some extent, the poem still suffices as a good summary of Du Fu for today's readers.

This dissertation discusses the ways in which the received image of Du Fu came to be transmitted, and examines the construction of the image relayed by the poem quoted above. I will argue that it was mainly in the Song that Du Fu came to be constructed as a poet whose "talent emerged to be first through all ages" – or, in William Hung's words, as "China's greatest poet."[2] In other words, the received image of Du Fu popular today does not necessarily match up with the real Du Fu as he lived and wrote in the Tang, but was instead a poetically-crafted model for Chinese poets from the Song forward.

By emphasizing that Du Fu's received image was constructed, and stating that such a construction did not resemble the actual living figure of Du Fu, I by no means intend to put forth a more accurate image of Du Fu, or to topple all extant scholarship that regards Du Fu's received image as the object of research. Instead, my purpose is to locate our own position in Du Fu's

[2] This phrase is from the title of William Hung's monograph, *Tu Fu, China's Greatest Poet* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1952).

reception history by reviewing the opening phase of it. In doing this, I hope that an investigation into the ways in which Du Fu was constructed can further our own understanding of Du Fu's poetic texts that is free from uncritical acceptance of his received image as dogma. In this introduction, I first provide a review of the literature pertaining to Du Fu that remains influential in modern times. Then I discuss literary theories that provide perspectives quite different from traditional notions and therefore shed considerable light on the themes that appear in this project. Lastly, I survey the social, intellectual, and literary contexts of the historical period in question, before introducing the subjects addressed in each chapter of the dissertation.

State of the Field

Pre-modern studies of Du Fu were often conducted in the traditional form of commentaries. While Yuan and Ming commentaries are, in general, not very informative, Song and Qing commentaries deserve close attention. Most Northern Song commentaries are lost, but part of them have been preserved in Southern Song "collected commentaries" (集注), such as those compiled by Zhao Cigong 趙次公 in the first half of the twelfth century and by Guo Zhida 郭知達 in 1181.[3] Two important commentaries that emerged in the thirteenth century are Cai Mengbi's 蔡夢弼 *Du Gongbu caotang shi jian* 杜工部草堂詩箋 [*Annotation to Poetry of the Thatched Cottage by Vice Director Du of the Ministry of Works*] and the *Huang shi bu qianjia jizhu Du Gongbu shi shi* 黃氏補千家集注杜工部詩史 [*A Thousand Collected Commentaries Supplemented by the Huangs to the Poetic History of Vice Director Du of the Ministry of Works*]

[3] Zhao Cigong 趙次公, *Du shi Zhao Cigong xian hou jie jijiao* 杜詩趙次公先後解輯校, ed. Lin Jizhong 林繼中 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1994). Guo Zhida 郭知達, ed., *Xinkan jiaoding jizhu Du shi* 新刊校訂集註杜詩 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982).

by Huang Xi 黃希 and Huang He 黃鶴.[4] Cai also collected some Song comments on Du Fu's poetry and appended them to his *Du Gongbu caotang shi jian* as *Caotang shihua* 草堂詩話 [*Remarks for Poetry of the Thatched Cottage*]. These four commentaries by Zhao, Guo, Cai, and the two Huangs are the most useful for providing an understanding of the overall appearance of Song commentaries to Du Fu's poetry. In addition, the Southern Song also witnessed the rise of commercial publication of commentaries to Du Fu's poetry.[5] Details of Song commentaries will be discussed in Chapter 1, as well as in the conclusion.[6]

In discussing Qing commentaries, Wang Sishi's 王嗣奭 (1566-1648) *Du yi* 杜臆 [*Subjective Interpretation of Du Fu's Poetry*] and Pu Qilong's 浦起龍 (1679-1762) *Du Du xin jie* 讀杜心解 [*Reading Du Fu: A Minded Interpretation*] are notable for the fact that they provide the commentators' personal interpretation of Du Fu's poetic texts.[7] Yang Lun's 楊倫 (1747-1803) *Du shi jing quan* 杜詩鏡銓 [*Mirror and Steelyard for Du Fu's Poetry*] is also convenient to use inasmuch as it collects insightful ideas from earlier commentaries and summarizes them in a concise way, despite the fact that there are not many original ideas of Yang

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[4] This book has many titles, and a version titled *Buzhu Du shi* 補注杜詩 is included in *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書. A better edition is *Huang shi bu qianjia zhu jinian Du Gongbu shi shi* 黃氏補千家注紀年杜工部詩史 (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2006).

[5] For examples in surviving editions, see *Wang zhuangyuan ji baijiazhu biannian Duling shi shi* 王狀元集百家注編年杜陵詩史 (Kyoto: Chūbun shuppansha, 1977), and *Fenmen jizhu Du Gongbu shi* 分門集注杜工部詩, in *Sibu congkan chubian* 四部叢刊初編 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1967), Vol. 36.

[6] Also see Zhang Zhonggang 張忠綱 et al., eds, *Du ji xulu* 杜集敘錄 (Ji'nan: Qi Lu shushe, 2008), 7-112.

[7] Wang Sishi 王嗣奭, ed., *Du yi* 杜臆 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1963); Pu Qilong 浦起龍, ed., *Du Du xin jie* 讀杜心解 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1961). One thing needs to be clarified: although *Du yi* was completed in 1645 when the Ming dynasty had already ended, Wang Sishi spent most of his life in the Ming. What *Du yi* reflects is also his research achievements accomplished in the Ming period.

himself.[8] The most scholarly Qing commentaries are Qiu Zhao'ao's *Du shi xiangzhu*, Qian Qianyi's 錢謙益 (1582-1664) *Du Gongbu ji jian zhu* 杜工部集箋注 [*Annotation and Commentary to the Collection of Vice Director Du of the Ministry of Works*] (often known as *Qian zhu Du shi* 錢注杜詩 [*Poetry of Du Fu Commentated by Qian Qianyi*]), as well as Zhu Heling's 朱鶴齡 (1606-1683) *Du Gongbu shiji jizhu* 杜工部詩集輯注 [*Collected Commentaries to the Poetic Collection of Vice Director Du of the Ministry of Works*].[9] Qiu Zhao'ao is most famous for providing the detailed annotation for Du Fu's poetic texts, and it was regarded as the standard text of Du Fu's poetry until *Du Fu quanji jiaozhu* 杜甫全集校注 [*Collation and Commentary to the Complete Collection of Du Fu*], a recent edition compiled by a team in Shandong University, came out.[10] Qian Qianyi included some rare materials from the Tang and Song that appeared in no other editions, of which the most notable is perhaps the Southern Song edition of Wu Ruo 吳若. Zhu's commentary, on the other hand, came out approximately the same time as that of Qian. Zhu is said to have received Qian's instruction, but there is also evidence that Qian plagiarized Zhu's ideas. Some information about earlier commentaries can be found only in the commentary written by Zhu.

It is arguably true that Qing commentaries to Du Fu's poetry exhaustedly addressed almost all the possibilities provided by traditional methodologies in textual studies. But when the concept of "literature" in its modern sense was introduced into China, understanding of Du Fu and his poetry also went through somewhat of a renewal. In general, Du Fu has been regarded as

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[8] Yang Lun 楊倫, ed., *Du shi jing quan* 杜詩鏡銓 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962).
[9] Qiu Zhao'ao 仇兆鰲, ed., *Du shi xiangzhu* 杜詩詳注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979); Qian Qianyi 錢謙益, ed., *Qian zhu Du shi* 錢注杜詩 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1958); Zhu Heling 朱鶴齡, *Du Gongbu shiji jizhu* 杜工部詩集輯注 (Baoding: Hebei daxue chubanshe, 2009).
[10] Xiao Difei 蕭滌非 et al., eds., *Du Fu quanji jiaozhu* 杜甫全集校注 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2014).

a singular doyen of belles-lettres since the early twentieth century. This does not mean, however, that the image constructed of him that circulated during the pre-modern period was discarded. Indeed, certain acknowledged and essential qualities of Du Fu's personality and poetry remained almost identical, but they were often discussed from new perspectives. To a large extent this is still the situation that persists in modern China today.

With the influence of May Fourth constantly looming, the Republican period bore witness to continual efforts that aimed to liberate Du Fu from associations with the imperial state. The traditional label of "poet-sage" (*shisheng* 詩聖) came to be replaced with a "sage of affection" (*qingsheng* 情聖) vis-à-vis Liang Qichao 梁啟超, and Wang Jingzhi 汪靜之 labeled him as a "commoner poet" (*pingmin shiren* 平民詩人).[11] In the socialist discourse of the PRC, Du Fu became known as "the people's poet" (*renmin shiren* 人民詩人).[12] From today's perspective, these ideological evaluations have been problematic, but they have successfully kept Du Fu in the spotlight of the academia throughout the twentieth century, in addition to inspiring a considerable amount of valuable scholarship.

First of all, studies of Du Fu's life developed in the form of both personal chronicle and biography. While many details of Du Fu's life had been explored in pre-modern *nianpu* 年譜 and *biannian* 編年 collections, scholarship in the twentieth century, exemplified by Wen Yiduo's 聞一多 annotated chronicle published in 1930, have been more inclined to investigate

[11] Liang Qichao 梁啟超, "Qingsheng Du Fu" 情聖杜甫, in *Yinbingshi heji* 飲冰室合集 (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1941), Vol. 5, 30-50; Wang Jingzhi 汪靜之, *Li Du yanjiu* 李杜研究 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1928).

[12] Xiao Difei 蕭滌非, "Renmin shiren Du Fu" 人民詩人杜甫, in *Du Fu yanjiu* 杜甫研究 (Ji'nan: Qi Lu shushe, 1980), 244-257.

Du Fu's life against a broader historical background.[13] Meanwhile, from Feng Zhi 馮至 to Mo Lifeng 莫礪鋒, several readable biographies of Du Fu have been composed.[14] Other works of scholarship has particularly focused on certain periods in Du Fu's life.[15] Joined by what has perhaps been the most detailed chronicle for Du Fu compiled in 1958, all of these works have aimed to provide all-inclusive knowledge of Du Fu's words and deeds, which includes his writing activities.[16] Their common methodology of exploring Du Fu's poetry for information about his life is effective in many cases, but as Chapter 1 of this dissertation will show, sometimes it could also be risky if one is over-addicted to it.

Comprehensive research of specific aspects of Du Fu's poetry did not really take off until the 1950s. The overall situation of Du Fu studies from the 1950s to the 1970s is somewhat paradoxical. On one hand, scholars contributed many concrete and convincing readings of Du Fu's poetry. On the other, it was difficult for them to discard an over-simplified framework that divided their analysis into two parallel categories, namely "Du Fu's thought" and "Du Fu's artistic achievement." In some sense, this situation reflected the tension between independent research and a monotonous methodology based on ideological unification. During this period, many valuable articles were individually composed over years of research, and then published

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[13] Wen Yiduo 聞一多, "Shaoling xiansheng nianpu huijian" 少陵先生年譜會箋, repr. in *Tang shi zalun* 唐詩雜論 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1998), 38-93. Zhu Dongrun's 朱東潤 *Du Fu xulun* 杜甫敘論 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1981) also stresses the large historical context of Du Fu's time.

[14] Feng Zhi 馮至, *Du Fu zhuan* 杜甫傳 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1952); Chen Yixin 陳貽焮, *Du Fu pingzhuan* 杜甫評傳 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982-1988); Mo Lifeng 莫礪鋒, *Du Fu pingzhuan* 杜甫評傳 (Nanjing: Nanjing daxue chubanshe, 1993).

[15] Zeng Zaozhuang 曾棗莊, *Du Fu zai Sichuan* 杜甫在四川 (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1980).

[16] Sichuan sheng wenshi yanjiuguan 四川省文史研究館, *Du Fu nianpu* 杜甫年譜 (1958; repr., Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1981).

after the Cultural Revolution.[17]

Since the 1980s, both mainland and Taiwanese scholars have produced varied perspectives that have been adopted in Du Fu studies. They not only touch upon themes, topics, and styles in Du Fu's poetry, but also explore Du Fu's relation to the literary and cultural traditions of eighth century Chinese society, as well as his position in Tang Dynasty poetic history.[18] Two new topics that earlier scholarship seldom covered, however, are the prosodic/linguistic features in Du Fu's poetry and his poetry's relation to a certain region.[19] Other topics that have attracted many scholars' interest is the "influence" of Du Fu (including both the influence Du Fu received from earlier poets and the influence he exerted on later poets), and the history of Du Fu studies in the

[17] Notable scholarship of this period includes Fu Gengsheng 傅庚生, *Du Fu shilun* 杜甫詩論 (Shanghai: Gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1956); Xiao Difei 蕭滌非, *Du Fu yanjiu* 杜甫研究, (1959; 2nd ed., Ji'nan: Qi Lu shushe, 1980); Jin Qihua 金啟華, *Du Fu shi lunji* 杜甫詩論集 (Changchun: Jilin renmin chubanshe, 1979) and *Du Fu shi luncong* 杜甫詩論叢 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1985); Cao Mufan 曹慕樊, *Du shi zashuo* 杜詩雜說 (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1981); Wu Lushan 吳鷺山, *Du shi luncong* 杜詩論叢 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang wenyi chubanshe, 1983).

[18] Noteworthy scholarship includes Jian Mingyong 簡明勇, *Du Fu shi yanjiu* 杜甫詩研究 (Taipei: Xuehai chubanshe, 1984); Xu Zong 許總, *Du shi xue fawei* 杜詩學發微 (Nanjing: Nanjing chubanshe, 1989); Cheng Qianfan 程千帆 et al., *Bei kaituo de shi shijie* 被開拓的詩世界 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1990); Zhang Zhonggang 張忠綱, *Du shi zongheng tan* 杜詩縱橫探 (Ji'nan: Shandong daxue chubanshe, 1990); Zhu Minglun 朱明倫, *Du Fu sanlun* 杜甫散論 (Shenyang: Liaoning daxue chubanshe, 1993); Liu Minghua 劉明華, *Du Fu yanjiu lunji* 杜甫研究論集 (Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 2002); Hu Kexian 胡可先, *Du Fu shixue yinlun* 杜甫詩學引論 (Hefei: Anhui daxue chubanshe, 2003).

[19] See Chen Wenhua 陳文華, *Du Fu shilü tanwei* 杜甫詩律探微 (Taipei: Wen shi zhe chubanshe, 1977); Fang Yu 方瑜, *Du Fu Kuizhou shi xilun* 杜甫夔州詩析論 (Taipei: Youshi wenhua shiye gongsi, 1985); Ma Chongqi 馬重奇, *Du Fu gushi yundu* 杜甫古詩韻讀 (Beijing: Zhongguo zhanwang chubanshe, 1985); Du Zhongling 杜仲陵, *Du Du zhiyan* 讀杜卮言 (Chengdu: Ba Shu shushe, 1986); Jiang Xianwei 蔣先偉, *Du Fu Kuizhou shi lungao* 杜甫夔州詩論稿 (Chengdu: Ba Shu shushe, 2002); Yu Nianhu 于年湖, *Du shi yuyan yishu yanjiu* 杜詩語言藝術研究 (Ji'nan: Qi Lu shushe, 2007).

pre-modern period.[20] Generally speaking, perspectives of Du Fu studies in Chinese scholarship that have emerged over the last three decades have become more diverse as compared with earlier periods. Meanwhile, there still exists the possibility of strengthening arguments made from these new perspectives. Sometimes it is the case that an interesting perspective that is not sustained by strong arguments only appears in paraphrase of primary materials, or in the repetition of facts in literary history that have long been known.

The twentieth century also witnessed great achievements in bibliographical study of Du Fu. As early as the 1940s, Hong Ye 洪業 (better known as William Hung in the English-speaking academia) led the compilation of a comprehensive index to Du Fu's poems.[21] The most valuable part of his contribution is the introduction he wrote for the index, in which all major editions of Du Fu's collectanea are discussed. Following Hong Ye, Cheng Huichang 程會昌 in 1949 and Wan Man 萬曼 in 1962 also contributed studies of editions of Du Fu's poetic collections.[22] Two of the more comprehensive bibliographies compiled respectively by Zhou Caiquan 周采泉 and a team at Shandong University were published in 1986, which, when jointly used, are still

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[20] Hu Chuan'an 胡傳安, *Shisheng Du Fu dui houshi shiren de yingxiang* 詩聖杜甫對後世詩人的影響 (Taipei: Youshi wenhua shiye gongsi, 1985); Jian Ending 簡恩定, *Qing chu Du shi xue yanjiu* 清初杜詩學研究 (Taipei: Wen shi zhe chubanshe, 1986); Chen Wenhua 陳文華, Du Fu zhuanji Tang Song ziliao kaobian 杜甫傳記唐宋資料考辨 (Taipei: Wen shi zhe chubanshe, 1987); Lü Zhenghui 呂正惠, *Du Fu yu Liuchao shiren* 杜甫與六朝詩人 (Taipei: Da'an chubanshe, 1989); Cai Zhennian 蔡振念, *Du shi Tang Song jieshoushi* 杜詩唐宋接受史 (Taipei: Wunan tushu chuban gongsi, 2002); Wu Huaidong 吳懷東, *Du Fu yu Liuchao shige guanxi yanjiu* 杜甫與六朝詩歌關係研究 (Hefei: Anhui jiaoyu chubanshe, 2002); Sun Wei 孫微, *Qing dai Du shi xue shi* 清代杜詩學史 (Ji'nan: Qi Lu shushe, 2004) and *Qing dai Du shi xue wenxian kao* 清代杜詩學文獻考 (Nanjing: Fenghuang chubanshe, 2007).

[21] Hong Ye 洪業 et al., eds., *Du shi yinde* 杜詩引得 (1940; repr., Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1985).

[22] Cheng Huichang 程會昌, *Du shi weishu kao* 杜詩偽書考 (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1949); Wan Man 萬曼, "Du ji xulu" 杜集敘錄, repr. in *Tang ji xulu* 唐集敘錄 (Kaifeng: Henan daxue chubanshe, 2008), 138-176.

the most authoritative sources of editions of Du Fu's poetry.[23] Meanwhile, studies of specific bibliographical cases have advanced since these earlier works were initially published, and provide us with a better grasp of certain significant editions.[24] All these bibliographical studies, joined by compilation of primary materials pertaining Du Fu, have laid a good foundation for further study.[25]

Du Fu studies in Japan and in the West are simultaneously based on and aimed at the translation of his poetry. In Japan, Suzuki Torao's 鈴木虎雄 *To Shōryō shishū* 杜少陵詩集 is the first and only complete translation of Du Fu's poetry.[26] His contemporary Toki Zenmaro 土岐善麿 also translated Du Fu, and also published several collections of research articles on

[23] Zheng Qingdu 鄭慶篤 et al., eds., *Du ji shumu tiyao* 杜集書目提要 (Ji'nan: Qi Lu shushe, 1986); Zhou Caiquan 周采泉, ed., *Du ji shulu* 杜集書錄 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1986). Zheng's biography was later revised and published as Zhang Zhonggang 張忠綱 et al., eds, *Du ji xulu* 杜集敘錄 (Ji'nan: Qi Lu shushe, 2008).

[24] For example, Cai Jinfang 蔡錦芳 has published a series of articles on Song and Qing editions of Du Fu's poetic collections and commentaries, which are collected in *Du shi banben ji zuopin yanjiu* 杜詩版本及作品研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai daxue chubanshe, 2007). Nie Qiaoping's 聶巧平 research has also been focusing on Song editions and commentaries, exemplified by "Er Wang ben *Du Gongbu ji* banben de liuchuan" 二王本《杜工部集》版本的流傳, *Guangzhou daxue xuebao* 廣州大學學報 14, 4 (2000), 92-95; "Cong *Shijia zhu* dao *Baijia zhu* jizhu de fazhan yanbian kan Songdai Dushi zhi weizhu" 從《十家注》到《百家注》集注的發展演變看宋代杜詩之偽注, *Nanchang daxue xuebao (renwen shehui kexue ban)* 南昌大學學報 (人文社會科學版) 36, 4 (2005):109-113; "Ping Song dai yi *Huang shi buzhu* wei daibiao de Du shi biannian" 評宋代以《黃氏補注》爲代表的杜詩編年, *Fuyang shifan xueyuan xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 阜陽師範學院學報 (社會科學版), 5 (2000): 10-15.

[25] The most important primary source collection is Hua Wenxuan 華文軒, ed., *Du Fu juan* 杜甫卷, *Gudian wenxue yanjiu ziliao huibian* 古典文學研究資料彙編 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1964), while some materials not included in Hua's compilation are collected in Zhang Zhonggang 張忠綱, ed., *Du Fu shihua liuzhong jiaozhu* 杜甫詩話六種校注 (Ji'nan: Qi Lu shushe, 2002).

[26] Suzuki Terao 鈴木虎雄, *To Shōryō shishū* 杜少陵詩集 (Tokyo: Tōyō bunka kyōkai, 1928).

him.[27] Yoshikawa Kōjirō's 吉川幸次郎 research of Du Fu is perhaps still the most influential in Japanese scholarship. Apart from his major works, *To Ho shiden* 杜甫詩伝 and *To shi ronshū* 杜詩論集, his incomplete annotation, *To Ho shichū* 杜甫詩註, also testifies to his profound understanding of the poet.[28] Other influential scholars in the twentieth century include Fukuhara Ryūzō 福原竜蔵, Suzuki Shūji 鈴木修次, and Kurokawa Yōichi 黒川洋一.[29] Japanese scholars have generally been able to maintain a balance between concrete bibliographical or archival studies and inspiring readings of Du Fu's poetic texts in terms of aesthetic, but often enough Du Fu's received image still looms behind their general grasp of him.

In English scholarship, translation and study of Du Fu's poetry began as early as the twentieth century.[30] William Hung's *Tu Fu: China's Greatest Poet*, published in the 1950s, largely promoted the development of the field.[31] In the 1960s, David Hawkes contributed a translation of Du Fu's poems in *Tang shi sanbai shou* 唐詩三百首 [*Three Hundred Poems of the Tang*], complete with commentaries and discussions.[32] Other translators include David

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[27] Du Fu, *Shin yaku To Ho shisen* 新訳杜甫詩選, trans. Toki Zenmaro 土岐善麿 (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1955-61). Toki Zenmaro, *To Ho sōdōki* 杜甫草堂記 (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1962); *To Ho shūhenki* 杜甫周辺記 (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1967).

[28] Yoshikawa Kōjirō 吉川幸次郎, *To Ho shiden* 杜甫詩伝 (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1965); *To shi ronshū* 杜詩論集 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1980); *To Ho shichū* 杜甫詩註 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1977-1983).

[29] 福原竜蔵 Fukuhara Ryūzō, *To Ho: chintsū hyōhaku no shisei* 杜甫: 沈痛漂泊の詩聖 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1976); Kurokawa Yōichi 黒川洋一, *To Ho no kenkyū* 杜甫の研究 (Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1977). Suzuki Shūji 鈴木修次, *To Ho* 杜甫 (Tokyo: Shimizu shoin, 1980). Besides, there are five insightful essays on Du Fu in Suzuki's *Tōdai shijin ron* 唐代詩人論 (Tokyo: Ōtori shuppan, 1973).

[30] For example, Florence Ayscough, *Tu Fu, the Autobiography of a Chinese Poet* (London: Jonathan Cape, Boston & New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1929-1934).

[31] William Hung, *Tu Fu: China's Greatest Poet* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1952).

[32] David Hawkes, trans., *A Little Primer of Tu Fu* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967).

Hinton, David R. McCraw, Burton Watson and David Young.[33] Some scholars, exemplified by Tsu-lin Mei and Yu-kung Kao, have studied Du Fu with an approach focusing on close, linguistic readings.[34] Hans Frankel's application of Western literature's concept of *topos* to Tang poetry also shed new light on some of Du Fu's relevant poems.[35] His student, Stephen Owen, wrote a chapter on Du Fu in his monograph on High Tang poetry, and his translation of the complete collection of Du Fu's poetry is forthcoming.[36] Aside from these works, there have been several dissertations written on Du Fu in the past three decades, especially in recent years.[37] While earlier research and translations have still been inclined to unfold within the framework of "Du Fu's biography as shown in his poetry," scholarship since the late 1960s has been more and more based on close reading of Du Fu's poetic texts, and new approaches and perspectives have been adopted that remain free of more traditional understandings of Du Fu as they persist in East Asia.

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[33] David Hinton, trans., *The Selected Poems of Tu Fu* (New York: New Directions Publishing Corporation, 1989). David R. Mc Craw, trans., *Du Fu's Laments from the South* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1992); Burton Watson, trans., *The Selected Poems of Du Fu* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002); David Young, trans., *Du Fu: A Life in Poetry* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008).

[34] Tsu-ling Mei and Yu-Kung Kao, "Tu Fu's 'Autumn Meditations': An Exercise in Linguistic Criticism," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 28 (1968): 44-80.

[35] Hans Frankel, "The Contemplation of the Past in T'ang Poetry," in *Perspectives on the T'ang*, ed. Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twichett (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), 345-365.

[36] Stephen Owen, *The Great Age of Chinese Poetry: The High T'ang* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 183-224.

[37] Susan Cheniack, "Three great poems by Du Fu: 'Five Hundred Words: A Song of My Thoughts on Traveling from the Capital to Fengxian,' 'Journey North,' and 'One Hundred Rhymes: A Song of My Thoughts on an Autumn Day in Kuifu, Respectfully Sent to Director Zheng and Adviser to the Heir Apparent Li'" (PhD diss., Yale University, 1988); Pauline Chen, "Du Fu, Li Ho, and Li Shangyin: The Development of a Fictive Voice in Late Tang Lyric Poetry" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1996); David Kenneth Schneider, "Hero of Sympathy: Du Fu's Political-Philosophical Poetics 752-756" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2005); Ji Hao, "Poetics of Transparency: Hermeneutics of Du Fu (712-770) during the Late Ming (1368-1644) and Early Qing (1644-1911) Periods" (PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 2012); Hua Zhao, "Origins and Poetic Artistry of Du Fu's Gull Imagery" (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2013); Gregory Patterson, "Elegies for Empire: The Poetics of Memory in the Late Work of Du Fu (712-770)" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2013).

In this aspect, Eva Shan Chou's study of Du Fu is a typical example.

Eva Chou published a comprehensive study on Du Fu's poetry in 1995 largely based on her 1984 dissertation.[38] The monograph provides translation of a number of major poems by Du Fu and interpretation of them in a well-established new theoretical framework focusing on "topicality" and "juxtaposition." Noticeably, the successful "reconsideration" of Du Fu in this book follows a brief discussion of how Du Fu was constructed in the Song. The implicit logic is that reconsideration of Du Fu is possible and justified only when we see traditional readings of Du Fu's poetry are based on understanding of the constructed, rather than the real, Du Fu. In other words, the purpose of investigating the characteristics of the "constructed" nature in Du Fu's received image is to stimulate and validate new readings of Du Fu's poetry.

This is also the consideration that inspires this dissertation. While some recent scholarship has already investigated some issues concerning the construction of Du Fu, an overall examination is still necessary.[39] Meanwhile, on a deeper level, this dissertation as a case study of reconsidering Chinese literary history is also stimulated by development in Western literary theories since the mid-twentieth century, as introduced below.

Theoretical Consideration and Perspectives

Reconsideration of the history of Chinese literature is to a large extent driven by a renewed understanding of literature. Traditional notions simply take "literature" to be an activity in which

[38] Eva Shan Chou, "Tu Fu's 'Eight Laments': Allusion and Imagery as Modes of Poetry" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1984); *Reconsidering Tu Fu: Literary Greatness and Cultural Context* (Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

[39] For a recent study on the construction of Du Fu, see Charles Hartman, "The Tang Poet Du Fu and the Song Dynasty Literati," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 30 (2008): 43-74; "Du Fu in the Poetry Standards (Shige 詩格) and the Origins of the Earliest Du Fu Commentary," *T'ang Studies* 28 (2010): 61-76.

the author composes literary texts which are then read by the reader, a process in which the author directly communicate with the reader through literary texts. Such notions have been seriously challenged. Literary theories in the twentieth century, exemplified by New Criticism's concepts of "the intentional fallacy" and "the affective fallacy," have more adequately recognized the possible independence of literary texts from both the author and the reader.[40] Both the author's direct control over the text and the text's communicational effect toward the reader become undermined in this theoretical framework. This does not mean the focus on author and reader is permanently neglected. Rather, it turned out that the highlight of text's self-contained quality stimulated renewed understanding of both the author and the reader.

In the face of "the affective fallacy," the initiative taken by the reader is more emphasized, as is demonstrated by what is known as "reception aesthetics," or perhaps more colloquially as "reader-response theory." The general assumption is that the link between the literary text and the reader does not exist *a priori*, but is instead built by the reader. Roman Ingarden, in *The Literary Work of Art*, observes what he calls "indeterminacies" in literary works and argues that the reader needs to concretize them correctly.[41] In *The Act of Reading*, Wolfgang Iser discusses the "strategies" put into motion by texts, as well as the "repertoires" of familiar themes and allusions they contain.[42] What the reader needs to do is to grasp the literary work's "codes," i.e., the rules governing the ways in which a particular work produces meaning. As such, different

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[40] William K. Wimsatt, Jr. and Monroe C. Beardsley, "The Intentional Fallacy," *Sewanee Review* 54, 3 (1946): 468-488, "The Affective Fallacy," *Sewanee Review* 57, 1 (1949): 31-55; also see the revised version of these two articles in William K. Wimsatt, Jr., *The Verbal Icon: Studies in the Meaning of Poetry* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1954), 3-18, and 21-39.

[41] Roman Ingarden, *The Literary Work of Art: An Investigation on the Borderlines of Ontology, Logic, and Theory of Literature* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1973).

[42] Wolfgang Iser, *The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978).

readers can develop different understandings of a particular literary work.

In critical practice, the concept of literary work's "codes" is sustained by the methodology of close reading, which is especially the case in the broader theories of structuralism. Such methodologies and practices eventually led to the denial of the author's controlling power over the text – even before reader-response theories flourished in the 1970s. Roland Barthes's essay written in 1967, "The Death of the Author," proposes that we liberate the reading process from preconceived ideas about the author's characters or any interior or exterior "reality" that is not provided by the text.[43] Michael Foucault's lecture "What Is an Author?" delivered in 1969 further clarifies – in a more systematical way than Barthes – that authorship is a property of literary text.[44]

All of these considerations in regard to the literary text's self-contained qualities, the reading process, and the authorship have made it possible for us to realize the complexity of literary phenomena, as they also to a large extent toppled the traditional understanding of literary history as a linear process constituted with canonical literary works and their authors. By emphasizing the reader's role in literature, the development of literature may be likened to a continual feedback loop in which literary works gradually accumulate meaning through asymmetric layering. In "Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory," Hans Robert Jauss argues that literature exists in the form of a dialogue between text and reader, a dialogue whose

[43] Roland Barthes, "The Death of the Author," in *Image Music Text*, trans. Stephen Heath (London: Fontana Press, 1977), 142-148.
[44] Michel Foucault, "What Is an Author?" in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice*, ed. Donald F. Bouchard, trans. Donald F. Bouchard and Sherry Simon (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977), 113-138.

terms and assumptions are ever being modified from one generation to another.[45] For Jauss, literature is not an object, but an event that can exert a continued effect only if readers continue to generate responses over time.

Unless we completely reject these new considerations in Western literary theories, it is impossible to overlook the challenge that some traditional – but thus far very influential – Chinese notions on literature may have encountered, which includes notions that "poetry articulates that upon which the mind is intent" (*shi yan zhi* 詩言志) and that it is the reader's right and responsibility to "use his own mind to trace back the author's intention" (*yiyi nizhi* 以意逆志). This introduces doubt into the theory that literary works are constantly stable and simply function to bridge the author and the reader throughout history. In recent years, several scholars have focused on "how the literary classics were constructed in China." Martin Kern's research on early Chinese literature, Stephen Owen's discussion on early classical Chinese poetry, Xiaofei Tian's examination of Tao Yuanming's rise in a manuscript culture, and Christopher Nugent's investigation of the producing and circulation of Tang poetry all address this general issue in one way or another.[46] Instead of simply discussing who wrote what in the past, these works concern themselves more with issues of reception, such as the circulation of literary works and textual variants generated in this process, as well as with the difference between poetic persona seen in

[45] Hans Robert Jauss, "Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory," in *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, trans. Timothy Bahti (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982), 3-45.

[46] Kern's view that received pre-Qin literary works are to a large extent the result of construction in Han period is concretely expressed in his chapter in Sun Kang-I Chang and Stephen Owen, eds., *The Cambridge History of Chinese Literature* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), Vol. 1, 1-115. For the medieval period, see Stephen Owen, *The Making of Early Chinese Classical Poetry* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2006); Xiaofei Tian, *Tao Yuanming & Manuscript Culture: The Record of a Dusty Table* (Seattle & London: University of Washington Press, 2005); Christopher Nugent, *Manifest in Words, Written on Paper: Producing and Circulating Poetry in Tang Dynasty China* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2010.)

literary texts and the real author, the interpreting power of the reader, and the role of editors and anthologists in forming received versions of literary texts, and so on.

By following the previous studies quoted above, this dissertation aims to provide another case study of the construction of canonical authors and works in Chinese literary history, and more particularly of the Tang and Song dynasties. I argue that Du Fu's received image is not necessarily identical to the actual Du Fu that lived during the Tang. Rather, it was constructed by Song literati, and subsequently reflects their new understanding of a variety of issues, including poetry, history, and Confucian values. The traditional narrative of Du Fu influencing Song poets could thus be viewed from another perspective: that a new cultural context took form in the Song and ultimately made it possible for Du Fu's received image to be distilled from his poetic texts. This image has been accepted throughout the late imperial period, and is still embraced in the present day.

When we view textual history as reception history, it introduces the notion that the tradition of "knowing about a person by discussing the time he lives in" (*zhiren lunshi* 知人論世) should perhaps be modified. Often enough, it is the constructor rather than the constructed that deserves more attention, and, accordingly, it is the "time" that needs to be discussed as it pertains to the historical circumstances in which the constructor lives. The Northern Song literati who constructed Du Fu in a certain way are also the major concern of this dissertation. The social, intellectual, and literary milieus of the era in question will also be investigated. However, they are by no means regarded as inalterable elements that determined how Song literati would construct Du Fu's image, or as a static "background" for the construction. The construction of Du Fu was impacted by a variety of cultural issues in the Song, and also related directly to the development of these issues. Therefore, the dichotomy of background and foreground is of little

use here. Instead, I will regard the construction of Du Fu as an organic part of the poetic culture of the Song.

Song poetic culture was the overall cultural matrix in which poetry developed. Poetry was not simply on the "receiving" end of influence that extended from intellectual and social phenomena, as most eminent poets themselves, exemplified by Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072), Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101) and Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅 (1045-1105) were also major figures of Song intellectual and political history. Given that these figures took on the identities of poet, statesman, philosopher, and scholar, it is hard to say poetry was influenced by or extended influence on other social and intellectual issues. Instead, we should view poetic, intellectual and social issues in the Song as a unified whole, which can be called the Song culture. Since poetry was also part of this culture, Song culture is and was, for the purpose of this dissertation, not centered on poetry alone, but on the Song literatus as an active agent. I share Stephen J. Greenblatt's view of these matters as an aside:

> […] interest lies not in the abstract universal but in particular, contingent cases, the selves fashioned and acting according to the generative rules and conflicts of a given culture. And these selves, conditioned by the expectations of their class, gender, religion, race, and national identity, are constantly effecting changes in the course of history. Indeed, if there is any inevitability in new historicism's vision of history, it is this insistence on agency […] Agency is virtually inescapable.
>
> Inescapable but not simple: new historicism, as I understand it, does not posit historical process as unalterable and inexorable, but it does tend to discover limits or constraints upon

individual intervention.[47]

While emphasizing the initiative that historical agents are able to take in affecting the course of history, Greenblatt above also wisely notices "limits or constraints upon individual intervention," the individual who is "conditioned by the expectations" of the group to which they belong. For Song literati, the most significant issue that unified them together and enabled them to conduct literary, scholarly, and political activities was both education and the civil examination.

In the face of the collapse of medieval aristocratic clans by the end of the Tang, the Song relied much more than the Tang on civil examinations to recruit officials in the state's bureaucratic system.[48] The examination became one of the key issues of all educated people, including poets. This means the identity of poets changed, as well. Most poets no longer belonged to large clans, as did Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 (385-433), or were "guests" like Li Shangyin 李商隱 (813-ca. 858), who received patronage by local officials or commanders, but were instead educated literati affiliated to the state. To prepare for examinations, poets were usually systematically educated and trained in not only poetic composition, but also the Confucian canon and historiographical classics. As affiliates of the state through the civil examination system, Song literati had a renewed notion on state and bureaucratic service. The state became more significant for poets in the Song than in earlier periods, and their daily life

[47] Stephen J. Greenblatt, "Resonance and Wonder," *Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 43, 4 (1990): 15.

[48] The end of the medieval period and the fall of the aristocratic society are topics that have been repeatedly discussed and disputed. For the most updated discussion, see Nicolas Tackett, *The Destruction of the Medieval Chinese Aristocracy* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Asia Center, 2014). For the civil examinations, see John W. Chaffee, *The Thorny Gates of Learning in Sung China: A Social History of Examinations* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995); Zhu Shangshu 祝尚書, *Song dai keju yu wenxue* 宋代科舉與文學 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2008).

closely related to bureaucratic service also resulted in a re-crafting of common poetic topics and themes.[49]

The key role played by civil examinations and the education also had an impact on intellectual trends that advocated restoring the ancient Confucian "Way." These trends can be traced back to Han Yu 韓愈 (768-824) and other mid-Tang literati, but the thought was not widely embraced until it was institutionally sustained in the Northern Song.[50] Generally speaking, Confucian values became dominant throughout all of society. However, disputes also emerged in regard to differences in specific understandings of the Confucian tradition and the particular ways to put it into practice within Northern Song social discourse.[51] The eleventh century witnessed the rise of contentions between different philosophical ideas, which, seen from a broader perspective, were part of the era's renewal of approaches to understanding the world.

As one of the ways to express human beings' reflections on themselves and their relationship to the world, poetry was also reconsidered.[52] This included a renewal of the understanding of poetry's relations to other fields of human knowledge, such as history, and other genres of literature, such as prose and song lyrics. While part of poetry's function of expressing human emotions and its performative features were transferred to song lyrics, Song literati also began to widely recognize poetry as a medium loaded with various kinds of

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[49] See more detailed discussion in Uchiyama Seiya 内山精也, "Sōdai shitaifu no shikakan: So Kō kara kōkohai he" 宋代士大夫の詩歌観:蘇黄から江湖派へ, *Kanran* 橄欖 13 (2005): 5-32.
[50] See Zhu Gang 朱剛, *Tang Song "Guwen yundong" yu shidafu wenxue* 唐宋"古文運動"與士大夫文學 (Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 2013).
[51] See Peter K. Bol's discussion of Wang Anshi 王安石, Sima Guang 司馬光, Su Shi 蘇軾 and Cheng Yi 程頤 in *This Culture of Ours: Intellectual Transitions in T'ang and Sung China* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1991), 212-342.
[52] See Michael A. Fuller's discussion in *Drifting among Rivers and Lakes: Southern Song Dynasty Poetry and the Problem of Literary History* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Asia Center, 2013), 29-49.

information. They therefore adopted the reading strategy of exploring poetry for historical information. Although the notion of "poetic history" is usually not regarded to be a particular literary or historiographical genre, it provides a ready example of the ways in which Song literati tried to remap the disciplines of human knowledge.

Besides poetry's function of recording history and other information, its compositional mechanism and generic features had also been reconsidered by the eleventh century. Even though the greatest star of the era, Su Shi, professed a philosophy-oriented proposal for spontaneity in poetic composition, more poets believed that good poetry could be written through the effort exserted in compositional craft.[53] This notion inspired an exploration into standards of poetic techniques on a more subtle and detailed level. Eleventh century efforts to consciously craft their composition was, in effect, another wave of renewing accepted generic features of poetry. Discussions on "composing poetry in the way of composing prose" as well as on "composing song lyrics in the way of composing poetry" reflected, to some degree, common anxieties in an era when boundaries of literary genres were redrawn.

All these considerations were, for Song literati, reflected in their search of model poets. Du Fu was, among others, built to be such a model. The received image of Du Fu was perhaps the most comprehensive embodiment of Song poetic thought in a single model poet. He was constructed as a poet-historian, a master of poetic craft, and a poet with a strong commitment to

[53] For Su Shi's situation, see Zhiyi Yang, Dialectics of Spontaneity: The Aesthetics and Ethics of Su Shi (1037-1101) in Poetry (Leiden: Brill, 2015). For the proposal of Huang Tingjian and his fellows, see David Palumbo-Liu, *The Poetics of Appropriation: The Literary Theory and Practice of Huang Tingjian* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1993); Yugen Wang, *Ten Thousand Scrolls: Reading and Writing in the Poetics of Huang Tingjian and the Late Northern Song* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Asia Center, 2011); Michael A. Fuller, *Drifting among Rivers and Lakes: Southern Song Dynasty Poetry and the Problem of Literary History*, 50-181. Also see Stephen Owen, "Ideas of Poetry and Writing in the Early Ninth Century," in *The End of the Chinese 'Middle Ages': Essays in Mid-Tang Literary Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 107-129, for the idea of crafting poetry.

the state. This image seems to have done much more than simply write poetry, despite the fact that little could be known about Du Fu outside of his own poetic texts. The tension here appears vexing, but it indeed testifies to the constructing efforts made by Song literati.

The Song construction of Du Fu is, first of all, reflected in collections made of Du Fu's work. Du Fu's poems began to be collected not long after his death, but we have evidence that he had written many more poems than those that survived to be transmitted to later generations.[54] In this sense, the Du Fu known from his current collection – the major part of which took form in the mid-eleventh century – could differ widely from an image distilled from everything he had written. Meanwhile, Song literati, especially those eminent poets, also actively expressed their opinions on Du Fu in poetic remarks, prose writings, *biji* notes, and other sources. They surfaced by the mid and late eleventh century, which was almost the same time as collections of Du Fu's surviving poems took form and began to be circulated. This means, in many cases, that Northern Song comments on Du Fu were not based on the entirety of Du Fu's extant corpus. Instead, they seemed to have only read "minor collections" of Du Fu's poetry, i.e., collections that included only a part of Du Fu's available poems. Impressions received from such collections could be partial or biased, but, if the critic was prominent, they could also be quite influential. The constructed image of Du Fu thus provided guidelines for reading his poetry, and led to various phenomena that emerged throughout the process of Du Fu's reception, such as specific understandings of particular poems, a body of "representative poems" of Du Fu that excluded many poems that may have been in conflict with or not so relevant to his constructed image, and so forth.

Few of Du Fu's poems were discovered after the eleventh century. However, due to the

[54] Chen Shangjun 陳尚君, "Du shi zaoqi liuchuan kao" 杜詩早期流傳考, in *Tangdai wenxue congkao* 唐代文學叢考 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1997), 323-327.

spread of printing technology since the Southern Song, many Song editions of Du Fu's poetic collection survived after the dynasty fell. In other words, the corpus of available primary materials from which Du Fu's image was constructed remained relatively stable over time. A large part of Song criticism on Du Fu and his poetry has also been well maintained throughout the entirety of the late imperial period. More importantly, perhaps due to the fact that late imperial poetics were often haunted by disputes over which earlier poetic paradigms – Song poetry, Tang poetry, or ancient poetry – should be followed, new notions on poetry that might stimulate fundamental reconsideration of Du Fu rarely emerged. Therefore, Du Fu's received image constructed by Song literati remained stable until Chinese literature came to be reevaluated during the May Fourth.

From a broader perspective, Song poetic culture loomed large in the late imperial period in the sense that poetry, through the key role civil examinations and education played in Chinese society, remained one of the essential aspects of the life of China's cultural elites. Although the identities of poet, statesman, philosopher, and scholar no longer so obviously converged, the civil examination ensured that social mobility endured among educated people, including those who came to be remembered for their scholarly achievements. For all of them, poetic composition was a basic element of their education. The embrace of Du Fu's constructed image was sustained by their acceptance of the connotations of "poetry" and "poet" that had been defined in the Song.

This dissertation does not extend into the late imperial period, however. It mainly focuses on the ways in which Du Fu was constructed rather than the process in which Du Fu's legacy remained influential. The temporal scope therefore stretches from the ninth century to the thirteenth century. I discuss Du Fu's role in Song poetic culture in the five chapters summarized below.

Chapter Outlines

Unlike many Song poets, who were also officials and had left records scattered throughout various historical materials, for Du Fu we had little sources to know about him except for his own poetry. The dissertation thus begins with a chapter that aims to investigate the ways in which Du Fu's poetic collection initially took form. His scattered poems gradually came to be collected in the three centuries after his death, and his "complete collection" did not take form until the late eleventh century. Since most of these early editions came to be circulated in manuscripts in Northern Song, often enough the received version of Du Fu's poems resulted from layers of editing rather than from Du Fu's own hands. Meanwhile, poems in Du Fu's collection began to be chronologically arranged since at least the late eleventh century. This method of editing, known as *biannian* 編年, led to new perspectives in regard to reading Du Fu's poetry as records of his life. For many specific poems, however, the *biannian* method could only lead to possible, rather than definite, conclusions. In this sense, details about Du Fu's life "known" from his poems rely, to a considerable extent, on the extent to which later readers accepted specific *biannian* conclusions for Du Fu's poems.

On the other hand, memories about Du Fu before the eleventh century do not resemble the image of him constructed in the Song. Chapter 2 examines these memories as they have been woven together through five biographies of Du Fu in Tang and Song. They constitute a layered, but continuous, process of recalling Du Fu in the three centuries following the poet's death. Several issues attracted particular attention: Du Fu's early literary reputation; his relationship with his patron, his impoverished life; and his death. However, his loyalty to the Tang court – which has continued to be the most crucial element defining his image since the Northern Song –

was hardly considered important before the eleventh century. In general, Du Fu was remembered as an arrogant poet who, despite his talents, led a life of misfortune.

With the contrast between Du Fu's received image and pre-eleventh century recollections regarding his life, Chapter 3 will continue to discuss the method of reading Du Fu's poetry as records of his life and time. This reading strategy has generated Du Fu's image as a "poet-historian." Historical information in Du Fu's poetry remained largely irrelevant until the eleventh century. Song literati, for the first time, made efforts to explore Du Fu's poetry for historical information, and therefore used each successful exploration to confirm Du Fu's status as a "poet-historian." Such efforts were driven by new understandings of poetry as a medium loaded with valuable information on the past and present world rather than merely a way to express human emotions. Meanwhile, Du Fu's image as "poet-historian" also concealed his efforts to expand poetry's narrative and lyrical capacity, which was inspired by the Six Dynasties "poetic-exposition" (*fu* 賦) writers.

The fourth chapter continues to examine the renewed connotation of poetry in the Song that resulted in Du Fu's constructed image as a master of crafting poetry. The poetic craft had became an issue of importance in the ninth century, and resulted in the acceptance of Du Fu's self-presentation as a poet that cared about craft in poetic composition. In the eleventh century, Du Fu's abilities of crafting his poetry were discussed in a variety of specific topics, which included the selection of expressive words, the use of allusion, the violation of established prosodic rules, and the breaking of the generic boundary between poetry and prose. These issues became important mainly because Song poets continued making efforts to pursue expressional power in poetic composition, and they in effect circularly applied standards summarized from Du Fu's poetic texts to the evaluation of his poetry. In the thirteenth century, the dichotomy between

the paradigms of Tang poetry and Song poetry became a key issue of literary history, but Du Fu ended up transcending the Tang/Song dichotomy.

Chapter 5 zooms out to the broader cultural landscape in the Song by examining a certain appreciation of Du Fu's commitment to the emperor, the state, and the commoners. Poets in the ninth century had already noticed Du Fu's concern for reality, but it emerged powerfully in terms of Du Fu's poetic achievement when the theory that "poets achieve exquisiteness after facing hardship" became widely accepted in Northern Song. Spiritual models that represented the choice of civil service and reclusion became important for scholar-officials who had political ambitions but were also often confronted with risks of frustration in their career. Du Fu's image as a Confucian poet committing himself to the emperor was thus constructed – despite the fact that Song poets also appreciated his poems with reclusive themes.

This dissertation addresses aspects of Du Fu's constructed image separately, but in the actual construction in the Song, they came to be intertwined. In the conclusion, I discuss Harold Bloom's theory of the "anxiety of influence." I argue that the influence of eminent poets on later writers was not completely exerted by themselves. It was at some moments in history that poets made efforts to construct earlier poets. Literary history is, to a large extent, the history of receiving and interpreting the literary past, and there could have been multiple possibilities for narration. Poets like Du Fu provided possibilities for literary history to develop, and it is later poets – Song poets, in the context of this dissertation – that discovered and manifested some of these possibilities in order to create one of the greatest poets in the history of literature.

Chapter 1. A Collected Poet

The information we currently know for certain regarding Du Fu stems mostly from his own works. This is a somewhat different situation from others who also played key roles outside of literary history, such as those from the imperial families of the Six Dynasties, or Song scholar-officials. Information about these people can be acquired from materials like dynastic histories and annals, and for the purpose of understanding their literature, the usefulness of such information is out of question. Du Fu is a different case. He was of little significance in the Tang Dynasty's political or social discourse. His biographies in both the *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 [*The Old History of the Tang*] and the *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 [*The New History of the Tang*], which regard him mainly as a poet, are too brief to provide detailed information as to his life and literary composition. They are also, as Chapter 2 will discuss in more detail, replete with mistakes.

We do, however, know a considerable amount about Du Fu from his own poems. Such works contain narratives regarding his frustrated career, his friends and family, his feelings in that chaotic era during the An Lushan Rebellion, and, perhaps most importantly, his literary pursuits. In short, the Du Fu we now know to be Du Fu is a poet very much preserved through his writings. This is clear as soon as one turns to early works in English scholarship on Du Fu. William Hung summarizes the theme of his groundbreaking biography of Du Fu as "Tu Fu's life and time, interpreted according to my understanding and appreciation and illustrated with my translation of 374 of his poems."[1] An earlier work by Florence Ayscough presents Du Fu's life in her innovative, though sometimes problematic, translation of over 470 of Du Fu's poems, and

[1] William Hung, *Tu Fu, China's Greatest Poet* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1952), 12.

her examination of Du Fu's life through his works is well revealed in the title of her book, *Tu Fu, The Autobiography of a Chinese Poet*.[2]

In this sense, collecting Du Fu's poems was much more than a mere bibliographical issue of putting together scattered materials. Rather, it was the first step of Du Fu's construction. The scope of Du Fu's collection, however, has almost completely determined the way in which modern readers come to an understanding of the poet. This chapter traces the ways in which Du Fu's collection took form in the Song. It also examines the issue of arranging poems in a given edition of Du Fu's collection. The received version of Du Fu's poems was the result of layered editing, and was most notably not a product of Du Fu's own edits. This later, chronological arrangement of his poems therefore laid the foundation for a strategy of reading his poetry so as to obtain a working knowledge of his life and time.

Wang Zhu's Edition and the "Wu Ruo Edition"

All surviving early editions of Du Fu's collection are Song editions. Scholarship has thus far given primary attention to two editions: one by Wang Zhu 王洙 (997-1057), and one prefaced by Wu Ruo 吳若. Wang Zhu collected and edited the poems of Du Fu that he could locate by the year 1039, and in 1059, this edition was printed by Wang Qi 王琪 in Suzhou 蘇州. This edition is considered of extreme importance because it contained 1405 of Du Fu's poems – until the present day, this number has not changed to any great extent. In other words, the corpus edited by Wang Zhu was almost identical to that which is extant today. There are no surviving copies of the edition printed in 1059, but an early Southern Song edition reproduced in facsimile during

[2] Florence Ayscough, *Tu Fu, the Autobiography of a Chinese Poet* (London: Jonathan Cape, Boston & New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1929-1934). For evaluation of Ayscough's translation, see Hung's introduction to his own book, ibid., 7-11.

the Ming (1368-1644) and reprinted in 1957 is believed to have been based on Wang's edition.[3]

The edition prefaced by Wu Ruo is usually called the "Wu Ruo edition" (吳若本). It should be clarified, however, that "Wu Ruo edition" is a confusing term, because the edition owned by Wu Ruo and the edition prefaced by him were different. The so-called "Wu Ruo edition," in fact, refers to the latter. In 1133, Wu Ruo wrote a preface for an edition printed in Jiankang 建康 by the prefectural school, in which he also mentions his ownership of an edition that had been used to collate that which had been newly published. While both his own edition and the Jiankang prefectural school edition have been lost to the ages, Qing (1644-1911) scholar Qian Qianyi 錢謙益 (1582-1664) used the latter edition as the basis for his commentary on Du Fu's corpus. It is widely believed that Qian's edition preserved most of the Jiankang prefectural school edition that Wu Ruo prefaced.[4]

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[3] Important scholarship on Wang Zhu's edition includes Zhang Yuanji's 張元濟 afterword for *Song ben Du Gongbu ji* 宋本杜工部集, Xu guyi congshu 續古逸叢書 (1922; repr., Yangzhou: Jiangsu Guangling guji keyinshe, 1994), Vol.4, 349b-350a; Yuan Fang 元方, "Tan Song Shaoxing ke Wang Yuanshu *Du Gongbu ji*" 談宋紹興刻王原叔《杜工部集》, in *Wenxue yichan zengkan (shisan ji)* 文學遺產增刊（十三輯） (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1963), 96-104; Kurokawa Yōichi 黑川洋一, "Ō Shu hon *To Kōbu shu* no ryūden ni tsuite" 王洙本杜工部集の流傳について, in *To Ho no kenkyū* 杜甫の研究 (Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1977), 311-333; Andō Shūnroku 安東俊六, "Sō hon *To Kōbu shu* no seikaku" 宋本杜工部集の性格, in *To Ho kenkyū* 杜甫研究 (Tokyo: Kazama shobō, 1996), 1-32; Hasebe Tsuyoshi 長谷部剛, "Jianlun Song ben *Du Gongbu ji* zhong de jige wenti" 簡論《宋本杜工部集》中的幾個問題, trans. Li Yinsheng 李寅生, *Du Fu yanjiu xuekan* 杜甫研究學刊, 4 (1999): 31-38; Nie Qiaoping 聶巧平, "Er Wang ben *Du Gongbu ji* banben de liuchuan" 二王本《杜工部集》版本的流傳, *Guangzhou daxue xuebao* 廣州大學學報 14, 4 (2000): 92-95.

[4] Important scholarship on the Wu Ruo edition includes Hong Ye 洪業, "Du shi yinde xu" 杜詩引得序 and "Zaishuo Du Fu" 再說杜甫, in *Hong Ye lunxueji* 洪業論學集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), respectively 302-349 and 427-433; Deng Shaoji 鄧紹基, "Guanyu Qian jian Wu Ruo ben Du ji" 關於錢箋吳若本杜集, *Jiang Han luntan* 江漢論壇, 6 (1982): 44-46; Cai Jinfang 蔡錦芳, "Wu Ruo ben yu Qian zhu Du shi" 吳若本與《錢注杜詩》, in *Du shi banben ji zuopin yanjiu* 杜詩版本及作品研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai daxue chubanshe, 2007),

From the perspective of traditional Chinese learning on editions, or *banbenxue* 版本學, there are good reasons to value Wang Zhu's edition and the "Wu Ruo edition." They are, by far, the earliest Song editions to which we have indirect access. They were also both edited by serious scholars, and were of better quality than other extant Song editions – especially when compared with Southern Song commercial editions produced for profit. They were also both printed, and therefore appeared to be more reliable to Ming editors, as well as those from the Qing and the modern era, who all generally prioritized the authority of printed editions.

While it is perhaps reasonable that the modern reliance on these two editions may indeed be reasonable to us, Song readers did not necessary think in the same way. Wang Zhu was not the only Song collector of Du Fu's poems, as earlier editions were indeed owned by both his contemporaries and those in later periods. Other twelfth century editions co-existed alongside the "Wu Ruo edition" too, and they were not necessarily all of poor quality. Moreover, while it is generally true that printing culture largely developed in the eleventh and twelfth century, manuscripts were by no means uncommon, and printed versions did not necessarily enjoy overwhelming popularity.[5]

In order to appreciate Song attitudes toward textual studies of Du Fu's poetry after the printing of Wang Zhu's edition, we can look to Zhou Zizhi's 周紫芝 (1082-1155) preservation of an informative record regarding Chao Yidao 晁以道 (1059-1129), a late Northern Song

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66-74; Sun Wei 孫微 and Wang Xinfang 王新芳, "Wu Ruo ben *Du Gongbu ji* yanjiu" 吳若本杜工部集研究, *Tushu, wenxian yu jiaoliu* 圖書、文獻與交流, 3 (2010): 32-40.

[5] For the rise of printing and its intellectual context in the Song, see Susan Cherniack, "Book Culture and Textual Transmission in Sung China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 54, 1 (1994): 5-125; Ronald Egan, "To Count Grains of Sand on the Ocean Floor: Changing Perception of Books and Learning in the Song Dynasty," in Lucille Chia and Hilde De Weerdt, eds., *Knowledge and Text Production in an Age of Print: China, 900-1400* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011), 33-62.

collector who owned one *juan* of Du Fu's poems transcribed by Song Qi 宋祁 (998-1061). As he apparently valued Song Qi's transcription, Chao thereby recorded textual variants that differed from the received version, and then lamented:

> 前輩見書自多，不如晚生少年，但以印本爲正也。不知宋氏家藏爲何本，使得盡見之，想其所補亦多矣。[6]
>
> Earlier generations for sure looked upon many books, and (in this) they were unlike young men in recent times, who only regard printed editions as authoritative. It is not known which edition the Song family owned. If the whole edition could be fully seen, it may be the case that there would be many additions to be made (for received texts of Du Fu's poetry).

Much can be derived from this record. Chao was obviously familiar with Wang Zhu's edition, which was printed in the year of his birth. It could have indeed been what he had in mind when he made mention of "printed editions." Yet instead of valuing printed editions, Chao gives more credit to Song Qi's transcribed manuscript, because in his opinion Song was an erudite scholar and therefore reliable as a source. Chao also blames "young men in recent times" more likely to trust printed editions too easily. Meanwhile, even if Chao's mention of "printed editions" really refers to Wang Zhu's edition, it is unlikely that Chao believed that Song Qi really outdid Wang Zhu. Throughout the Song, both Song Qi and Wang Zhu were admired for their erudition and scholarly achievements.[7] Chao's point was therefore not to lay blame at Wang Zhu's feet for the

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[6] Hua Wenxuan 華文軒, ed., *Du Fu juan* 杜甫卷, *Gudian wenxue yanjiu ziliao huibian* 古典文學研究資料彙編 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1964), 270.

[7] Among other achievements, both of them partook the editing of *Chongwen zongmu* 崇文總目 [*General Catalog at the Glory of Literature*], and Song also co-compiled *Xin Tang shu*.

shortcomings of his edition. Rather, the issue in his day was that errors were inevitable in printed editions, much as Susan Cherniack demonstrates in her research on this topic.[8] Uncritically reading the printed edition was thus insufficient, and collation with other editions was a necessary step of the bibliographic enterprise. Such a notion resulted in Chao Yidao's curiosity for the whole edition that Song Qi owned, and regardless of the fact that he only possessed one *juan* of Song Qi's transcription, he valued the textual variants preserved in it.

In terms of extant textual variants existing in Du Fu's poetic texts during the Northern Song, several examples stand out. Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101) once found that pages of an edition titled *Du Yuanwai shiji* 杜員外詩集 [*Poetic Collection of Vice Director Du*] were hidden among pages of another book, and in 1112, Huang Bosi 黃伯思 (1079-1118) discovered a manuscript from a temple in Luoyang.[9] These could have been pre-Song editions, and they both contained textual variants, as well. Su Shi recorded that "many words differed (from the received text)" (語多不同), and Huang touched on examples of textual variants that varied from "the printed edition" 印本. Moreover, Huang compiled another edition of Du Fu's poetry (discussed below), and it was in the preface to this edition that Li Gang 李綱 (1083-1140) made mention of the fact that when Huang was in Luoyang, he discovered "tens of lost poems" (逸詩數十篇).[10] Temples had been a common location for the discovery of manuscripts since the Tang, and the manuscript Huang Bosi found in the temple in Luoyang probably included a part, if not all, of these "lost poems."

Although it is certainly the case that the composition date of the texts found by Su Shi and

[8] Susan Cherniack, "Book Culture and Textual Transmission in Sung China," particularly 57-79.
[9] Zhang Zhonggang 張忠綱 et al., *Du ji xulu* 杜集敘錄, 5-6. Also see Huang's "Ba Luoyang suode Du Shaoling shi hou" 跋洛陽所得杜少陵詩後, in Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 257.
[10] Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 277-278.

Huang Bosi cannot be determined, we do know that pre-Song texts of Du Fu's poems continued to be discovered after Wang Zhu's edition was published. Wang Zhi 王銍, a figure whose life straddled the Northern and Southern Song, once found a Tang manuscript of Du Fu's poetry, and thusly recorded an example of textual variants that differed from the received text.[11] His son, Wang Mingqing 王明清, is said to have obtained three volumes (三帙) of a Southern Tang (937-975) manuscript of Du Fu's poetry, among which there were "many differences from the version of the present day" (多與今本不同).[12]

All of these examples demonstrate that regardless of the fact that Wang Zhu's edition was printed in 1059, and likely enjoyed popularity for some time, it was not necessarily the case that it surpassed all other similar texts at the time.[13] People like Chao Yidao regarded printed editions with a relatively critical eye. Manuscripts extant from earlier times, whether Song or pre-Song, were still circulated, read, and used for collation. Wang Zhu's edition can therefore be viewed as a representative of Northern Song achievements in collecting and compiling Du Fu's poetry, but did by no means represent the apex of such editing activities. Nor was the text of this edition taken authoritative or standard. The act of collecting, compiling and collating Du Fu's poems continued, and the "Wu Ruo edition" was simply one example of many.

As emphasized above, we should differentiate between the edition Wu Ruo owned and the edition printed by the prefectural school of Jiankang that Wu Ruo prefaced. The preface written in 1133 lists editions based on which the prefectural school edition was produced:

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[11] Zhang Zhonggang, *Du ji xulu*, 3.
[12] Ibid., 5.
[13] According to Fan Chengda 范成大 (1126-1193), Wang Qi printed Wang Zhu's edition for profit, and the book indeed sold well. See Fan Chengda, *Wujun zhi* 吳郡志, Song Yuan difangzhi congshu 宋元地方志叢書 (Taipei: Dahua shuju, 1978), Vol. 2, 2264 a-b.

常今初得李端明本，以為善；又得撫屬姚寬令威所傳故吏部鮑欽止本，校足之；末得若本，以為無恨焉。凡稱樊者，樊晃小集也；稱晉者，開運二年官書也；稱荊者，王介甫《四選》也；稱宋者，宋景文也；稱陳者，陳無己也；稱刊及一作者，黃魯直、晁以道諸本也。

In the beginning, when Changjin obtained the edition owned by Li Duanming, he thought it was of good quality. Then, obtaining the edition that was compiled by former Vice Director of the Ministry of Personnel's Evaluation Bureau, Bao Qinzhi, and was transmitted by the prefecture's staff, Yao Kuan, styled Lingwei, Changjin used it to collate and complete Li's edition. In the end, he obtained my edition, and no longer regretted anything. Those called "Fan" are from Fan Huang's *Minor Collection*; those marked with "Jin" refers to the official edition published in the second year of the Kaiyun period; those listed as "Jing" are from Wang Jiefu's *Selection of Four Poets*; "Song" means Song Jingwen; "Chen" signifies Chen Wuji. Those mentioned to be the "the printed version" or "another version" refer to the diverse editions of Huang Luzhi, Chao Yidao and others.

Changjin was the courtesy name of Liu Gen 劉亘, who was a lecturer of the prefectural school at which the edition mentioned above was printed. It was he who, "amidst ruins from military catastrophe" (當兵火瓦礫之餘), began planning to produce a new edition of Du Fu's poetry. The catastrophe, needless to say, refers to the Jurchen invasion and the Song court fleeing to the Southeast. "Li Duanming" was Li Guang 李光 (1078-1159), who, in 1132, received the title "Scholar of Duanming Palace" (*Duanming dian xueshi* 端明殿學士), and was assigned to the position of magistrate of Jiankang. Nothing is known about the edition he owned, and it is

difficult to ascertain the proper criteria as to which Liu Gen believed this edition to be reliable. Qinzhi was the courtesy name of Bao Shenyou 鮑慎由, who probably lived in late Northern Song. The "Bao Qinzhi edition" refers to his commentary to Du Fu's works. It is noteworthy that Liu Gen used his commentary to "collate and complete" the edition that Li Guang owned. That is to say that although, in later times, Song commentaries have often been researched independently, they could also be used as referential texts for collation – especially when the notion of a standard version of Du Fu's poetic texts had not yet taken form.

Situations like those mentioned in the form of 稱 XX 者 are somewhat complicated. This form could either refer to an earlier edition that the Jiankang prefectural school edition used for collation, or to other sources of information – such as editions or other materials preserving annotations or textual variants – to which the compilers in Jiankang had access. That is to say, all items mentioned were not necessarily earlier editions. For example, Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅 (1045-1105, styled Luzhi 魯直) and Chen Shidao 陳師道 (1053-1102, styled Wuji 無己) are also mentioned, but, as far as we know, they never made compilations of Du Fu's poetry. What the compilers in Jiankang cited likely refer to their scattered comments on Du Fu's poetry. Fan Huang's 樊晃 edition and the Late Jin 後晉 Kaiyun 開運 (944-946) edition were both pre-Song editions. Although they are mentioned here, it is uncertain as to whether or not they still existed or had already been lost by the early Southern Song. The mention of these editions could just as simply have been quotes from other sources. Bao Shenyou's commentary, for example, could have simply been a repository of textual variants drawn from Fan Huang's edition and the Kaiyun edition.

While Chao Yidao once noticed the textual variants extant in the edition owned by Song Qi (whose posthumous name is Jingwen 景文), which he looked forward to seeing, both Chao's

edition and Song's edition appear in Wu Ruo's list. Although no details are known regarding these editions, the fact that the editors of the Jiankang prefectural school edition based their texts on both such works indicates that layers of reception had already crystallized by this time. Also noteworthy is the fact that the "printed version" (the so-called "刊" in Wu Ruo's list), which could have possibly referred to or included Wang Zhu's edition, also appeared to have been one source of the collated poems. The term *zhuben* 諸本 itself, which literally means "various editions", indicates that it was probably the case that there were other editions used for collation that did not appear in Wu's list.

In 1957, Zhang Yuanji 張元濟 (1867-1959) made facsimiles of different parts from two Song editions and combined them together into a new edition of 20 *juan* titled *Song ben Du Gongbu ji* 宋本杜工部集 [*A Song Edition of the Collection of Du Fu the Vice Director of the Ministry of Works*]. While *juan* 1-9 and 15-20 of this edition are believed to have been derived from a Southern Song imprint of Wang Zhu's edition, the issue of how to properly identify *juan* 10-14 emerged as a disputed question. Some scholars, including Zhang himself, believed that they originated from the Jiankang prefectural school edition that Wu Ruo once prefaced, while others disagreed.[14] I do not intend to probe this issue in detail here, but we should bear in mind that regardless of the fact that the *Song ben Du Gongbu ji* may reflect the earliest extant edition of Du Fu's poetry, the two editions on which it is based were only two of the various editions

[14] For Zhang Yuanji's opinion, see his afterword for *Song ben Du Gongbu ji*, 349b-350a. Scholarship in support of him includes Hong Ye, "Zaishuo Du Fu"; Nie Qiaoping, "Er Wang ben *Du Gongbu ji* banben de liuchuan." Those disagreeing with Zhang and his supporters include Yuan Fang, "Tan Song Shaoxing ke Wang Yuanshu *Du Gongbu ji*;" Kurokawa Yōichi, "Ō Shu hon To Kōbu shu no ryūden ni tsuite;" Cao Shuming 曹樹銘, "Song ben *Du Gongbu ji* fei Wu Ruo ben kao" 宋本杜工部集非吳若本考, in *Du ji congjiao* 杜集叢校 (Hongkong: Zhonghua shuju Xianggang fenju, 1978), 105-249; Yue Zhen 岳珍, "Wu Ruo ben Du Gongbu ji kegong kao" 吳若本杜工部集刻工考, *Du Fu yanjiu xuekan* 杜甫研究學刊, 4 (1999): 39, 68.

circulated among readers of Du Fu during the Song. When we survey the ways in which Du Fu's poems were collected so as to best examine the construction of Du Fu, we need to go beyond Wang Zhu's edition and the Jiankang prefectural school edition that Wu Ruo prefaced, as they by no means represent the entirety of edition history dealing with Du Fu's poetic texts in the Song. There is, therefore, a need for a more comprehensive survey of efforts made to collect Du Fu's poems from the ninth century forward.

Collecting Du Fu's Poems

We can hardly touch upon pre-Song collections of Du Fu's poetry without referring directly to Song records. In such an endeavor, materials like Wang Zhu's preface are of special importance. We know that he used nine earlier editions to compile his own version, and, among them, only the date of two editions can be appropriately determined with relative ease. One of these editions is Fan Huang's *Du Gongbu xiaoji* 杜工部小集 [*A Minor Collection of Vice Director Du of the Ministry of Works*], a Tang edition, which is also mentioned in Wu Ruo's preface quoted above. The other was by Sun Jin 孫僅 (969-1017) – also a Song edition.[15] Fan's edition collected about 290 works by Du Fu in its six *juan*. Sun's edition has only one *juan*, and nothing else is really known about it. Sun Jin, however, does have a "Du Du Gongbu ji xu" 讀杜工部集序 [*Reading the Collection of Du Fu the Vice Director of the Ministry of Works*] attributed to him, which consists of an elaborated evaluation of Du Fu's poetry. Such a text strongly suggests that Sun, living in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, did indeed read

[15] For early editions that Wang Zhu used, see Wang's preface to his edition, in *Songben Du Gongbu ji*, 121. Also see Zhou Caiquan 周采泉, ed., *Du ji shulu* 杜集書錄 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1986), 3-6.

many of Du Fu's poems.[16]

Among the other editions that Wang Zhu claimed to have used, two were respectively prefaced by Sun Guangxian 孫光憲 (d. 968) and Zheng Wenbao 鄭文寶 (953-1013). It could be the case that Sun and Zheng were also the compilers of the editions they prefaced. The authors of such prefaces, however, did not necessarily have to be identical to he who compiled said works. It is therefore also a possibility that Sun and Zheng owned and prefaced earlier editions, which were later obtained by Wang Zhu. Both prefaces by Sun and by Zheng are no longer extant. Noticeably, Fan Huang appears mentioned by Wang Zhu only as the author of a preface of his six-*juan* edition, but this preface is still available today, and, from the preface, we know Fan was indeed the compiler of this edition.[17]

It is not easy to determine whether the other five editions Wang Zhu used were Tang or Song editions, but we could make a rough estimate. Due to the fact that Fan Huang, Sun Guangxian, Zheng Wenbao and Sun Jin all appear in Wang Zhu's preface in a chronological manner, it could be the case that of the other five editions, the so-called "ancient edition" (*guben* 古本), "Shu edition" (*Shu ben* 蜀本) and "*Concise Collection*" (*jilüe* 集略) were Tang or Five Dynasties editions, while the so-called "another edition titled *Minor Collection*" (*bieti xiaoji* 別題小集) and the "miscellaneous compilation" (*zabian* 雜編) were Song editions. It is not clear whether or not the so-called "another edition titled *Minor Collection*" is related to Fan Huang's *Du Gongbu xiaoji* in any way.

Given these source materials, there is no doubt that the herculean effort exerted by Wang Zhu – among other Song people – to collect Du Fu's poems were based on the achievements of

[16] See Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 58-59.
[17] For Fan's preface, see ibid., 7.

his predecessors. Wang Zhu's edition was not the starting point, but rather one event in the historical network of transmission of Du Fu's collections. It is regrettable that we can never fully ascertain the entirety of this network due to the fact that many known and unknown early editions have been lost. We, however, can indeed obtain some information about them.

First of all, a sixty-*juan*-edition titled *Du Fu ji* 杜甫集 [*Collection of Du Fu*] appears recorded in both Du Fu's biography contained in the *Jiu Tang shu* and the "Yiwen zhi" 藝文志 [Treatise of Arts and Literature] of the *Xin Tang shu*. It is likely that the compilers of *Xin Tang shu* merely transcribed the title and the *juan* number from *Jiu Tang shu*'s Du Fu biography, and the record in the *Jiu Tang shu*'s could have derived from Fan Huang's preface to his *Du Gongbu xiaoji*.[18] This *Du Fu ji* was the earliest known collection of Du Fu's works, and had already been lost by the time Wang Zhu compiled his own edition.[19]

Apart from the *Du Fu ji*, there were other Tang or Five Dynasties editions that were not used by Wang Zhu, but lay in the possession of other Song figures. The "Kaiyun edition," for example, was published in the second year of Late Jin's Kaiyun period (944-946), i.e., 945, and it also appears mentioned in Wu Ruo's preface quoted above.[20] Little is known about this edition, but it is of particular importance to us due to the fact that, much like Fan Huang's *Du Gongbu xiaoji*, it has also contained textual variants that are preserved up until the present day.

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[18] As for the sources of *Xin Tang shu*'s "Yiwen zhi," see Zhang Guye 張固也, "Lun *Xin Tang shu* 'Yiwen zhi' de shiliao laiyuan" 論《新唐書 藝文志》的史料來源, *Jilin daxue shehui kexue xuebao* 吉林大學社會科學學報, 2 (1998): 87-90.

[19] In the preface to his edition, Wang Zhu says: "Initially Du Fu's collection had sixty *juan*. Old editions now preserved in the Imperial Library and the so-called big or small collections owned by erudite people have all survived through loss." 甫集初六十卷，今秘府舊藏，通人家所有稱大小集者，皆亡逸之餘。Since Wang was one of the editors of *Chongwen zongmu* and had the chance to work in the imperial library, this remark might indicate that this sixty-*juan* edition had been lost by Wang Zhu's time, unless it was indeed extant then but accidentally not seen by persons as erudite as Wang Zhu.

[20] Zhou Caiquan, *Du ji shulu*, 689-690.

While it is believed by some scholars that the Kaiyun edition was printed, there is no doubt that, prior to the eleventh century, most editions of Du Fu's poetry existed only in manuscript form.[21] Apart from those discovered by Su Shi, Huang Bosi, Wang Zhi, and Wang Mingqing, which have already been discussed above, other examples appear to have been extant. Among the many books brought back to Japan by Ennin 圓仁 (794-864) in 847 was one text entitled *Du Yuanwai ji* 杜員外集 [*Collection of Vice Director Du*], which is believed to be a manuscript version of a Du Fu collection.[22] Sheng Du 盛度 (970-1040) also possessed a manuscript of Du Fu's poems from the southeastern kingdom of Wuyue 吳越 (907-978).[23] Manuscripts of Tang and Five Dynasties editions continued to circulate even after the publication of Wang Zhu's edition in 1059. Hu Zi 胡仔 (1110-1170), for example, still owned a copy of Fan Huang's *Du Gongbu xiaoji* in the twelfth century.[24]

Wang Zhu was not the only eleventh century figure that made efforts to collect and edit Du Fu's poems. We can list some significant events chronologically. By the year of 1036, Su Shunqin 蘇舜欽 (1008-1048) had completed his edition titled *Lao Du bieji* 老杜別集 [*A*

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[21] Zhou Caiquan calls the Kaiyun edition "guanke" 官刻. See ibid. Chen Shangjun 陳尚君 also believes the Kaiyun edition was a "guankan" 官刊 edition. See "Du shi zaoqi liuchuan kao" 杜詩早期流傳考, in *Tangdai wenxue congkao* 唐代文學叢考 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1997), 306-337. Both "guanke" and "guankan" mean "officially sponsored carving." However, this edition was mentioned by Song figures only as "guanshu" 官書 [officially published book] or "guanshu ben" 官書本 [the edition of the officially published book], and there is no concrete evidence that it was "carved," i.e., printed. Scholars are inclined to take it as a printed edition probably because its publication was during the time when Feng Dao 馮道 (882-954) organized the printing of *The Nine Classics*, which lasted from 932 to 953. See Luo Shubao 羅樹寶, *Zhongguo gudai tushu yinshuashi* 中國古代圖書印刷史 (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 2008), 60-62.

[22] For those editions, see *Du ji xulu*, 3.

[23] Ibid., 3-4.

[24] Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 593.

Separate Collection of the Elder Du].[25] By 1039, Wang Zhu had completed his edition, but it was not immediately published. By 1052, Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021-1086) had edited a *Du Gongbu houji* 杜工部後集 [*Sequel Collection of Vice Director Du of the Ministry of Works*].[26] Finally, Wang Zhu's edition was published by Wang Qi in 1059. Besides, Liu Chang 劉敞 (1019-1068) also edited a *Du Zimei waiji* 杜子美外集 [*Additional Collection of Du Zimei*], which, given Liu's year of birth, was unlikely to be earlier than Wang Anshi's edition.[27]

As Chen Shangjun has pointed out, Su Shunqin, Wang Zhu and Wang Anshi probably conducted their own collection work independently. That is to say, they did not use one another's editions for reference when they compiled their own.[28] We can also know that the collection work of Liu Chang is another example of such independent work, because the source materials these editors used, as mentioned in the prefaces to their editions, did not overlap. The earlier nine editions Wang Zhu used have already been discussed above. Below, we examine the examples of Su Shunqin, Wang Anshi and Liu Chang.

Su Shunqin's *Bieji* made use of three sources. One was what he called an "old edition" (or, "old editions") 舊集. The second was an edition entitled *Du Gongbu biejie* 杜工部別集 [*A Separate Collection of Vice Director Du of the Ministry of Works*], which a man named Han Zong 韓綜 had recently discovered. This edition contained five hundred poems, and about three hundred did not exist in the "old edition." The third was obtained from a man called Wang Wei 王緯 when Su was living in Chang'an 長安. It is unclear how many poems it contained, but eighty did not appear in the first two editions.

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[25] Zhou Caiquan, *Du ji shulu*, 266-267.
[26] Ibid., 268-269
[27] Ibid., 269-270. For a brief but insightful discussion of these three editions, also see Chen Shangjun's "Du shi zaoqi liuchuan kao."
[28] Ibid.

Wang Anshi's preface to his *Houji* only mentions that he obtained "more than two hundred poems that did not circulate in the world" (世所不傳者二百餘篇).[29] As Stephen Owen has pointed out, Wang Zhu's edition was not part of those poems which in Wang Anshi's mind had circulated by that time. Otherwise it would be the case that we now have more than 1600 poems by Du Fu (Wang Zhu's 1405 poems plus those two hundred newly discovered poems).

Liu Chang relied on two editions for his source material. One was from someone surnamed Wang 王, titled *Du Fu waiji* 杜甫外集 [*Additional Collection of Du Fu*]. The other was borrowed from a person surnamed Wu 吳, which contained more poems than Wang's edition.

The following chart summarizes thus:

Editor	Title	Completion Time	Source Materials
Su Shunqin	老杜別集	1036	old edition(s); Han Zong's edition; Wang Wei's edition
Wang Zhu	杜工部集	1039	ancient edition; Shu edition; *Concise Collection*; Fan Huang's edition; Sun Guangxian's edition; Zheng Wenbao's edition; *Minor Collection*; Sun Jin's edition; miscellaneous

[29] According to Song Yi 宋誼, these two hundred poems could be discovered by Sun Mou 孫侔 (1019-1084), who was Wang Anshi's friend. See Song Yi's preface to Chen Haoran's 陳浩然 edition, in Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 132. Chen's edition is discussed below.

			compilation
Wang Anshi	杜工部後集	1052	newly discovered 200 poems in addition to what had already been circulated
Liu Chang	杜子美外集	probably no earlier than the above three	Wang's edition; Wu's edition

This chart illustrates the fact that from the 1030s to the 1050s, there were, at the very least, four separate transmissions of editions of Du Fu's poetry. While we know in retrospect, that by 1039, Wang Zhu had already done the majority of the work in collecting as many of Du Fu's poems as possible, the efforts of Song figures to do so continued well after 1039.The titles used by Su Shunqin, Wang Anshi and Liu Chang, such as "*Bieji*," "*Houji*" and "*Waiji*," indicate that these editors had an awareness that they were producing something supplemental to that which already existed – despite the fact that, in the end, it turned out to be the case that few poems emerged that ended up not appearing in Wang Zhu's edition.

These four separate transmissions were four branches of the lineage of Du Fu editions in Tang and Song. We have no way to know the full extent to which this lineage represents all lines of transmission that existed during the Song. All we have provides mere glimpses of some of its details. As discussed above, Song Qi, who was only one year younger than Wang Zhu, was also known to have owned an edition of Du Fu's poetry, and it subsequently contained textual variants.[30] An edition compiled by a man named Chen Haoran 陳浩然, of which we know little,

[30] See Zhou Caiquan, *Du ji shulu*, 265-266.

could also have emerged around 1080, although we are not completely sure of this fact.[31] Song and Chen naturally had their source materials, which could have potentially overlapped with the source materials used by Su Shunqin, Wang Zhu, Wang Anshi and Liu Chang. It could also be that their work was based on texts completely different and unknown to us.

We should also provide a brief discussion of commentaries. There is little doubt that after Wang Qi published Wang Zhu's edition in 1059, which was then without commentary, it came into wide circulation. Commentaries to Du Fu's poetry also appeared alongside it during the eleventh century, and some of them we know to have been based on Wang Zhu's text, such as a commentary attributed to Wang Zhu that was actually written by Deng Zhongchen 鄧忠臣 (d. 1104?), or Wang Dechen's 王得臣 (1036-1116) commentary titled *Zengzhu Du Gongbu shiji* 增注杜工部詩集 [*Expanded Commentary to the Poetry Collection* of *Vice Director Du of the Ministry of Works*].[32] However, it would likely be incorrect to say there were no commentaries that emerged prior to the publishing of Wang Zhu's edition, or that every commentary was based on Wang Zhu's text. For example, in the eleventh century, Liu Ke 劉克, who was recorded by Shen Kuo 沈括 (1031-1095) to be an erudite scholar in his *Mengxi bitan* 夢溪筆談 [*Brush Talks at Dream Creek*], also produced a commentary to Du Fu, but no evidence exists that he based his work on primary texts edited by Wang Zhu or anyone else.[33] It was possible that he did the collecting work himself, and then produced the commentary on those poems he edited.

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[31] See the discussion in Zhang Zhonggang, *Du ji xulu*, 22-23.

[32] For Deng Zhongchen's commentary, see ibid., 26-27; also see Deng Xiaojun 鄧小軍, "Deng Zhongchen *Zhu Dushi* kao" 鄧忠臣《注杜詩》考, *Du Fu yanjiu xuekan* 杜甫研究學刊, 1 (2002): 10-26. In the preface to Wang Dechen's commentary, it is made clear that Wang used Wang Zhu's edition which had been published in Suzhou as the standard text. See the preface in Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 95. Also see Zhang Zhonggang, *Du ji xulu*, 23-24.

[33] The commentary was mentioned by Cai Tao 蔡絛 in his *Xiqing shihua* 西清詩話. See Zhang Zhonggang, *Du ji xulu*, 20-21.

In Southern Song "collected commentaries" (*jizhu* 集注) were one avenue through which previous commentaries were preserved. Textual variants from earlier editions came to be recorded in such texts, as well. The situation of these commentaries, however, is very complicated, and need to be carefully examined. Some commentaries were still available when a certain *jizhu* was compiled, and they were cited and preserved. Some are known to be completely fake, such as the notorious pseudo-commentary attributed to Su Shi.[34] Some are attributed to the wrong person, but the specific content is not later forgery, such as the above mentioned commentary by Deng Zhongchen, which had, at one point, been attributed to Wang Zhu.

In these collected commentaries, we observe the quotation formula that reads "XXX 曰," i.e., "a certain person says." In some cases, the cited name may refer to an earlier commentator. That is to say, a commentary once existed. In some cases, however, these remarks appear to have been quoted from other sources, such as poetic remarks, or an essay by the person cited. Sometimes, it is difficult to ascertain which of these cases may apply.

When we take these uncertain possibilities into consideration, Du Fu's poetry could have been commentated upon by people as early as Xia Song 夏竦 (985-1051) or Wang Yu 王昱.[35] Neither of them, however, lived long enough to see the publication of Wang Zhu's edition in

[34] Known as "wei Su zhu" 偽蘇注, the pseudo-commentary is not reliable at all. The standard format of its forged entries provides a commentating entry for a word, phrase or line from Du Fu's poetry, and fabricates an allusion according to the literal meaning of the commentated object. It then haphazardly picks an earlier source and attribute sthis non-existent allusion to it. It was probably made by book dealers for profit-making, but since the commentary was claimed to have come from Su Shi's hands, it used to be widely circulated, and, ironically, preserved to the present day while many more precious and serious commentaries have been lost. Apart from the pseudo-Su commentary, there were other pseudo-commentaries, of course. See Nie Qiaoping 聶巧平, "Cong *Shijia zhu* dao *Baijia zhu* jizhu de fazhan yanbian kan Songdai Dushi zhi weizhu" 從《十家注》到《百家注》集注的發展演變看宋代杜詩之偽注, *Nanchang daxue xuebao (renwen shehui kexue ban)* 南昌大學學報 (人文社會科學版) 36, 4 (2005): 109-113.

[35] Zhou Caiquan, *Du ji shulu*, 877.

1059.[36] If they had produced commentaries on Du Fu's poetry, the texts they used would of course not be Wang Zhu's edition, but were instead something else, and the number of the poems they saw and commentated cannot be determined.

Collected commentaries of the Southern Song also cite some early editions that are not known from other sources. For example, Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072) has fifteen preserved quotes that appear as "Ouyang Xiu says," and he is also said to have edited or owned a particular edition, which is referred to as "the good edition of Ouyang the Duke of Wenzhong" (歐陽文忠公善本). Song Minqiu 宋敏求 (1019-1079), the renowned bibliophile, could have also produced an edition of Du Fu's collection in some form.[37] We do not know what kind of source material was used for Ouyang's "good edition," or Song's edition.

Having examined the situation of Wang Zhu's edition, as well as that of the so-called "Wu Ruo edition," and all the above-mentioned collecting activities conducted by people from Tang to Song, we can now conclude as to the process in which Du Fu's corpus took form. It took three hundred years – the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries – for it to develop into the appearance it takes today. The process, however, was complicated. It was a grand endeavor for Song figures to collect Du Fu's poems, especially when it came to the eleventh century; but still, many of Du Fu's works were lost in this process. Collecting as an act itself entailed the possibility of loss, and such lacunae probably emerged repeatedly throughout the process, although we know little to no details as to how it actually occurred. It is thus imprecise to say that Du Fu's corpus "grew," as this term suggests a lineal accumulation throughout three hundred years. As such, there is no way to entirely grasp the full picture of the ways in which Du Fu's poems had been transmitted

[36] The period in which Wang Yu lived is not exactly known, but the author of his epitaph, Teng Zongliang 滕宗諒, died in 1047, so Wang must have died by that year.
[37] Zhou Caiquan, *Du ji shulu*, 878.

from his own time to the eleventh century.

Since the majority of pre-Song editions of Du Fu's works have been recorded by Song figures, a better perspective is to investigate what were owned by people in the Song, especially in the eleventh century. What existed in the Song was a pool of scattered poems or poetic collections by Du Fu, and before 1059, almost all of such texts existed in manuscript form. As Stephen Owen points out in an unpublished article, most editors of Du Fu's poems did not travel beyond their immediate locality, and the exchange of collected poems was therefore only of a limited scale. Wang Zhu's efforts to collect Du Fu's poems were of course very admirable, but his work was one of many similar projects that emerged in the eleventh century. When his edition was printed in 1059, it probably enjoyed wide reception in a relatively short time, but at the same time other earlier editions were still circulated and used, and after 1059, new editions – including commentaries – continued to be compiled.

Although Wang Zhu's edition is the earliest of all extant received texts of Du Fu's poetry, there is no need to grant it particular authority when investigating textual variants. For the same reason, textual variants from earlier editions, such as Fan Huang's edition and the Kaiyun edition, have no priority either. They are all from the same pool of variants. Rather than being entangled in the question as to "which variant should be adopted," it is instead more meaningful to consider the way in which different variants may suggest different readings of Du Fu's poetry. Sometimes we not only have textual variants but also know the way in which the variants in question were considered by Song readers, as is demonstrated in discussions preserved in poetic remarks or literary notes. While Du Fu's poems were collected, textual variants pointed to the multiple possibilities that existed through which one could construct Du Fu. Specific cases are analyzed in following chapters.

Biannian

Having Du Fu's poems collected together was just the first step to construct him. As the eleventh century bore witness to more and more poems becoming collected in a single collection, the way to arrange those poems eventually became an issue. There were three major ways to arrange Du Fu's poems in a collection: according to genre (*fenti* 分體), according to topic (*fenmen* 分門 or *fenlei* 分類), and according to compositional time (*biannian* 編年).

Wang Zhu's *Du Gongbu ji* is an example of *fenti*, in which Du Fu's poems are classified into "ancient-styled poems" (*guti shi* 古體詩, *juan* 1-8) and "recent-styled poems" (*jinti shi* 近體詩, *juan* 9-18), in addition to two *juan* of prose (*juan* 19-20). The earliest addition classifying Du Fu's poems according to topics is believed to be the above-mentioned edition belonging to Chen Haoran.[38] The earliest surviving example of the *biannian* format is part of a commentary by Zhao Cigong 趙次公, but Huang Bosi's *Jiaoding Du Gongbu ji* 校定杜工部集 [*Collated Collection of Vice Director Du of the Ministry of Works*] is the earliest known example of a work that prioritizing the *biannian* format. Li Gang's preface provides information about its style:

> 隨年編纂，以古律相參，先後始末，皆有次第。[39]
>
> Poems are compiled according to their compositional years. Ancient-styled poems and regulated poems are mingled together. No matter whether or not they were composed earlier or later, in the beginning or the end – all poems have a proper sequence.

[38] See *Du ji xulu*, 22-23.

[39] Li Gang, "Chong jiaozheng Du Zimei ji xu" 重校正杜子美集序, see *Du Fu juan*, 277-78.

While it is difficult to speak as to which of the three ways of arranging Du Fu's poems may have appeared first, there is no doubt that they each reflect different reading strategies. Generic features are usually obvious enough to be easily observed, and arranging poems according to genre allows the reader to have a better sense of the artistic characteristics of Du Fu's poetry. It is possible that, prior to Wang Zhu, other collectors of Du Fu's poems already arranged texts in this way, and the idea of classifying Du Fu's poems into "ancient-styled poems" and "recent-styled poems" in compilations was probably because of the rise of regulated poems (*lüshi* 律詩) and *jueju* quatrains (*jueju* 絕句) in the Tang.

The *fenmen* came to be a critical method of reading likely due to the fact that the number of poems in a single collection increased to a certain degree. Compared to simply arranging poems according to their genres, more issues, such as how to design the categories or which category was the most appropriate for a certain poem, needed to be considered for *fenmen*. The notion of classifying literary works according to their topics was not new. The way was already adopted in *Wenxuan* 文選 [*Selections of Refined Literature*], and in Tang and Song time it was also influenced by the way of compiling *leishu* 類書 encyclopedias.[40]

The *biannian* reading method endorsed a particular reading strategy: to read Du Fu's poems as records of his life and time. In other words, *biannian* is unique in comparison with *fenmen* and *fenti* inasmuch as the latter two methods are primarily concerned with poetry, while *biannian* focuses on the poet. Before further analyzing the effect *biannian* may have had on the construction of Du Fu through his poetic collection, we first investigate the way in which *biannian* editions developed from the late Northern Song to Southern Song.

[40] See Zhang Wei 張巍, "Lun Tang Song shiqi de leibian shiwenji jiqi yu leishu de guanxi" 論唐宋時期的類編詩文集及其與類書的關係, *Wenxue yichao* 文學遺產, 3 (2008): 56-62.

The *biannian* ultimately aims to pinpoint the time in which a certain poem was composed, and then arrange such poems chronologically according to their compositional time. It developed hand in hand with the compilation of Du Fu's personal chronology, or *nianpu* 年譜, which aimed at chronologically arranging the events in the poet's life. Although *nianpu* and *biannian* collections eventually came to represent two different genres, in the very first stage of their development – exemplified by the Song people's study of Du Fu and his poetry – the gap separating them was relatively small. The three earliest extant *nianpu* for Du Fu, compiled by Lü Dafang 呂大防 (1027-1097), Zhao Zili 趙子櫟 (d. 1137) and Cai Xingzong 蔡興宗 all mainly focused on which poems were written in a given year, rather than providing detailed information on Du Fu's life or the broader historical background. In terms of the Song Dynasty reception of Du Fu, *nianpu* and *biannian* editions should be investigated together. Below, I will chronologically survey Du Fu's *nianpu* and *biannian* editions as they to trace their development.

Lü Dafang's *nianpu* can be dated to the early 1080s.[41] According to his note for the *nianpu*, Lü also edited Du Fu's poetry, yet the edition is lost and it is not clear as to whether or not poems in it were arranged chronologically.[42] Zhao Zili's *nianpu* was presented to the imperial court during the Xuanhe 宣和 period (1119-1125).[43] Both *nianpu* function to locate some of Du Fu's poems to a particular compositional year.

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[41] For information on the *nianpu*, see *Du ji shulu*, 804-806; *Du ji xulu*, 19-20. Both cite Chao Gongwu's record that Lü compiled the *nianpu* when he was in Chengdu 成都. According to his biography in *Song shi* 宋史, his stay in Chengdu was "several years" after the beginning of the Yuanfeng 元豐 period (1078-1085) but before the Yuanyou 元祐 period (1086-1094). See Lü's biography in *Song shi* 宋史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977) 340.10839-44. If Chao's record is reliable, the *nianpu* was probably completed in early 1080s.

[42] For Lü's note, see Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 86.

[43] Scholars such as Zhou Caiquan used to agree that Zhao Zili also had a commentary for Du Fu, see Zhou Caiquan, *Du ji shulu*, 806-807. But recent scholarship has proved that the commentary attributed to Zhao Zili was actually by Zhao Cigong. See Cai Jinfang, "Zhao Zili weichang zhu Du kao" 趙子櫟未嘗注杜考, in *Du shi banben ji zuopin yanjiu*, 32-39.

Huang Bosi's *biannian* edition discussed above was completed in the 1110s, i.e., after Lü Dafang's *nianpu* but before Zhao Zili's. As mentioned earlier, at least in 1112, Huang was still collecting Du Fu's poems and collaterally comparing the texts he discovered from a Luoyang temple with texts he already owned. Li Gang's preface also reveals that his editing work continued as he moved from Luoyang to the capital.

Besides Huang's edition, the first half of the twelfth century witnessed other achievements of *biannian* and *nianpu*. The renowned *Chuci* 楚辭 compiler, Hong Xingzu 洪興祖 (1090-1155), also worked on Du Fu's poetry and authored a research book titled *Du shi bianzheng* 杜詩辨證 [*Investigation of Du Fu's Poetry*]. *Junzhai dushu zhi* 郡齋讀書志 [*Memoir of Readings in the Governor's Studio*] records that a "*nianpu* is arranged before the work" (年譜列于前).[44] *Du shi bianzheng* is lost, and there is no way to know whether or not the *nianpu* was compiled by Hong himself or if it was just transcribed from the work of someone else's like Lü Dafang. Apart from this issue, its arrangement suggests that Hong encouraged his readers to investigate the compositional time of Du Fu's poems.

The Jiankang prefectural school edition was probably also produced in *biannian* style, if only due to the fact that Qian Qianyi claimed that his own way of chronologically arranging Du Fu's poems was based on this edition.[45] Moreover, according to *Jingding Jiankang zhi* 景定建康志 [*Gazetteer of Jiankang Compiled in the Jingding Period*], 520 printing blocks of the Du Fu collection and 68 blocks of a *nianpu* for Du Fu were preserved together in the prefectural

[44] See Zhang Zhonggang, *Du ji xulu*, 48-49.
[45] For Qian's claim, see his "Zhu Du shi lueli" 注杜詩略例, in *Qian zhu Du shi* 錢注杜詩 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1979), 1.

school.[46] It was thus highly possible that a *nianpu* was attached to the edition that Wu Ruo prefaced, and given the number of the blocks, the *nianpu* could have indeed been a detailed one.

Wu's contemporary, Cai Xingzong, also produced both a *biannian* edition entitled *Chongbian Shaoling xiansheng ji* 重編少陵先生集 [*A Recompiled Collection of Master Shaoling*], and a *nianpu* entitled *Chongbian Du Gongbu nianpu* 重編杜工部年譜 [*A Recompiled Chronology of Vice Director Du of the Ministry of Works*].[47] While the *nianpu* survives, the collection is lost, but its chronological arrangement of poems ultimately manifested in Zhao Cigong's *Xinding Du Gongbu gushi jintishi xianhou bing jie* 新定杜工部古詩近體詩先後并解 [*A Newly Chronologized and Commentated Definitive Edition of the Ancient-Styled Poems and Recent-Styled Poems of Vice Director Du of the Ministry of Works*].[48] Zhao's *biannian* edition is dated to 1134-1147, and Cai's was likely produced somewhat earlier.[49]

Another twelfth century figure, Lu Yin 魯訔 (1099-1175), compiled a *biannian* edition of Du Fu's poetry and a *nianpu* for Du Fu too.[50] The edition is, according to Lu Yin's preface, dated to no later than 1153, and it is possible that the *nianpu* could have been published together, or could have even been attached to the edition. Cai Mengbi's 蔡夢弼 adapted Lu's chronological arrangement to his *biannian* edition, *Caotang shijian* 草堂詩箋 [*Annotated*

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[46] See Zhou Yinghe 周應合, *Jingding Jiankang zhi* 景定建康志, Song Yuan difangzhi congshu, Vol. 2, 1248 a.

[47] For these three works, see Zhang Zhonggang, *Du ji xulu*, 41-44.

[48] Only part of Zhao's edition survives. Lin Jizhong 林繼中 collected the scattered surviving part and published them as *Du shi Zhao Cigong zhu xianhou jie jijiao* 杜詩趙次公注先後解輯校 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1994). Its revised version was published in 2012.

[49] For the date of Zhao's edition, see Lin Jizhong, *Du shi Zhao Cigong zhu xianhou jie jijiao xiudingben* 杜詩趙次公注先後解輯校修訂本 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2012), 1-3. For the relationship between Zhao's edition and Cai's *nianpu*, see Lin's study in the same book, 3-5.

[50] Zhang Zhonggang, *Du ji xulu*, 58-60.

Poetry of the Thatched Cottage], which was completed by 1204 and published between 1205 and 1208.[51]

In the mid-Southern Song, another two figures that compiled *nianpu* for Du Fu were Wu Renjie 吳仁傑 (*jinshi* between 1174-1189) and Liang Quandao 梁權道.[52] Little is known about these two, but Liang's *nianpu* appears frequently cited and corrected in *Huang shi bu qianjia jizhu Du Gongbu shishi* 黃氏補千家集注杜工部詩史 [*The Collected Thousand Commentaries Complemented by the Huangs to the Poetic History of Vice Director Du of the Ministry of Works*] compiled by Huang Xi 黃希 (*jinshi* 1166) and his son, Huang He 黃鶴.[53] The Huangs' edition, which was finally completed in 1216, is in some sense a milestone due to the fact that although in this edition poems are arranged according to genres instead of time of composition, each poem's compositional time appears noted in its annotation. There is also a detailed *nianpu* entitled *Du Fu nianpu bianyi* 杜甫年譜辨疑 [*A Study on Doubted Issues in Du Fu's Chronology*] in the opening part of the edition, which retains many of the achievements of earlier *nianpu*, especially Lu Yin's.[54]

Bao Biao 鮑彪 (b. 1190) is also believed to have studied the compositional sequence of Du Fu's poems, but it is not clear whether his work was a *biannian* edition or a *nianpu*. While two titles – *Shaoling shimu pu* 少陵詩目譜 [*A Title Chart of the Poetry of Shaoling*] and *Du shi zhu* 杜詩注 [*A Commentary to Du Fu's Poetry*] – are known for Bao Biao's works, no consensus has

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[51] Ibid., 87-91.

[52] For Wu's *Du Zimei nianpu* 杜子美年譜, see ibid., 87; For Liang's *nianpu*, see the same book, 94; also see Zhou Caiquan, *Du ji shulu*, 810-811.

[53] Zhang Zhonggang, *Du ji xulu*, 94-96; Zhou Caiquan, *Du ji shulu*, 57-68.

[54] For evaluation of the Huangs' *nianpu* and *biannian*, see Nie Qiaoping 聶巧平, "Ping Song dai yi *Huang shi buzhu* wei daibiao de Du shi biannian" 評宋代以《黃氏補注》爲代表的杜詩編年, *Fuyang shifan xueyuan xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 阜陽師範學院學報 (社會科學版), 5 (2000): 10-15.

been reached on them among scholars. Zhou Caiquan suspects they were different titles for the same book, i.e., a commentary to Du Fu's poetry. Zhang Zhonggang's *Du ji xulu* regards them to be two different books. Wu Hongze's 吳洪澤 dissertation avoids the discussion as to whether or not the *Shimu pu* was an independent work, and only points out that Bao chronologically arranged Du Fu's poems.[55] There is insufficient evidence to repudiate any of these different opinions, but the uncertainty, as is shown in Wu Hongze's prudent but ambiguous way of addressing the issue, signifies that, in the initial phase of their development, *biannian* and *nianpu* shared the same function of endorsing the strategy of reading an author's poems in a chronological manner.

The above-mentioned editions of Du Fu's poetic collection and personal chronology can be summarized in the following chart. Works in bold italics are those that have survived up to the present day:

Editor	*Nianpu*	*Biannian* edition	Non-*biannian* edition or uncertain
Lü Dafang	✓ ***early 1080s***		√
Huang Bosi		√ 1110s	
Zhao Zili	✓ ***1119-1125***		
Wu Ruo	(√ ?)	√ by 1133	

[55] See Zhou Caiquan, *Du ji shulu*, 37-38; Zhang Zhonggang, *Du ji xulu*, 55-56; Wu Hongze, *Song dai nianpu kaolun* 宋代年譜考論 (Ph.D. diss. Sichuan University 2006), 48-49.

Cai Xingzong	✓	√ early 12th century	
Zhao Cigong		✓ ***1134-1147***	
Lu Yin	✓ ***by 1153***	√	
Hong Xingzu	(√ ?)		√ no later than 1155
Bao Biao[56]	(√ ?)	(√ ?)	(√ ?)
Wu Renjie	√ late 12th century		
Liang Quandao	√ late 12th century		
Cai Mengbi		✓ ***by 1204***	
The Huangs	✓		✓ ***1216***

From this chart, it is clear that from the late eleventh century to the early thirteenth century, the strategy of reading Du Fu's poems in a chronological manner, as reflected in those *biannian* editions and *nianpu*, considerably developed. Yet Du Fu was not the only Tang poet whose poems were read chronologically in the Song. Zeng Gong 曾鞏 (1019-1083) chronologized Li Bai's 李白 (701-762) poems, and, from this, a printed *biannian* edition of Li's collection was published in 1080. Then, in the Southern Song, a brief *nianpu* for Li Bai emerged.[57] Han Yu's

[56] The time of Bao Biao's work is not known. Since Bao was still alive in 1160, I place his work after Hong Xingzu, who died in 1155.

[57] For editions of Li Bai's collection, see Wan Man 萬曼, *Tang ji xulu* 唐集敘錄 (Kaifeng: Henan daxue chubanshe, 2008), 103-112; Zeng Gong's work is mentioned in 105. The *nianpu* was compiled by Xue Zhongyong 薛仲邕, see Wu Hongze, *Song dai nianpu kaolun*, 44.

韓愈 (768-824) literary works came to be read along with his *nianpu*, as well. There were eleven known *nianpu* of Han Yu compiled in the Song, and those compilers included Lü Dafang, Zhao Zili, and Hong Xingzu – all of whom also compiled *nianpu* or edited *biannian* editions for Du Fu.[58] When Liu Zongyuan's 柳宗元 (773-819) collection was compiled in the Song, some editions were probably also produced in the form of *biannian*, because when a man named Shen Hui 沈晦 used four earlier editions to compile a new edition in 1114, he paid particular attention to the sequence in which individual works were arranged, and pointed out that the edition owned by Yan Shu 晏殊 (991-1055) was the best.[59] Two *nianpu* were further compiled in 1135 and 1169.[60]

From the eleventh century forward, other *nianpu* emerged that linked earlier authors with their works in a chronological manner. According to Wu Hongze, there were seven *nianpu* for Bai Juyi 白居易 (772-846), five for Tao Qian 陶潛 (365-427), and one for Wei Yingwu 韋應物 (737-792). Moreover, *nianpu* written for eminent literary figures of the Song Dynasty also emerged. For example, Ouyang Xiu had eight *nianpu*, Huang Tingjian had four, and Su Shi had eight for himself in addition to three devoted to his father, his brother, and himself as a group.[61]

All of these figures who had *nianpu* – no matter whether they lived in earlier periods or in the Song Dynasty – were literary stars in the eyes of Song readers. And not just anyone was considered qualified or deserving of a *nianpu*. The existence of one signified that the author

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[58] See *Tang ji xulu*, 214-234. For more details of Song editions of Han Yu's collection, see Liu Zhenlun 劉真倫, *Han Yu ji Song Yuan chuanben yanjiu* 韓愈集宋元傳本研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2004). For Han Yu's *nianpu*, see Wu Hongze, *Song dai nianpu kaolun*, 51-54.

[59] For editions of Liu Zongyuan's collection, see *Tang ji xulu*, 240-254; see 241 for Shen Hui's edition.

[60] Wu Hongze, *Song dai nianpu kaolun*, 57-58.

[61] For a complete list of all the known *nianpu* compiled in the Song , see Wu Hongze, *Song dai nianpu kaolun*, 35-96.

deserving of one was worthy of considerable recognition. Tao Qian's case was perhaps the most typical. His rise in the Song, which was largely due to Su Shi's praise, was well known, and he was the only medieval writer who had *nianpu* in the Song. On the contrary, those who enjoyed greater reputation in the medieval period, such as Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 (385-433), did not receive such recognition. In this sense, compiling *nianpu* for an author or chronologically arranging an author's poems in his collection was not merely a bibliographical issue. There was an implicit evaluative sense in this activity. These authors were distinguished and treated in a special manner. To be more specific, readers in the Song attempted to re-structure their works in the way Song people usually structured their own collections.

While specific situations more or less varied for different writers, the common practice in the Song was that the author compiled "sub-collections" for works in each phase of his life, and in the end a whole collection was compiled – sometimes by the author himself, and more often by later people such as the author's descendants or disciples.[62] Among others, Wang Yuchen 王禹偁 (954-1001), Song Qi, Yang Yi 楊億 (974-1020), Ouyang Xiu, Huang Tingjian, and Yang Wanli 楊萬里 (1127-1206) all compiled such sub-collections. This practice had its origin in the Tang, as was exemplified by the cases of Yan Zhenqing 顏真卿 (709-785) and Bai Juyi, but it did not become common practice until the eleventh century. The compilation of one's collection in such a way made the chronological ordering of an author's literary works a natural activity, despite the fact that, in many cases, the whole collection was not explicitly in *biannian* style.

Ultimately, however, this alone does not explain the rise of *biannian* style, if only because

[62] For the way in which literary collections were compiled in the Song, see Zhu Shangshu 祝尚書, *Song ren bieji xulu* 宋人別集敘錄 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1999) and Wang Lan 王嵐, *Song ren wenji bianke liuchuan congkao* 宋人文集編刻流傳叢考 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 2003).

there is little evidence that proves definitely that medieval collection did not also form through similar accumulation processes. The more profound reason for the popularity of *biannian* lies in the development of *shi* poetics in the Song. As scholars have pointed out, early and medieval poets, to a large degree, followed established ways of composition in terms of themes, vocabularies, expression of emotions, and so on.[63] The author made efforts to stick to tradition, and the self was not so central a focus. Accordingly, when poetry was to be read as a reflection of the author's life, often enough it was biographical information that needed to be coined in order to contextualize the poetic text in question.[64] In short, there was a gap between poetry and the author's life. Since the Song, however, poetry became more and more concerned with the author's daily life, which is generally summarized by Yoshikawa Kōjirō 吉川幸次郎 (1904-1980) as one of Song poetry's characteristics.[65] Yoshikawa's original term in Japanese is *nichijōka* 日常化, which has been widely accepted by scholars of Song poetry all over the world. Its connotation, however, needs to be further investigated. We cannot say no daily life was presented in pre-Song poetry. For example, topics like having banquets, appreciating landscapes, and discussing metaphysical issues, which were written in poetry falling in categories of "banquet" (*gongyan* 公宴), "landscape" (*shanshui* 山水) and "metaphysics" (*xuanyan* 玄言)

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[63] See Joseph R. Allen, *In the Voice of Others: Chinese Music Bureau Poetry* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1992); Stephen Owen, *The Making of Early Chinese Classical Poetry* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Press, 2006).

[64] See Martin Kern, "The Poetry of Han Historiography," *Early Medieval China* (Festschrift for David R. Knechtges) 10-11.1 (2004): 23-65.

[65] See Yoshikawa Kōjirō, *An Introduction to Sung Poetry*, trans. Burton Watson (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1967), 14-19. For recent discussion of the issue, see Colin Hawes, "Mundane Transcendence: Dealing with the Everyday in Ouyang Xiu's Poetry," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 21 (Dec., 1999): 99-129; Zhu Gang 朱剛, "'Richanghua' de yiyi jiqi juxian – yi Ouyang Xiu wei zhongxin" "日常化"的意義及其局限——以歐陽修為中心, *Wenxue yichan* 文學遺產, 2 (2013): 51-61.

respectively, all reflect the content of medieval aristocratic writers' life. Poets in the Song, of course, also wrote about banquets, landscapes, and meditation. The difference was more about how to write than what to write. Unlike their medieval predecessors, Song poets focused more on their own individual experiences and feelings rather than readily following established paradigms to produce their poetic texts. Thus, indeed more daily topics emerged, because everyone had his or her own daily life, and different aspects of life – either concordant with traditional topics or not – were now written.

This development in poetry made it more possible for readers to treat an author's poetry as a source for details about his life, and also inspired Song readers to apply this reading strategy to earlier poets via their work of compiling *biannian* editions and *nianpu*. Meanwhile, as Yoshikawa points out, although the concern for daily life emerged mainly in Song poetry, this phenomenon already appeared in earlier poetry, such as that exemplified by Du Fu and Bai Juyi. This insightful observation is crucial for our examination of the construction of Du Fu. That is to say, it was Du Fu himself who was, in the first place, the poet that made it possible for editors in the Song to construct him as such in the act of poetic collection. While the autobiographic characteristics of Du Fu's poetry have long been the subject of theoretical consideration, it is worth emphasizing here that such characteristics by no means obviated the efforts of Du Fu's editors in the Song.[66] Pu Qilong 浦起龍 (1679-1762), a renowned Qing commentator of Du Fu's poetry, explained why it was necessary to chronologically arrange Du Fu's poems:

古人遺集，不得以年月限者，其故有三：生逢治朝，無變故可稽，一也；居有定處，

[66] For characteristics of literary autobiography, see Stephen Owen, "The Self's Perfect Mirror: Poetry as Autobiography," in Shuen-fu Lin and Stephen Owen, eds., *The Vitality of the Lyric Voice: Shih Poetry from the Late Han to the T'ang* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 71-102.

> 無征途顯迹，二也；語在當身，與庶務罕涉，三也。杜皆反是。變故、征途、庶務交關而互勘，而年月昭昭矣。惟天寶以前，事端未起，則不得泥。詩亦寥寥。[67]
>
> Among the collected writings left by the ancients, those that should not be classified in terms of their compositional year or month are so for three reasons: First, the author lived in an ordered dynasty and there were no changes in his life to investigate; Second, the author stayed in a fixed place and had no expeditions or renowned deeds to trace; Third, the author's words were only about himself and had little to do with political affairs. In each of these aspects, Du Fu's situation was the opposite. Changes in his life, traces of his travels, and political affairs at that time are related with and testify to one another, and as such, the compositional year and month of his poems becomes very clear. Only situations before the Tianbao period, when turbulences had not occurred, should not be rigidly discussed. Poems from that period were not many either.

The above paragraph summarizes the ways in which *biannian* were usually constructed. Since Du Fu had both experienced and wrote about so much of his life and his era, one can locate many clues from his poems so as to best determine their compositional time. Meanwhile, the essence of the strategy of reading Du Fu's poems chronologically is well revealed too. By chronologizing Du Fu's poems, the reading of his poetry became a circular process: knowledge regarding the historical background of Du Fu's time and his activities in this background enabled the editor or commentator to arrange his poems chronologically, and then by reading his poems the reader could come to know about the poet's life and his time. This strategy, when fully adopted, resulted in the received image of Du Fu as a poet-historian, which is discussed in more detail in Chapter

[67] Pu Qilong, *Du Du xinjie* 讀杜心解 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1961), 8-9.

3.

Biannian as Biographical Narrative and Critical Perspective

In concrete practice, however, conclusions of *biannian* could be problematic. The basic methodology of *biannian* was to mark temporal points that could be definitely ascertained, such as significant historical events, the appointment of Du Fu's bureaucratic positions, remarkable events in his personal experiences, known activities of people related to Du Fu, and so on. Specific clues in his poetic texts related to such matters then determined the poem's compositional time. While the majority of such events could indeed be determined in a chronological sense, a degree of reason was still necessary in order to properly situate their compositional time, and even then, such a task could be quite difficult. Poetic language is often too ambiguous to sustain such evidential claims. If one is obsessed to chronologize every poem by Du Fu, a fair amount of uncertainty inevitably arises. This is why there have been disputes over compositional time of Du Fu's poems from the Song to the present day.[68]

Here I provide investigation of a case in which the *biannian* conducted in the Song came to

[68] In addition to disputes scattered in pre-modern commentaries, see discussions in Liu Shangyong 劉尚勇, "Cen Shen fu Jiazhou shishi kao – jianlun Du Fu 'Ji Cen Jiazhou' shi xinian" 岑參赴嘉州時事考——兼論杜甫《寄岑嘉州》詩系年, *Chengdu daxue xuebao (sheke ban)* 成都大學學報（社科版）, 3 (1987): 44-48; Tao Ruizhi 陶瑞芝, "Du Fu 'Xi qing' xinian jiuzhu kaobian" 杜甫《喜晴》系年舊注考辨, *Du Fu yanjiu xuekan* 杜甫研究學刊, 3 (1995): 54-58; Liu Youzhu 劉有竹, "Tan Du Fu zai Yu Wan yidai ji shou shi de zhushi he xinian" 談杜甫在渝萬一帶幾首詩的注釋和系年, *Du Fu yanjiu xuekan* 杜甫研究學刊, 2 (1997): 62-64, 69; Xu Shirong 許世榮, "Du shi 'Huangcao' xinian kao" 杜詩《黃草》系年考, *Du Fu yanjiu xuekan* 杜甫研究學刊, 3 (1998): 67-68; Jiang Xianwei 蔣先偉, "Du shi 'Huangcao' xinian bian" 杜詩《黃草》系年辨, *Sichuan Sanxia xueyuan xuebao* 四川三峽學院學報 16, 1 (2000): 19-21; Wu Zaiqing 吳在慶, "Du Fu wannian shi shushou biannian kaobian" 杜甫晚年詩數首編年考辨, *Fuzhou daxue xuebao (zhexue shehui kexue ban)* 福州大學學報（哲學社會科學版）, 2 (2004): 47-52; Lin Jizhong 林繼中, "Du shi 'Xi bingma' xinian pingyi" 杜詩《洗兵馬》系年評議, *Shanxi daxue xuebao (zhexue shehui kexue ban)* 山西大學學報（哲學社會科學版）34, 2 (Mar., 2011): 24-28.

bear on Du Fu's self-fashioning of his life in regard to the "thatched cottage" (*caotang* 草堂) topos. The poems in question are "Chun gui" 春歸 [Returning in Spring] and "Guilai" 歸來 [Returning], respectively:

苔徑臨江竹	The mossed path faces bamboo by the river,
茅檐覆地花	Under the thatched eave, flowers cover the ground.
別來頻甲子	Since my departure, time has passed year after year,
歸到忽春華	When I return, there are suddenly spring blossoms
倚杖看孤石	Leaning on my cane, I look at the solitary rock,
傾壺就淺沙	Pouring wine out of a pot, I drink it facing the sandbank.
遠鷗浮水靜	Gulls afar float on the quiet water,
輕燕受風斜	Light swallows fly obliquely in the wind.
世路雖多梗	Although there are many obstacles in the paths of the world,
吾生亦有涯	My life also has its boundaries.
此身醒復醉	This body vacillates between waking and drunkenness,
乘興即爲家[69]	On an impulse I simply regard where I am as my home.

客里有所過	In my trips I passed places,
歸來知路難	Returning home I know the difficulties on the way.
開門野鼠走	When the door is opened, wild rats are running;

[69] Xiao Difei 蕭滌非, ed., *Du Fu quanji jiaozhu* 杜甫全集校注 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2014), Vol. 6, 3135-37.

散帙壁魚乾	As I unfold a book, there are dry moths.
洗杓開新醞	Washing a spoon, opening a new brew,
低頭拭小盤	I lower my head to wipe small plates.
憑誰給麴蘗	No matter who gives me the yeast,
細酌老江干[70]	I will spend my late years slowly drinking at the riverside.

Both of these poems are about returning home. The description of landscape and the details of daily life indicate that the act of returning was, for Du Fu, an enjoyable experience. Furthermore, from the second couplets in both poems, we can know both poems are about returning home after a long time away. However, as can be seen from these poems, there are no clues that enable us to determine the time of composition. We only know that the act of returning in "Chun gui" occurred in spring.

Yet Huang He 黃鶴, who obsessively dated every poem by Du Fu, conjectured that these two poems were both written in 764 at the time when Du Fu returned to his "thatched cottage" in Chengdu 成都 after Xu Zhidao's 徐知道 (d. 762) rebellion was pacified.[71] Many pre-modern and modern commentators agree, and this is why, in Xiao Difei's edition published recently, these two poems are arranged between the series of "Jiang fu Chengdu Caotang tuzhong youzuo xian ji Yan Zhenggong wushou" 將赴成都草堂途中有作先寄嚴鄭公五首 [Five Poems to Yan Wu the Duke of Zheng, Composed on the Way to the Thatched Cottage in Chengdu], and "Caotang" 草堂 [The Thatched Cottage] – both of which are known for certain to have been

[70] Ibid., 3137-41.
[71] Huang He's *biannian* are quoted under each poem's title in ibid., 3135 and 3138.

written in 764 respectively before and after Du Fu returned to Chengdu.[72]

Huang He does not explicitly state his reason for dating "Returning in Spring" and "Returning" to 764, but his reasoning is somewhat clear. To Huang, certain intertextual linkages to the "Five Poems to Yan Wu" and "The Thatched Cottage" justified such a date. Some images or issues mentioned in these two poems, including bamboo and pine, wine, spring, and long-time departure, also appear in "Returning in Spring" and "Returning," as shown in the following charts.

Bamboo and pine:

Five Poems to Yan Wu	The Thatched Cottage	Returning in Spring	Returning
敢論松竹久荒蕪[73]	入門四松在 步屧萬竹疏[74]	苔徑臨江竹	N/A
竹寒沙碧浣花溪[75]			
新松恨不高千尺 惡竹應須斬萬竿[76]			

Wine:

[72] Ibid., 3124-3135, and 3141-3148.
[73] Ibid., 3124; No. 1 of the series. "I dare not to talk about the pines and bamboos that have long been out of cultivation."
[74] Ibid., 3142. "When I enter the gate, the four pines are still there, / Taking a casual walk, (I see) the ten thousand of bamboos sparsely grow."
[75] Ibid., 3128; No. 3 of the series. "Cold bamboos and blue sand are at the Flower-Rinsing Creek."
[76] Ibid., 3129; No. 4 of the series. "Newly grown pines are regrettably not a thousand feet high, / Bad bamboos should be cut down by ten thousand poles."

Five Poems to Yan Wu	The Thatched Cottage	Returning in Spring	Returning
酒憶郫筒不用酤[77]	鄰舍喜我歸	此生醒復醉	洗杓開新醞
先判一飲醉如泥[79]	沽酒攜胡蘆[78]		憑誰給麴蘗 細酌老江干

Spring:

Five Poems to Yan Wu	The Thatched Cottage	Returning in Spring	Returning
故園猶得見殘春[80]	N/A	歸到忽春華	N/A
豈藉荒庭春草色[81]			

Long-time departure:

Five Poems to Yan Wu	The Thatched Cottage	Returning in Spring	Returning
敢論松竹久荒蕪[82]	賤子且奔走	別來頻甲子	開門野鼠走

[77] Ibid., 3124; No. 1 of the series. "I remember the 'Bamboo Bucket Wine' which used to be no need to purchase."
[78] Ibid., 3142. "Neighbors are glad that I come back, / taking their bottle gourds they buy me wine."
[79] Ibid., 3128; No. 3 of the series. "Let us first indulge in wine, getting as drunk as fiddler."
[80] Ibid., 3126; No. 2 of the series. "In my old garden there is still a bit of spring remaining."
[81] Ibid., 3128; No. 3 of the series. "Do we really need to step into the wasted yard for the color of spring grass?"
[82] Ibid., 3124; No. 1 of the series. "I dare not to talk about the pines and bamboos that have long been out of cultivation."

三年奔走空皮骨[84]	三年望東吳[83]		散帙壁魚乾
今來已恐鄰人非[85]			

Given the intertextual relations between these four poems, it is somewhat reasonable to regard them as poems written during the same period in Du Fu's life. In other words, there is indeed a possibility that "Returning in Spring" and "Returning" were composed at the moment when Du Fu returned to his home in Chengdu in the spring of 764, if only due to the fact that they intertextually echo poems that we know for certain were composed at that moment. A lack of counter-evidence further supports such a claim. But possibility is most notably not certainty. Theoretically, when *biannian* were composed, they should differentiate certain poems, such as the "Five Poems to Yan Wu" series and "The Thatched Cottage," from poems like "Returning in Spring" and "Returning." The compositional time of the first two was rather clear, but it was not so for the latter two poems. The determination of a chronological date for poetic composition exemplified by the latter two poems was a process analogous to cumulative "voting" by commentators, researchers and readers of Du Fu's poetry in the past.

In practice, however, these two kinds of poems lacked much to differentiate them. As long as they received a proper date, they came to be treated in the same way, and when all poems came to be taken as records of Du Fu's life, they ultimately intertwined with one another to collectively construct a coherent narrative of Du Fu's experiences for the reader. In regard to

[84] Ibid., 3129; No. 4 of the series. "Roaming and wandering for three years I have exhausted by skins and bones."
[83] Ibid., 3142. "A trivial person, I have roamed and wandered, / For three years I wish to go for East Wu."
[85] Ibid., 3131; No. 5 of the series. "Coming back today, I am already afraid my old neighbors are no longer there."

"Returning in Spring" and "Returning," for example, an early Qing reader, Chen Xu 陳訏 (1649-ca. 1732), provided the following reading:

> 前首是春歸，故就春景寫歸。次首是歸來，故止寫歸來之景。至前首是久客初歸，似猶旅寓，故結言"乘興即為家"。次首歸來，似歸有寧宇，不復行路苦難，故結言"老江干"。摹情寫景無不貼切。[86]
>
> The first one is "Returning in Spring," so the returning is written with springtime scenes. The second one is "Returning," so only scenes of the returning are written. The first one is about returning just after a long departure, and the situation is portrayed as if one was still in transit. The poem therefore ends with "On an impulse I just take where I am as my home." In the second poem on returning, it seems that the poet has a peaceful home upon his return, and the difficult of travel fades away. As such, the poem ends with "spending late years at the riverside." No expression of emotion or description of scenery is not appropriate.

The reading not only regards "Returning in Spring" and "Returning" as poems composed at roughly the same time, but sets them in a particular sequence. Furthermore, Du Fu's emotion is said to naturally change as he finally arrives home. The separate voice of the poetic personae in the two poems are taken to form a coherent story about the author, Du Fu, who, in this narrative, traveled back to his home in Chengdu with excitement, and wished to settle down there for the rest of his life.

While this narrative sounds pleasant, it is notable that in *Song ben Du Gongbu ji*,

[86] Ibid., 3139.

"Returning in Spring" is located *juan* 11, and "Returning" is in *juan* 13.[87] This is to say, they were not necessarily always read together. As long as they are read separately, there is no evidence that the "returning" in these poems refers to the same act of returning to the "Thatched Cottage" in 764. Why, then, did Huang He and others feel comfortable dating them to the moment when Du Fu returned to Chengdu? The reason probably lies in the fact that, in Du Fu's surviving poems, the "Thatched Cottage" appears as a common topic of poetic reflection. It was, to Huang, known to be the most famous place that Du Fu settled after he was compelled to leave the "central plain" and sought refuge in Southwest China. In his poetry, Du Fu presented the "Thatched Cottage" as a peaceful home away from home located in the central plain. Therefore, when certain intertextual readings made it possible to draw individual poems together to reinforce such a narrative, editors became inclined to conduct *biannian* in the way that best support the image of Du Fu who settled in his "Thatched Cottage."

In the poetic narratives proposed by *biannian* and summarized by Chen Xu, what Roman Ingarden refers to as "places of indeterminacy" in literary works is a key issue. Ingarden states the following:

> We find such a place of indeterminacy wherever it is impossible, on the basis of the sentences in the work, to say whether a certain object or objective situation has a certain attribute.[88]

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[87] Zhang Yuanji 張元濟, ed., *Song ben Du Gongbu ji* 宋本杜工部集, Xu guyi congshu 續古逸叢書 (1922; repr., Yangzhou: Jiangsu Guangling guji keyinshe, 1994), Vol.4, respectively 240b-241a, and 262b.

[88] Roman Ingarden, *The Cognition of the Literary Work of Art*, trans. Ruth Ann Crowley and Kenneth R. Olson (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1973), 50.

Accordingly, two ways of reading are possible. One simple leaves such places of indeterminacy as they are, and the other, which is perhaps more common, is that:

> We overlook the places of indeterminacy as such and involuntarily fill many of them out with determinacies which are not justified by the text. Thus in our reading we go beyond the text in various points without being clearly aware of it. We do so partially under the suggestive influence of the text but partially, also, under the influence of a natural inclination, since we are accustomed to considering individual things and persons as completely determinate.[89]

For those who regarded "Returning in Spring" and "Returning" to be poems composed almost at the same time, and dated them to the moment when Du Fu returned to his thatched cottage after a three-year departure, the intertextual relation subsequently influences the ways in which the reader addresses places of indeterminacy. In the context of *biannian*, such relations manifested in the creation of compositional times for each poem. In this sense, *biannian* was not merely a type of bibliographical study, but instead a reading strategy through which the reader joins Du Fu to a construction of his own life and poetry – even though the reader's construction may not always conform to Du Fu's own, autonomous construction free from the gaze of the reader.

As *biannian* came to classify the entirety of Du Fu's corpus, it eventually led to the complete periodization of Du Fu's poetry, which in turn stimulated new perspectives of poetic criticism. Poems composed in different periods of his life came to be read in a comparative fashion, and therefore produced stylistic classifications linked to different compositional periods

[89] Ibid., 52.

in Du Fu's life. Altogether, Du Fu's poetic composition came to be viewed as a progressive process rather than a static entity. His "late year poetry" in particular came to be valued as the greatest achievement in his life, which is perhaps best demonstrated in poems composed in Kuizhou 夔州.[90]

In the current *biannian* mode that persists today, about 450 poems date to Du Fu's stay in Kuizhou from the spring of 766 to the spring of 768. While the compositional periods assigned to some poems give rise to some doubt, many poems are known for certain to have been written during this period if only due to the geographical information that they provide. They make up, as such, a major part of Du Fu's poetry written in his later years. For investigation of how Kuizhou poems are evaluated, "Baidi cheng zuigao lou" 白帝城最高樓 [The Highest Pavilion in the White Emperor Fortress] serves as a typical example:

城尖徑仄旌旆愁	The fortress magnificent, the route oblique, banners and flags sorrowful,
獨立縹緲之飛樓	I stand by myself in the flying pavilion dimly discernible.
峽坼雲霾龍虎臥	The gorge, dark behind clouds, splits, where dragons and tigers lie,
江清日抱黿鼉游	The river, winding under the sun, is clear, where turtles and alligators swim.
扶桑西枝對斷石	Western branches of the Fusang Tress face the broken rock,
弱水東影隨長流	Shadows on the eastern bank of the Ruoshui River ripple in its long

[90] For example, see Cheng Qianfan 程千帆 and Zhang Hongsheng 張宏生, "Wannian: huiyi he fanxing – du Du Fu zai Kuizhou de changpian pailühe lianzhangshi zhaji" 晚年：回憶和反省——讀杜甫在夔州的長篇排律和聯章詩札記, *Zhongguo shehui kexue* 中國社會科學, 1 (1986): 165-174.

waves.

杖藜歎世者誰子　Who is leaning on his rattan and sighing for the world?

泣血迸空回白頭　Weeping blood into sky, I turn around my white head.

Since the White Emperor Fortress was in Kuizhou, this is undoubtedly a Kuizhou poem. Huang He's assertion that it was composed in 766 when Du Fu just arrived in Kuizhou, however, is still open to discussion. Du Fu could have, after all, journeyed to such a locale at any time during his stay in Kuizhou.[91] In the pre-modern reception of Du Fu, this poem is noted particularly for its unusual prosody. Shao Changheng 邵長蘅 (1637-1704) made the assessment that "for heptasyllabic regulated verse of this kind, Shaoling is unrivaled" (此種七律少陵獨步). More specifically, Sun Kuang 孫鑛 (1543-1613) took notice of the generic permeation between poetry and prose:

> 突然起"旌旆愁"，煞是奇險。次句用"之"字，以文句入詩自奇。[92]
>
> All of sudden the poem starts with "banners and flags sorrowful." This is very unusual and unsmooth. The next line uses the character *zhi* to apply prose syntax in poetry, which is surely unusual.

Shen Deqian 沈德潛 (1673-1769) and Wu Zhantai 吳瞻泰 (1657-1735) focused on the issue of the so-called "violation styles" 拗體:

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[91] See the poetic text as well as Huang He's *biannian* in Xiao Difei, *Du Fu quanji jiaozhu*, Vol. 6, 3564.

[92] Ibid., 3567

拗體歌變體。句法古體，對法律體，兩者兼用之。[93]

This is the variant of violation-styled song. The syntax is in ancient style, while the parallel is in regulated style. The two styles are combined together in use.

此拗律中之歌行也，橫絕一世。[94]

This is *gexing* verse in violation-styled regulated verse. It surpassed all others in that era.

As Chapter 4 will discuss in more detail, the concept of "violating and saving" (*ao jiu* 拗救) had not taken form yet in Du Fu's time, and when the thesis of "composing poetry in the way of composing prose" (*yiwen weishi* 以文為詩) was firstly raised in the eleventh century, it particularly referred to Han Yu rather than to Du Fu. Still, however, Du Fu's status as a master of poetic craft was an important aspect of the Song construction of his image. These Ming and Qing era comments quoted above therefore echo the Song construction. And due to the fact that "The Highest Pavilion in the White Emperor Fortress" is dated to Du Fu's stay in Kuizhou during his late years, the subsequent highlighting of the poem's unusual crafting also appears to testify to Du Fu's self-statement that "in my late years I gradually became meticulous in prosody" (晚節漸于詩律細). Apart from his self-statement, he also commented that "Yu Xin had new achievements in his literary composition in his late years" (庾信文章老更成). It seemed that Du Fu himself already more or less took note of the issue of late year writings.

In general, however, it was not until the eleventh century that "literary achievements in late

[93] Ibid., 3568.
[94] Ibid.

years" finally became an important critical perspective.[95] As for Du Fu, this would have never become a recognized issue if those poems had not been collected and chronically arranged into a part of Du Fu's entire collection. As Chen Shangjun has estimated, the Kuizhou poems quite possibly only made up a small portion of one of the earliest minor collections of Du Fu's poetry – the *Du Gongbu xiaoji* compiled by Fan Huang.[96] While Du Fu could have written more in Kuizhou during his two year stay there, it could also be the situation that his Kuizhou poems turned out to survive better than poems written in other places. In fact, these two possibilities could have actually happened simultaneously. That is to say, the recognition and evaluation of Du Fu's literary achievements during his later years in Kuizhou is not simply an issue of commenting on the actual situation of Du Fu's writings. Rather, such analyses relied on the act of collecting and chronologically arranging Du Fu's poems. If all of the poems ever written by Du Fu had survived, or if the *biannian* had never become a prominent format for compiling poetic collections, the evaluation of Du Fu's poetic achievements may have ended up focusing on very different aspects of his *oeuvre*.

This discussion of *biannian*, and its possible impact on Du Fu's poetic work and biographical construction is not intended to provide a counter-argument to all existing understandings of Du Fu's life and works, or to provide a completely new *biannian* system through which Du Fu's poetry could be re-categorized. The point is to realize that the Du Fu we see in his poetic collections is not simply the person who created these poetic texts. Rather, Du Fu's received image became as such only when his poems were gradually collected, edited, and

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[95] See Midorikawa Hideki 綠川英樹, "Seijuku to oi no shigaku ninshiki: To Ho kara Ō Mei made" 成熟と老いの詩學認識: 杜甫から歐・梅まで, *Chūgoku bungaku hō* 中國文學報 63 (2001): 101-148. Discussion of the issue here is also inspired by Xiaoshan Yang, "Wang Anshi and the Idea of Late Writing" (paper presented at the annual meeting for American Oriental Society, New Orleans, Louisiana, March 13-16, 2015).

[96] Chen Shangjun, "Du shi zaoqi liuchuan kao," in *Tang dai wenxue congkao*, 309-310.

chronologically arranged in the Song. This was a process of construction, but not recovery of the real situations in which Du Fu produced poetic texts. Indeed, the constructed image of Du Fu hardly had anything to do with Du Fu's compositional processes. A proper understanding of Du Fu's particular poetic texts should therefore not be affected by preconceived knowledge about his received image, which, in truth, did not even exist until it was distilled from Du Fu's poetic texts.

Meanwhile, even before the received collection of his poetry took form, memories about Du Fu, his life, his personality, and his literary achievements persisted in common memory. We need also to investigate these memories before discussing the Song construction of Du Fu's image.

Chapter 2. Before the Collection

While the received collection of Du Fu's poetry took form mainly in the eleventh century, before Du Fu was by no means an obscure poet. During the three centuries after his death, he was read, discussed, and remembered, and it is believed that people knew about him primarily from his poetic collections, just like how he has been known after the eleventh century. The major difference lied in the collections of his that were read. There could have been someone who had a chance to read the sixty-*juan* collection of Du Fu's writings mentioned in *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 [*The Old History of the Tang*], but it is perhaps more likely that people who lived from the ninth century to the eleventh century just read collections of part of his poetry, exemplified by Fan Huang's 樊晃 *Du Gongbu xiaoji* 杜工部小集 [*A Minor Collection of Vice Director Du of the Ministry of Works*]. As discussed in Chapter 1, some minor collections were used by Song literati to compile new editions of Du Fu's poetry, although today we almost know nothing about their specific situations.

Meanwhile, memories about Du Fu are also preserved in other materials from that time, of which Du Fu's biographies in various sources are perhaps a most significant type. In the preface he wrote for his edition Wang Zhu 王洙 (997-1057) mentions his access to earlier biographies and other materials:

觀甫詩與《唐實録》，猶概見事迹。比《新書》列傳，彼為踳駁。[1]

Reading Du Fu's poetry and *The Veritable Records of the Tang*, Du's deeds can still be

[1] Hua Wenxuan 華文軒, ed., *Du Fu juan* 杜甫卷, *Gudian wenxue yanjiu ziliao huibian* 古典文學研究資料彙編 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1964), 62.

roughly seen. When compared with Du Fu's biography in *The New History*, the latter is filled with disorders and mistakes.

Wang's mention of the "*The New History*" refers to what we now know as the *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 [*The Old History of the Tang*].[2] "*The Veritable Records*" was probably the particular *shilu* 實錄 for Emperor Suzong's 肅宗 (711-762, r. 756-762) reign, which has been lost but was available in Wang Zhu's time.[3] Here he makes it clear that Du Fu's biography in *Jiu Tang shu* is not satisfying, and this is why he provides an alternative perspective drawn from Du Fu's own poetry. Meanwhile, the major part of Wang Zhu's preface is also a biography of Du Fu. While it should reflect Wang Zhu's study of Du Fu, the biography also absorbed earlier collective memories about the poet, as shown below.

Not long after 1039, the year to which Wang Zhu's preface was dated, the *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 [*The New History of the Tang*] was compiled during the years stretching from 1044 to

[2] In the early Northern Song, the term "jiu *Tang shu*" 舊唐書 usually referred to the *guoshi* 國史 [State History] of the Tang, particularly the one compiled by Wei Shu 韋述 (d. 757); Accordingly, "xin *Tang shu*" 新唐書 was used for the standard Tang history compiled by Liu Xu 劉昫 in the Five-dynasties, i.e., what we now call "*Jiu Tang shu*" as differentiated from "*Xin Tang shu*," the one compiled by Song Qi 宋祁 and Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修. In other words, the *guoshi* by Wei Shu, the Tang history by Liu Xu and the Tang history by Song and Ouyang all used to be titled *Tang shu* 唐書, and the modifying term, "old" and "new," could refer to different things in different contexts. See Wu Yugui's 吳玉貴 discussion in the "Qianyan" 前言 of his *Tang shu jijiao* 唐書輯校 (Beijing: Zhonghau shuju, 2008), 1-12.

[3] As elaborated below, it was during Emperor Suzong's reign that Du Fu got the only chance in his life to participate in events occurring in the central government and left some records in the Tang Dynasty *shilu*. For *guoshi*, *shilu* and their relations with other genres of Tang history, see Denis C. Twitchett, *The Writing of Official History under the T'ang* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

1060.[4] Given the fact that Wang Zhu had a good relationship with Song Qi 宋祁 (998-1061), the compiler of *Xin Tang shu*'s biography section, it was possible that Song had a chance to read Wang's edition of Du Fu's collected poetry, along with the preface. Despite this, some mistakes in the Du Fu biography in the *Jiu Tang shu* that Wang Zhu had rectified still made their way into the *Xin Tang shu*.[5] Also, as shown in the details elaborated upon below, the Du Fu biographies in *Xin Tang shu* and *Jiu Tang shu* still share the same narrative framework even though the compilers of *Xin Tang shu* also expressed dissatisfaction for *Jiu Tang shu*. That is to say, in spite of amendments for details here and there, the general outlines of Du Fu's life remained the same.

The Du Fu biography in the *Jiu Tang shu*, in turn, draws upon at least three sources.[6] One is the tomb inscription written by Yuan Zhen 元稹 (779-831), who wrote about Du Fu at the request of Du Fu's grandson, Du Siye 杜嗣業, which outlines Du Fu's life after it reviews Du Fu's literary achievements.[7] The second source derived from the *shilu* and *guoshi* 國史 [*State*

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[4] For the process of compiling *Xin Tang shu*, see Zhang Menglun 張孟倫, "Guanyu Song dai chongxiu *Tang shu* de wenti" 關於宋代重修《唐書》的問題, and Yan Zhongqi 顏中其, "*Xin Tang shu* xiuzhuan kao" 《新唐書》修撰考, in Xiang Yannan 向燕南 and Li Feng 李峰, eds., *Xin jiu* Tang shu *yu xin jiu* Wudai shi *yanjiu* 新舊《唐書》與新舊《五代史》研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo da baike quanshu chubanshe, 2009), 34-49 and 385-413, respectively.

[5] It is generally understood that Du Fu's biographies in the *Jiu Tang shu* and *Xin Tang shu* should be used very carefully. For specific mistakes in the two biographies, see Du Chengxiang 杜呈祥, "Liang *Tang shu* Du Fu zhuan dingwu" 兩唐書杜甫傳訂誤, *Shida xuebao* 師大學報 6 (1961): 223-235; and Hu Chuan'an 胡傳安, "Liang *Tang shu* Du Fu zhuan buzheng" 兩唐書杜甫傳補正, *Dalu zazhi* 大陸雜誌 30, 9 (May 15, 1965): 16-20, 10 (May 31, 1965): 18-23, and 11 (June 15, 1965): 30-34.

[6] For *Jiu Tang shu*'s source materials, see Yan Zhijie 閻質杰, "*Jiu Tang shu* shiliao laiyuan lunzheng" 《舊唐書》史料來源論證, and Liu Jie 劉節, "*Jiu Tang shu* de xiuding yu yanjiu" 《舊唐書》的修訂與研究, in Xiang Yannan and Li Feng, eds., *Xin jiu* Tang shu *yu xin jiu* Wudai shi *yanjiu*, respectively 175-184 and 372-384; also see Xie Baocheng 謝保成, "*Jiu Tang shu* de shiliao laiyuan" 《舊唐書》的史料來源, *Tang yanjiu* 唐研究 1 (1995): 353-376.

[7] We know the compiler of *Jiu Tang shu* had seen Yuan Zhen's epitaph because the evaluation per se is transcribed almost intact into *Jiu Tang shu*'s biography, though it is after rather than prior to the narrative of Du Fu's life.

History] compiled by Tang officials. Both of these texts were the most important source materials for *Jiu Tang shu*, and Du Fu's biography likely drew upon the particular *shilu* and *guoshi* for Emperor Suzong's reign.[8] The third source was Tang and Five Dynasties anecdotes about Du Fu. The most typical case of this kind pertained to the issue of Du Fu's relationship with his sponsor, Yan Wu 嚴武 (726-765), which will be analyzed later in this chapter.

Recent scholarship has demonstrated that many Tang anecdotal stories were not composed by an individual author, but recorded from hearsay and gossip.[9] Jack W. Chen has pointed out that "if gossip is information about a known person or persons that is divulged with a particular network, then anecdote is the narrative form that gossip might take."[10] As such, regardless of the fact that modern sources only retain the text of anecdotes, they provide a glimpse of the way in which they were understood by their editors, as well as how a certain person or event was generally remembered during the particular era in which such anecdotes emerged. In Du Fu's case, as I will show below, anecdote is not the only source that can be used to trace such memories. Materials such as poems composed by different persons, but ultimately concerned with the same common *topos* related to Du Fu, also provide us with information about memories

[8] It should be emphasized that, for most of the Tang emperors after the An Lushan Rebellion, no *guoshi* was compiled, but according to scholarship cited above, there was indeed a part for Emperor Suzong's reign included in all the Tang Dynasty *guoshi* available to the compilers of *Jiu Tang shu.* Du Fu's deeds at Suzong's court could also have been recorded in there.

[9] See Sarah M. Allen, "Tales Retold: Narrative Variation in a Tang Story," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 66, 1 (Jun., 2006): 105-143; also see her "Oral Sources and Written Accounts: Authority in Tang Tales," and Graham Sanders, "I Read They Said He Sang What He Wrote: Orality, Writing, and Gossip in Tang Poetry Anecdotes," in Jack W. Chen and David Schaberg, eds., *Idle Talk: Gossip and Anecdote in Traditional China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 71-87 and 88-106 respectively.

[10] Jack W. Chen, "Blank Spaces and Secret Histories: Questions of Historiographic Epistemology in Medieval China," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 69 (2010): 1073.

concerning the poet.[11]

Prior to Yuan Zhen, it was Fan Huang who, in the preface to his *Du Gongbu xiaoji*, also outlined the basic biographical information of Du Fu. This is the earliest extant biography of Du Fu, if it can be called as such. It is not clear whether Yuan Zhen or the compiler of *Jiu Tang shu* once made use of it, but as mentioned in Chapter 1, Wang Zhu did indeed own Fan Huang's *Minor Collection* and therefore may have had access to the biography.[12]

To sum up, there are at least a total of five biographies of Du Fu that emerged from the ninth century to the eleventh century: One by Fan Huang, one by Yuan Zhen, one in the *Jiu Tang shu*, one by Wang Zhu, and one in the *Xin Tang shu*.[13] Each provides a self-contained narrative of Du Fu's life, and by doing so, builds upon certain aspects of Du Fu's image. As a layered series of narratives, there are intertextual relations that exist among these biographies, as well. These biographies also functioned to thread together scattered memories of Du Fu as they circulated from the time of his death through the eleventh century.

This chapter investigates the way in which Du Fu was remembered prior to the time in which his surviving corpus took form in the eleventh century. I will begin by examining collateral readings of his five biographies that emerged in the period stretching from the Tang to the Song Dynasty, and in the process of doing so, I will also examine relevant anecdotes, poems

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[11] For a theoretical analysis of the relationship among gossip, anecdote and history, as well as case studies of medieval Chinese literature, see the whole article by Jack W. Chen, ibid.: 1071-1091.

[12] The earliest extant text of Fan Huang's preface is in Qian Qianyi's 錢謙益 (1582-1664) edition. Although Qian claims it is from the Southern Song Wu Ruo edition, it is not seen in any other Song, Yuan or Ming sources. This fact more or less casts some shadow on our trust in the preface. This being said, there is no evidence to prove the preface is counterfeit, and so far its authenticity is generally accepted. Therefore I include it in this chapter's discussion too, but it needs to be emphasized that, as shown below, the preface's relations to the other four Du Fu biographies are indeed weak.

[13] See the five biographies in Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 7, 14-15, 47-49, 61-62, and 65-67.

and essays from this time. As a whole, such texts provide different images of Du Fu that vary from the persona we see emerge from his own poems. To simplify the discussion somewhat, we can say that the contents of these five biographies can be divided into six sections: (I) Those concerning Du Fu's ancestry, (II) those covering his early years centering on presenting the "Three Grand Poetic-Expositions," (III) those that address his visit to the emperor during the An Lushan Rebellion, which led to the appointment of Reminder, or *shiyi* 拾遺, (IV) those that relate his support for Fang Guan 房琯 (696-763), which resulted in the frustration of his career goals and the beginning of his vagrancy, (V) those that elaborate upon his relationship with his sponsor Yan Wu in Shu 蜀, (VI) those that cover late years of his life after leaving Shu.

Ancestry

Fan Huang:

工部員外郎杜甫字子美，膳部員外郎審言之孫。

Vice Director Du Fu of the Ministry of Work, styled Zimei, was the grandson of Vice Director Du Shenyan of the Catering Bureau.

Yuan Zhen:

晉當陽成侯姓杜氏，十世而生依藝，令於鞏。依藝生審言，善詩，官至膳部員外郎。審言生閑，閑生甫。閑為奉天令。

The Cheng Marquis of Dangyang in the Jin was surnamed Du. His descendent after ten generations, Yiyi, served as Magistrate of Gong. Yiyi gave birth to Shenyan, who excelled at

poetry and officiated up to Vice Director of the Catering Bureau. Shenyan gave birth to Xian, and Xian gave birth to Fu. Xian used to serve as Magistrate of Fengtian.

Jiu Tang shu:

杜甫字子美，本襄陽人，後徙河南鞏縣。曾祖依藝，位終鞏令；祖審言，位終膳部員外郎；自有傳。父閑，終奉天令。

Du Fu, styled Zimei, originated from Xiangyang. Later his clan moved to Gongxian in Henan Circuit. His grand-grandfather Yiyi retired from the position of Magistrate of Gong. His grandfather Shenyan retired from the position of Vice Director of the Catering Bureau, who has his own biography (in this history). His father Xian retired from the position of Magistrate of Fengtian.

Wang Zhu:

杜甫，字子美，襄陽人。徙河南鞏縣。曾祖依藝，鞏令；祖審言，膳部員外郎；父閑，奉天令。

Du Fu, styled Zimei, originated from Xiangyang. His clan moved to Gongxian in Henan Circuit. His grand-grandfather Yiyi served as Magistrate of Gong. His grandfather Shenyan officiated as Vice Director of the Catering Bureau. His father used to be Magistrate of Fengtian.

Xin Tang shu:

N/A.

While, as we can see, the *Xin Tang shu* omits the narrative related in four of the five sources quoted above, the information provided by the other four biographies remain free of contradiction. It is notable that Yuan Zhen traces Du Fu's ancestry to a relatively early period rather than only to his great-grandfather, as tomb inscription generally stressed the origins and the clan of the commemorated figure. Du Fu's clan, the so-called "the Dus of the capital area" (京兆杜氏) was one of general renown, and we also know from Du Fu's writings that he was quite proud of his origins in this sense.[14] Yuan's tomb inscription is dated to 813. Before that, one of the most important sources through which people could know about the genealogy of Du Fu's clan, the *Yuanhe xinzuan* 元和姓纂 [*Register of Surnames during the Yuanhe Reign*], had already emerged in the capital in 812. Yet considering the fact that Yuan stayed in Jiangling 江陵 from 810 to 815, it was most likely that he came to learn about Du Fu's origins directly from his grandson, Du Siye, who, in turn, learned about the great ancestry of their clan through his

[14] For a comprehensive account of this issue, see Chen Yixin 陳貽焮, *Du Fu pingzhuan* 杜甫評傳(Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982-1988), 1-21. For a specific example of how Du Fu proudly identified himself as a member from the clan, see Satō Kōichi 佐藤浩一, "To Ho 'Sai enso Tōyō kun bun' kō – sanji ni kometa kinji" 杜甫「祭遠祖当陽君文」考—賛辞にこめた矜恃, *Waseda daigaku daigakuin bungaku kenyū kiyō* 早稲田大学大学院文学研究科紀要 45, 2 (1999): 83-93. For Du Fu's position in the Du clan's genealogy as well as the clan's development, see Cen Zhongmian 岑仲勉, *Tang ji zhiyi* 唐集質疑, in *Tang ren hangdi lu (wai san zhong)* 唐人行第錄（外三種） (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju Shanghai bianjisuo, 1962), 372-375; Hu Kexian 胡可先, "Chutu beizhi yu Du Fu yanjiu" 出土碑誌與杜甫研究, *Wen shi zhe* 文史哲, 6 (2012): 17-27; and Liu Jingfu 劉靜夫, "Jingzhao Du shi yanjiu" 京兆杜氏研究, *Xuchang shizhuan xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 許昌師專學報（社會科學版） 12, 3 (1993): 17-25.

father.[15] In some sense, Yuan Zhen's account here preserves the memory of the Du family.

The tomb inscription relating the facts mentioned above was not only inscribed and interred with in Du Fu's tomb. It also came to be compiled into Yuan Zhen's own collection. As such, it has been widely referenced as one of the earliest sources of Du Fu's biography. It should not be forgotten, however, that Du Siye also played an important role in this regard. While Yuan Zhen's evaluation of Du Fu's literary achievement somewhat reflects his own opinion, Du Fu's biography nonetheless remained rooted in his grandson's account. While the *Jiu Tang shu*, the *Xin Tang shu* and the biography composed by Wang Zhu almost certainly drew upon other source materials, it is impossible to filter out Du Siye's influence if only due the fact that these three biographies also partly based themselves on the tomb inscription by Yuan Zhen. Du Fu's grandson, Du Siye, therefore successfully injected his own version of ancestral memory into the collective memory of Du Fu that went on to circulate widely beyond the bounds of his own family.

Early Years

Fan Huang:

N/A.

Yuan Zhen:

甫字子美，天寶中，獻三大禮賦，明皇奇之，命宰相試文。文善，授甫曹屬。

[15] For Yuan Zhen's experiences, see Bian Xiaoxuan 卞孝萱, *Yuan Zhen nianpu* 元稹年譜 (Ji'nan: Qi Lu shushe, 1980), 147-241.

Du Fu was styled Zimei. He presented the *Three Grand Poetic-Expositions on Rites* in the Tianbao period. Emperor Minghuang was impressed by the unusual composition, and ordered the Grand Councilor to test his literary abilities. Due to his good composition, he was thereby appointed a position as Section staff.

Jiu Tang shu:

甫天寶初應進士不第。天寶末，獻三大禮賦，玄宗奇之，召試文章，授京兆府兵曹叅軍。

Du Fu took the *jinshi* examinations in the early Tianbao period, but failed. By the end of the Tianbao period, he presented the *Three Grand Poetic-Expositions on Rites*. Emperor Xuanzong was impressed by the unusual composition and ordered Du Fu's writings to be elavuated. Du Fu was thus appointed Adjutant of the Capital's War Section.

Wang Zhu:

甫少不羈。天寶十三年，獻三賦，召試文章，授河西尉，辭不行，改右衛率府胄曹。

Du Fu was undisciplined in his early years. In the thirteenth year of the Tianbao reign, he presented the *Three Grand Poetic-Expositions* and his writing abilities were thereby evaluated. He was appointed to a Commandant position in the district west to the River, (but) he rejected it and did not go. The appointment was then changed to the Helmets Section of the Right Defense Guard Command.

Xin Tang shu:

甫字子美，少貧不自振，客吳越齊趙間。李邕奇其材，先往見之。舉進士不中第，困長安。天寶十三載，玄宗朝獻太清宮，饗廟及郊，甫奏賦三篇，帝奇之，使待制集賢院，命宰相試文章。擢河西尉，不拜，改右衛率府胄曹參軍。數上賦頌，因高自稱道，且言：“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、枚皐，可企及也。有臣如此，陛下其忍棄之？”

Du Fu was styled Zimei. Impoverished in his youth and unable to support himself, he traveled to Wu, Yue, Qi and Zhao. Li Yong was impressed by his talent and went to see him first. After he failed his *jinshi* examinations, Du Fu was trapped in Chang’an. In the thirteenth year of the Tianbao period, Emperor Xuanzong held sacrificial ceremonies at Taiqing Palace and the Ancestral Temple, and worshiped Heaven and Earth in the outskirts. Du Fu composed three poetic-expositions (for the event). The emperor was impressed by his unusual composition, and arranged for him to be included in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies, thereby ordering the Grand Councilor to evaluate his writing abilities. He was appointed to a Commandant position in the district west to the River, but he did not take it, and the appointment was then changed to Adjutant of the Helmets Section of the Right Defense Guard Command. He submitted poetic-expositions and eulogies several times, in which he highly praised himself, and said: “Since my ancestors Shu and Yu, eleven generations of my clan have carried on the Confucian Way and served in office. When it came to Shenyan, he was illustrious with his writings in Emperor Zhongzong’s time. Thanks

> to the inherited enterprise of my clan, I composed literature at the age of seven, and it has been nearly forty years since. However, my clothes cannot even cover my body, and I often have to rely on others. I am therefore humbly afraid that after death, my corpse will simply be abandoned in some gully. It is deferentially hoped that Your Majesty would commiserate with me. If Your Majesty could save me from the swamp of long humiliation by allowing me to do what my ancestors did, then, even if what I speak and write is not good enough to preach the Six Classics, it can approach the works written by Yang Xiong and Mei Gao with its profundity, cadence, and agility in line with the era. Having a subject like this, could Your Majesty bear to discard him?"

Fan Huang's preface does not contain the event of presenting the "Three Grand Poetic-Expositions." The other four biographies all narrate this event as an opportunity that enabled Du Fu to be noticed by the imperial court. In general, they tell the same story, but differences do exist in the details. Yuan Zhen's narrative is the most curt, while the two standard histories for the Tang Dynasty both mention that Du Fu did not get the *jinshi* degree, which emphasizes that it was the presentation of the "Three Grand Poetic-Exposition" which served as an alternative path to the emperor's appreciation of his talent. The *Xin Tang shu*, however, notably reminds the reader of Du Fu's early years in which he struggled in poverty and was unable to support himself. Meanwhile, it also relates the fact that he was talented, which was a quality recognized by Li Yong. In this way, Du's failure of the examination seems to have only been an isolated incident. Thus Du Fu ultimately came to appear as a man whose talent went unrecognized, rather than as an opportunist seeking any possible opportunity to succeed. Since Li Yong's admiration of Du Fu also appears mentioned in Du Fu's own poetry, it was possible

that the *Xin Tang shu*'s account was based on Du Fu's own recollection of his early years.[16]

This image of unrecognized genius therefore came to be reinforced by the long citation of Du Fu's confident self-recommendation to the emperor, which itself derives from Du Fu's "Jin *Diao fu* biao" 進雕賦表 [Memorial for Presenting the Poetic-Exposition of the Eagle]. On the other hand, Wang Zhu's preface also touches upon Du Fu's early years. The emphasis of the preface, however, does not center on Du's unrecognized talent, but instead on a more unrestrained image of him in which his failure in the civil examinations goes unmentioned. Just like in Yuan Zhen's narrative, his presentation of the "Three Grand Poetic-Expositions" is an event that seemed to have naturally occurred.

The *Xin Tang shu* account is also notable inasmuch as it clarifies that Du Fu used to travel to the southeast (Wu 吳 and Yue 越) and to the north (Qi 齊 and Zhao 趙). This is important information for the fact that, in the outline of Du Fu's life that appears in Fan Huang's preface to the *Minor Collection*, Fan takes explicit note that Du Fu "always intended to travel to the East, but such plans did not come to fruition" (常蓄東遊之志，竟不就). Fan Huang interprets such unfulfilled desires as the primary reason for why in the Southeast only some unserious poems by Du Fu were circulated. The *Xin Tang shu* account, on the other hand, stresses Du Fu's travel to the Southeast, and by doing so, considerably undermines Fan Huang's interpretation without directly referring to it.

As for Du Fu's literary talent, the *Xin Tang shu* biography takes note of that when Du Fu "was young, his reputation was equal to that of Li Bai; they were called 'Li Du' by their contemporaries" (少與李白齊名，時號李杜). Considering the fact that in none of their

[16] Du Fu, "Fengzeng Wei zuocheng zhang ershier yun" 奉贈韋左丞丈二十二韻, in Xiao Difei 蕭滌非, ed., *Du Fu quanji jiaozhu* 杜甫全集校注 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2014), Vol. 1, 276-288.

contemporaries' writings we find the juxtaposition of the two poets as "Li Du," this juxtaposition reflects a later linkage of Du Fu and Li Bai, who came to be remembered by later generations together in a way that they did not in the first half of the eighth century.

The earliest known juxtapositions of Li Bai and Du Fu were appear more than two decades after Du Fu's death in the works of Yuan Zhen, Han Yu 韓愈 (768-824), Yang Ping 楊憑 (ca. 788) and Dou Mou 竇牟 (749-822). Aside from the tomb inscription for Du Fu, Yuan Zhen's long poem, "Dai Qujiang laoren baiyun" 代曲江老人百韻 ["A Hundred Couplets Written on Behalf of the Old Man from Qujiang"], in which he mentions that "Li Bai and Du Fu's poetic works match one another" 李杜詩篇敵, was composed in 794.[17] Han Yu's "Zui liu Dongye" 醉留東野 ["Getting Drunk, Urging Dongye to Stay"] and "Tiao Zhang ji" 調張籍 ["Teasing Zhang Ji"], both of which are well known inasmuch as they linked Li and Du together as the two leading poets of the period, can be dated to 798.[18] The two poems juxtaposing Li Bai and Du Fu by Yang Ping and Dou Mou were written around 810.[19] It is notiable that all of these juxtapositions appear in poetry – that is to say, there existed only a relatively limited, if any, amount of space to elaborate the reasoning for which Li Bai and Du Fu were joined together. Moreover, in most cases, these poems do not elaborate further as to who "Li Du" may be, exactly.

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[17] Yuan Zhen, *Yuan Zhen ji* 元稹集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000), Vol. 1, 109-112.

[18] See the two poems in Han Yu, *Han Changli shi xi'nian jishi* 韓昌黎詩繫年集釋, ed. Qian Zhonglian 錢仲聯 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1984), Vol. 1, 58-62, and Vol. 2, 989-994. While the composition time of "Zui liu Dongye" is easy to know, to which year can "Tiao Zhang Ji" be dated is disputed. I follow the tentative conclusion in Tao Min 陶敏, Li Yifei 李一飛 and Fu Xuancong 傅璇琮, *Zhong Tang juan* 中唐卷, Vol. 2 of Fu Xuancong, ed., *Tang Wudai wenxue biannianshi* 唐五代文學編年史 (Shenyang: Liaohai chubanshe, 1998), 552.

[19] For Yang and Dou's poems, see Yang Ping, "Zeng Dou Mou" 贈竇牟, in *Quan Tang shi* 全唐詩 (1960; repr., Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1996), Vol. 9, 3297; Dou Mou, "Fengchou Yang Shilang shi xiong jianzeng zhizuo" 奉酬楊侍郎十兄見贈之作, in *Quan Tang shi*, Vol. 8, 3038. For the issue of early juxtapositions of Li Bai and Du Su, also see Wu Gengshun 吳庚舜, "Li Du shipian di, qiangu you zhiyin" 李杜詩篇敵，千古有知音, *Caotang* 草堂, 2 (1982), 10-17.

The implication is that their potential readers should have already known that "Li Du" referred to Li Bai and Du Fu. Therefore, no explanation was needed.

All of these poems indicate that, in the 790s, the "Li Du" juxtaposition was a common literary *topos*. Such a linkage indicates that, by the end of the eighth century, \ Li Bai and Du Fu had been considered as two leading poets of the glorious recent past, which was also the era now known as the High Tang. From today's perspective, there is little issue in suggesting that Li Bai was a High Tang poet. However, most of Du Fu's significant poems currently extant were composed during and after the An Lushan Rebellion, i.e., after the fall of the High Tang. Unless there was a considerable number of Du Fu's early poems that no longer circulate that were accessible to people living in the eighth and ninth centuries but no longer circulated thereafter, the memory of Du Fu as Li Bai's peer represented a trauma-tinged lament over the fall of the High Tang. Du Fu's poetry was considered deeply rooted in the glorious past, which is to say that the description of the chaos during the Rebellion became an elegy for the bygone great era.

There were, however, probably also people who did not acknowledge the achievement of Li Bai and Du Fu, as Han Yu's "Tiao Zhang Ji" describes:

李杜文章在	The writings of Li Bai and Du Fu exist
光焰萬丈長	Just like bright flame as high as a hundred thousand feet.
不知羣兒愚	I do not know how those small men can be so silly
那用故謗傷	To malign and defame them purposely.
蚍蜉撼大樹	A bunch of ants wanting to shake a big tree –
可笑不自量	So laughable that they overrate their ability!

We do not know specifically to whom Han Yu refers when he mentions "silly small men,", but there is little doubt that the "Li Du" juxtaposition, though widely known, was relatively unstable in the ninth century. In other words, it was not taken for granted. This is made sufficiently clear in Du Fu's biography contained in the *Jiu Tang shu* and Meng Qi's 孟啟 *Benshi shi* 本事詩 [*Poems with Anecdotal Origins*].

In *Jiu Tang shu,* after the account of Du Fu's life, it mentions the "Li Du" juxtaposition, but does so from a very different perspective: "Among poets in the late Tianbao period, Du Fu had the same reputation as Li Bai, but Li, with his self-conceited unrestrained literary qualities, mocked Du's narrow-mindedness. This resulted in the sneer expressed in the 'Fanke Mountain' poem" (天寶末詩人，甫與李白齊名，而白自負文格放達，譏甫齷齪，而有飯顆山之嘲誚). "The Fanke Mountain poem" refers to a poem attributed to Li Bai contained in the *Benshi shi*:

> 白才逸氣高，與陳拾遺齊名……嘗言："興寄深微，五言不如四言，七言又其靡也。况使束於聲調俳優哉？"故戲杜曰："飯顆山頭逢杜甫，頭戴笠子日卓午。借問別來太瘦生，總為從前作詩苦。"蓋譏其拘束也。[20]
>
> With his unrestricted talent and lofty quality, Li Bai's reputation equaled that of Reminder Chen (Zi'ang) …… He once said: "In terms of of expressing deep and subtle sentiments, pentasyllabic poems are not as good as quadrisyllabic poems, and in heptasyllabic ones the waste is even greater, and I don't even mention those poems limited to the pursuit of melody and amusement." Therefore he teased Du Fu: "I met with Du Fu at the top of Fanke Mountain, and he wore a bamboo hat under the high noon sun. I asked this fellow: 'You are much thinner since our last meeting; isn't it because you used to compose poetry with too

[20] Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 37.

much effort?' " The poem seems to mock the uneasiness present of Du Fu's poetry.

As Chapter 3 will discuss in more detail, the issue as to whether or not the received version of *Benshi shi* is reliable remains doubtful. But in other versions of *Benshi shi* texts, such as the one transcribed in the *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 [*Extensive Records of the Taiping Era*], this anecdote about Li Bai teasing Du Fu does not exist. Also, the earliest surviving edition of Li Bai's collection – the so-called "Shu edition" (*Shu ben* 蜀本), which emerged by the end of the Northern Song, and is believed to be based on earlier Northern Song editions – also does not include the "Fanke Mountain" poem.[21] In other words, Li Bai's authorship of this poem is doubtful, as it was likely not in circulation during the Northern Song as a part of Li Bai's original collection.

It is more likely the case that the "Fanke Mountain" poem was from unknown sources but widely circulated. [22] As the "Li Du" juxtaposition become more and more common, however, the poem finally became attributed to Li Bai. Gossip about Li Bai, Du Fu, and this poem then began to circulate even further, and in the end, it made its way into the *Jiu Tang shu* and the received version of *Benshi shi*. In the latter text, the poem is associated with Li Bai's perspectives on poetry, which in turn functions to contextualize the original poetic text. In this

[21] See the "tijie" 題解 for this poem in Zhan Ying 詹鍈, ed, *Li Bai quanji jiaozhu huishi jiping* 李白全集校注匯釋集評 (Tianjin: Baihua wenyi chubanshe, 1996), Vol. 8, 4422. For editions of Li Bai's collection, see Zhan Ying's "*Li Bai ji* banben yuanliu kao" 李白集版本源流考 in the same book, 4537-4672, particularly 4540-4563 for the Song editions. Also see Wang Yongbo 王永波, "Li Bai shi zai Songdai de bianji yu kanke" 李白詩在宋代的編集與刊刻, *Jilin shifan daxue xuebao (renwen shehui kexue ban)* 吉林師範大學學報（人文社會科學版）2 (2014): 17-22.

[22] For example, Duan Chengshi 段成式 (803-863) in his *Youyang zazu* 酉陽雜俎 [*Miscellaneous Morsels from Youyang*] records that the "Fanke Mountain" poem was widely known and talked about. See Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 25.

way, a particular understanding of the text becomes stable, and other possible readings fall away.[23]

In the narratives of both the *Jiu Tang shu* and the received version of *Benshi shi*, Du Fu is depicted as someone mocked, rather than admired, by Li Bai. This indicates that, although by the ninth century Li Bai and Du Fu had often been discussed together, and although the term "Li Du" had come to be widely known and used, the juxtaposition per se was not as concrete as we might imagine today. It became significant and influential in later literary criticism largely because those who accepted it in the eighth and ninth centuries, such as Yuan Zhen, Han Yu and Bai Juyi 白居易 (772-846), were influential sources in the Song. As such, opinions contrary to theirs gradually fell away. The juxtaposition of Li Bai with Chen Zi'ang, rather than with Du Fu, also survived in the received version of *Benshi shi*, but this is a linkage that receives little attention in later periods.

The difference between the ninth century and later periods can also be observed in a comparison between Li Zhao's 李肇 (fl. 813) *Guoshi bu* 國史補 [*Supplements to the State Histories*] and Wang Dang's 王讜 (fl. the late 11th century) *Tang yulin* 唐語林 [*A Forest of Tang Remarks*]. One of the entries in *Guoshi bu* provides a cataloged list of renowned people in the Kaiyuan 開元 period (713-741). It does not mention Li Bai, but does list Du Fu as "Vice Director Du of the Ministry of Works" 杜工部 who numbered among "those who occupied

[23] For example, the image of a thin poet painstakingly trying to compose poetry could also be a typical case of "poets facing hardship before they achieved depth in their poetry" 詩窮而後工. While this became an important thesis in later poetics, the anecdote about Li Bai teasing Du Fu shows no intention to associate the slimness with Du Fu's life of hardship and his literary achievements. This is similar to the phenomenon that in early history poems were attributed to a historical figure and contextualized. See Martin Kern, "The Poetry of Han Historiography," *Early Medieval China* (Festschrift for David R. Knechtges) 10-11. 1 (2004): 23-65.

lower positions but possessed great reputations" (位卑而著名者).[24] It also catalogues "two figures addressed together" (二人連言者), but this catalog includes neither Li Bai nor Du Fu. Wang Dang's *Tang yulin*, which largely bases itself on Tang material, contains the *Guoshi bu* entry about renowned figures, but is itself a modified version: Du Fu is no longer numbered among "those who occupied lower positions but possessed great reputations," but instead appears juxtaposed with Li Bai as "Li Du" under the catalog of "two figures addressed together".[25]

The change reflects a shift in Wang's opinion, which could, perhaps, represent the general opinion held regarding Li and Fu in the eleventh century. By this time, the "Li Du" juxtaposition had become more concrete, and a much more comparative evaluation of the two poets came to light. Evaluations of Li Bai and Du Fu in terms of "who was better" were still open to discussion, but the juxtaposition of both poets was a generally accepted part of such descriptions. The *Xin Tang shu* account that when Du Fu "was young, his reputation was equal to that of Li Bai; they were called 'Li Du' by their contemporaries" is also in line with the general understanding of both poets in the eleventh century, while the *Jiu Tang shu* demonstrates a more ambiguous stance: it agrees that Du Fu used to have a reputation equal to Li Bai, but also cites the "Fanke Mountain" poem and emphasizes that Li Bai looked down on Du Fu.

Also notable is the way in which the *Jiu Tang shu* organizes its narrative. Much like the received version of the *Benshi shi*, in which an anecdote is created so as to build the connection between the poem and Li Bai's views on poetry, the *Jiu Tang shu* provides another narrative that links the poem and the Li Du juxtaposition. The issue appears somewhat differently in *Xin Tang*

[24] Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 23.
[25] Wang Dang, *Tang yulin jiaozheng*, ed. Zhou Xunchu 周勛初 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 358; for *Tang yulin*'s source materials and its characteristics, see the book's "Qianyan" 前言, 4-17.

shu inasmuch as the "Fanke Mountain" poem and all anecdotes centering on it are dropped, and only the Li Du juxtaposition remains. Since the Song, most Tang anecdotes usually came to be cataloged as "miscellaneous history" (*zashi* 雜史) in bibliography, which was more marginalized, if not regarded as lower than standard history. The *Jiu Tang shu* narrative has also become marginalized over the years, as it gradually lost popularity after the *Xin Tang shu* emerged. It only narrowly escaped the fate of being lost thanks to its recompilation and reprinting in the sixteenth century. The *Xin Tang shu*, on the other hand, came to exert overwhelming influence from the eleventh century on. Its Du Fu biography filtered out traces of the fact that the Li Du juxtaposition was, prior to its final composition, relatively unstable. Together with the writings of Han Yu and other literati, it contributed significantly to the construction of "Li Du" as the top two poets of the Tang Dynasty.

The Appointment of Reminder

Fan Huang:

至德初，拜左拾遺。

At the beginning of the Zhide period, Du Fu was appointed the position of Left Reminder.

Yuan Zhen:

京師亂，步謁行在，拜左拾遺。

The capital fell into chaos. Du Fu traveled on foot to visit the emperor on exile, and was appointed the Left Reminder.

Jiu Tang shu:

十五載，禄山陷京師，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。

In the fifteenth year of the Tianbao period, An Lushan captured the capital. Emperor Suzong called out defending armies at Lingwu. Du Fu escaped from the capital in the night to the area west to the River, had an audience with Emperor Suzong in Pengyuan jun, and was appointed the Right Reminder.

Wamg Zhu:

天寶末，以家避亂鄜州，獨轉陷賊中。至德二載，竄歸鳳翔，謁肅宗，授左拾遺。

At the end of the Tianbao period, Du Fu moved his family to Fuzhou for refuge. Then he was trapped alone among the rebels. In the second year of the Zhide period, he absconded back to Fengxiang, had an audience with Emperor Suzong, and was appointed the Left Reminder.

Xin Tang shu:

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

At the time An Lushan rebelled, the emperor fled to Shu, and Du Fu also ran away to the

Sanchuan area.[26] After Emperor Suzong came to the throne, Du Fu, in shabby clothes, escaped from Fuzhou for the emperor, but was captured by the rebels. In the second year of the Zhide period, he escaped and headed for Fengxiang, where he had an audience with the emperor, and was appointed the Right Reminder.

As is clear from the above, there are some mistakes in the *Jiu Tang shu* and *Xin Tang shu* narratives. Du Fu had an audience with the emperor in Fengxiang, not in Pengyuan jun, and he was appointed the Left rather than Right Reminder. As for differences in the five biographies' narratives, Fan Huang simply gives Du Fu's bureaucratic title and a rough estimate of the time he was appointed, while all the other four biographies narrate that his appointment to the Reminder position was the reward for Du Fu's difficult journey to meet with the emperor. They provide details that highlight the hardship he faced on his trip: Yuan Zhen emphasizes Du Fu having made the entire journey on foot, while the *Jiu Tang shu* stresses that he escaped from the capital in the night. Wang Zhu particularly stresses he was alone when he was trapped in the rebellious army, while the *Xin Tang shu* points out that he wore shabby clothes, and also clarifies that he was once detained by the rebels. All of these details contribute to an enriching of Du Fu's image as an enduring loyal follower of the Tang emperor.

Problems emerge, however, in the fact that few other people before the eleventh century took notice of Du Fu's loyalty. Only in the four narratives do we find vague mentions of such a topic. It is only in the *Xin Tang shu* that "loyalty" is explicitly mentioned as an issue in the "Encomium" (*zan* 贊) section at the end of Du Fu's biography:

[26] In the Tang "Sanchuan" 三川 referred to the area of West Jiannan Circuit 劍南西道, East Jiannan Circuit 劍南東道 and West Shannan Circuit 山南西道, i.e., which covered the major part of today's Sichuan province and the southern part of Shaanxi province.

數嘗寇亂，挺節無所汙。為歌詩傷時撓弱，情不忘君，人憐其忠云。

Having suffered through rebellious chaos several times, Du kept his moral integrity and was never defiled. He composed poetry to lament for the weak in his era. With his passion, the emperor never left his mind, and people were moved by his loyalty.

This is the beginning, rather than the end, of the development of the thesis that Du Fu was loyal to the emperor. Later, Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101) reinforced such a *topos* by saying that Du Fu "would not forget his emperor even during a meal" (一飯未嘗忘君). This thesis and its cultural context in the Northern Song will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Speaking for Fang Guan and Entering Shu

Fan Huang:

直諫忤旨，左轉，薄遊隴蜀，殆十年矣。

Disobedient to the Emperor's decree with straightforward admonishment, Du was demoted. Thereafter he wandered in Long and Shu for almost ten years.

Yuan Zhen:

歲餘，以直言失官，出為華州司功，尋遷京兆。

After a little more than one year, Du lost his position due to straightforward expression of his opinions, and was redeployed to Huazhou as Personnel Manager. He was then

transferred to the capital area before long.

Jiu Tang Shu:

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，出甫為華州司功叅軍。時關畿亂離，穀食踊貴，甫寓居成州同谷縣，自負薪採梠，兒女餓殍者數人。久之，召補京兆府功曹。

When he was still a commoner, Fang Guan had a good relationship with Du Fu. At that time, Fang was the Grand Councilor, and volunteered to command military forces so as to conquer the rebels. The Emperor approved. In the tenth month of that year, Fang's army was defeated in Chentaoxie. In the spring of the next year, Fang was dismissed from the Grand Councilor's position. Du Fu submitted a memorial saying that Fang had ability and should not be dismissed. Emperor Suzong got angry, demoted Fang to a prefectural governor's position, and redeployed Du Fu to Huazhou as Personnel Manager. At that time the capital area was in disorder, and the price of grain was sky-high. Du Fu made his home in Tonggu county of Chengzhou, and had to collect firewood and cereals on his own. A number of his children died from starvation. A long time after, it was decreed that he was transferred to the position of Administrator in the capital area's Personnel Evaluation Section.

Wang Zhu:

詔許至鄜迎家。明年收京，扈從還長安。房琯罷相，甫上疏言琯有才，不宜廢免，肅

宗怒，貶琯邠州刺史，出甫為華州司功。屬關輔饑亂，弃官之秦州，又居成州同谷，自負薪採梠，餬糊不給。遂入蜀，卜居成都浣花里，復適東川。久之，召補京兆府功曹，以道阻不赴，欲如荆楚。

A decree was issued allowing Du Fu to go to Fuzhou to retrieve his family. The capital was recovered in the following year, and Du Fu escorted the emperor back to Chang'an. When Fang Guan was demoted from the Grand Councilor's position, Du Fu turned in a memorial saying that Fang had ability and should not be demoted. Emperor Suzong got angry, demoted Fang to the position of prefectural governor in Binzhou, and transferred Du Fu out to Huazhou as Personnel Manager. Encountering starvation and disorder in the Guanzhong area, Du Fu gave up his position and went to Qinzhou, then stayed in Tonggu of Chengzhou. He collected firewood and cereals on his own, but could not provide himself with enough food. Therefore he entered Shu, chose Flower-Rinsing Lane in Chengdu to stay, and then went to East Jiannan Circuit. A long time later, it was decreed that he be transferred to the position of Administrator in the capital area's Personnel Evaluation Section. He failed to make the travel due to his route being blocked, and then desired to go to Jing and Chu.

Xin Tang shu:

與房琯為布衣交。琯時敗陳濤斜，又以客董廷蘭罷宰相。甫上疏，言罪細不宜免大臣。帝怒，詔三司雜問。宰相張鎬曰："甫若抵罪，絶言者路。"帝乃解。甫謝，且稱："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，覬陛下棄細録大，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。”然帝自是不甚省録。時所在寇奪，甫家寓鄜，彌年艱窶，孺弱至餓死，因許甫自往省視。從還京師，出為華州司功參軍。關輔饑，輒棄官去，客秦州，負薪採橡栗自給。流落劒南，結廬成都西郭。召補京兆功曹參軍，不至。

Du Fu and Fang Guan befriended each other when they were commoners. At that time Fang was defeated in Chentaoxie, and demoted from the Grand Councilor's position due to a guest he sponsored, Dong Tinglan. Du Fu submitted a memorial saying that Fang's guilt was minor, and that as a significant official he should not be demoted. The Emperor was angry, and ordered the Three Monitoring Offices to investigate. Grand Councilor Zhang Hao said: "If Du Fu was punished, those with advice would be blocked." The emperor was then relieved. Du Fu expressed his gratitude, and claimed: "Son of a Grand Councilor, Fang Guan has established himself since his youth. He is a pure Confucian with qualities of a great chancellor. Public opinion has admired his talent as deserving a Councilor's position, and Your Majesty indeed entrusted him with responsibilities and appointed him Grand Councilor. It is observed that he deeply concerned himself with Your Majesty's concerns, with indignation manifesting in his face. Yet his character is flawed with carelessness, and he is deeply interested in drums and zithers. Dong Tinglan attached himself under Fang Guang's gate. Through sickness brought upon by hardship and stupid senility, he relied on Fang and did evil. Fang cherished human relations and ended up stained. Regretting that his ambitions were frustrated before he could accomplish anything, I hold onto the hope that Your Majesty would forgive his minor faults and consider his major merits. This was why I risked my life to speak for him, which resembled emotional attacks (as pertains to your decree) against Your Majesty's will. Your Majesty thus remitted the hundred deaths that I

deserve, and approved my retirement. This is the fortune shared by all under the Heaven, and not enjoyed by myself alone." Since then, however, the Emperor no longer cared about him much. At that time the area was captured by rebels. Du Fu arranged for his family to stay in Fuzhou. They were in difficulty and impoverishment for years, and some of Du Fu's children even died from starvation. Thereupon Du Fu was allowed to visit his family. After escorting the Emperor back to the capital, he was transferred out to Huazhou as Personnel Manager. Famine came to the capital area. Du Fu then discarded his position and left. He stayed in Qinzhou, where he cut firewood and collected acorns and chestnuts to feed himself. Later he wandered to Jiannan, and built a thatch hut in the west outskirts of Chengdu. It was thereby decreed that he substituted for Administrator in the capital area's Personnel Evaluation Section, but he did not go.

The most apparent variance in this section is that Fan Huang and Yuan Zhen only mention that Du Fu was banished because of his straightforward criticism, but the *Jiu Tang shu*, Wang Zhu, and the *Xin Tang shu* all specify that the criticism concerned Fang Guan's impeachment, which, as *Jiu Tang Shu* and *Xin Tang shu* explain, resulted from Fang's failure in the battle in Chentaoxie.[27] Such a narrative, again, constructs Du Fu's image as a responsible official who cared about justice more than he did own well-being. The *Xin Tang shu* in particular cites Du Fu's "Fengxie kouchi fang sansi tuiwen zhuang" 奉謝口敕放三司推問狀 [Memorial of

[27] Wang Zhu's biography contains an error: Du Fu defended Fang Guan immediately after he was appointed Left Reminder; at that time the imperial court had not yet returned to the capital. For Du Fu's relation to Fang Guan, see Chen Guanming 陳冠明, "Lun Fang Guan jituan" 論房琯集團, *Du Fu yanjiu xuekan* 杜甫研究學刊, 4 (2007): 73-81. For details and backgrounds of Du Fu's involvement in Fang Guan's impeachment, see Deng Xiaojun 鄧小軍, "Du Fu shujiu Fang Guan mozhi fanggui Fuzhou kao " 杜甫疏救房琯墨制放歸鄜州考, *Du Fu yanjiu xuekan* 杜甫研究學刊, 1 (2003): 14-20 and 2 (2003): 12-20.

Gratitude for the Decreed Investigation by the Three Monitoring Offices] to the emperor, in which he in effect continues to defend Fang Guan. This most notably demonstrates Du Fu's determination, if only due to the fact that such a memorial was usually expected to express gratitude for the emperor's remission. The quoted paragraph, however, is still mainly devoted to explaining the reasons for which he had been obliged to defend Fang. Only the last sentence demonstrates gratitude to the emperor, but Du Fu still, at this point, emphasizes that the remission was not only his own fortune, but also intended to benefit the whole nation. This was, in a sense, still an implicit claim that he was not in the wrong.

Since the Fang Guan incident occurred at the imperial court, it was possible that such an account was largely based on officially compiled histories of the Tang, many of which were still available when the *Jiu Tang shu* and the *Xin Tang shu* were compiled. This is the reason why the event could be narrated in more detail – especially in the case of the *Xin Tang shu* – than other events in Du Fu's life. Such an imbalance is completely acceptable for biographies in standard histories, as the primary consideration of standard history was to provide historical information rather than present its biographies as well-written essays. To what extent was Du Fu significant in the whole incident, or to what extent was the incident important in Du Fu's life, is entirely another matter.

After offending the emperor, Du Fu left Fengxiang, and spent the rest of his life encountering various hardships. In both the two standard histories and Wang Zhu's preface, Du Fu's life of hardship after he was banished is largely elaborated upon. Both the *Jiu Tang shu* and the *Xin Tang shu* mention that Du Fu's children died from starvation. Wang Zhu's narrative describes Du Fu's toil, and his inability to provide for his family. Such scenarios do not appear in Fan Huang's or Yuan Zhen's stories, but they are indeed a crucial aspect of Du Fu's life that was

frequently recalled in later times.

It is notable that Du Fu's life *after* the Fang Guan incident receives more attention in these biographies. For example, during his stay in the capital prior to the An Lushan Rebellion, his family suffered from poverty as well. His "Zi jing fu Fengxian xian yonghuai wubai zi" 自京赴奉先縣詠懷五百字 [Five Hundred Words: My Thoughts on Traveling from the Capital to Fengxian] tells us that his youngest son had just died from starvation before he returned home at the moment the rebellion just broke out, but the Tang court had not heard the news at that time. Such circumstances do not appear in any sources prior to the *Xin Tang shu*, i.e., the mid-eleventh century. Even The *Xin Tang shu*'s text, as cited above in the Section of "Early Years", states that Du Fu indeed encountered hardship during his stay in Chang'an 長安 before the Rebellion, but such a detail is only vaguely revealed by the word "困," which literally means he was "trapped" in the capital. No further detail is forthcoming. No one before the eleventh century took note of the way in which Du conducted his life before the Rebellion, and accordingly, the "Five Hundred Words" poem, which is now considered to be one of Du Fu's most important poems, appears nowhere as a masterpiece.

The hardship faced by Du Fu after the Fang Guan incident, however, seemed to be well known in the ninth century. Bai Juyi's "Yu Yuanjiu shu" 與元九書 [Epistle to Yuan the Ninth], for example, makes Du Fu's hardship seem like a prominent topos:

況詩人多蹇，如陳子昂、杜甫，各授一拾遺，而迍剝至死。[28]

Furthermore, poets are often stuck in predicaments. Examples include Chen Zi'ang and Du

[28] Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 18. See the entire epistle in Bai Juyi, *Bai Juyi ji jianjiao* 白居易集箋校, ed. Zhu Jincheng 朱金城 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1988), Vol. 5, 2789-2806.

Fu, who received only a position of Reminder, and died in hardship.

The focus here is on Du Fu's life after he was appointed to be a Reminder and subsequently deposed. Bai's "Du Li Du shiji yinti juanhou" 讀李杜詩集因題卷後 [Reading the Poetic Collections of Li Bai and Du Fu, and Writing at the End of the Scrolls] also mentions Du Fu's hardship, but instead highlights his stay in Shu 蜀:

翰林江左日	Those days when the Academician wondered south to the River,
員外劍南時	The time when the Vice Director stayed to south of the Sword Gate Pass:
不得高官職	Gaining no high official positions,
仍逢苦亂離[29]	They still encountered bitter chaos and separation.

Bai sent this poem to Yuan Zhen, who had, by then, been banished to Tongzhou 通州, a remote place in the Shu region. This might be the reason why both Li Bai and Du Fu are mentioned as figures who faced hardship in Shu. As Chapter 5 will discuss in more detail, the emphasis on Du Fu's hardship is not only a biographical issue. It also served as the basis for discussing his literary success. Bai Juyi, alongside Han Yu and others, contributed to the gradual association of Du Fu's poetic achievement with his hardship, and this poem, claiming to have been composed after reading the poetry of Li Bai and Du Fu, is a typical example.

The Shu region has become a significant element of collective memory concerning Du Fu

[29] Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 16.

since the ninth century. Apart from Bai Juyi's poem, we have many more examples of late Tang poets who associated Du Fu with Shu.[30] Qiji's 齊己 (863-937) "Ji Guanxiu" 寄貫休 [To Guanxiu] takes Guanxiu 貫休 (832-912) as a poet that followed in Du Fu's footprints:

子美曾吟處	There where Zimei used to chant
吾師復去吟	My master is going to chant again.
是何多勝地	What is the place like, with so many scenic spots
銷得二公心	To melt the masters' heart?
錦水流春闊	The broad Jin River flows in spring,
峨嵋疊雪深	The E'mei Mountain deeply covered by layers of snow.
時逢蜀僧説	At times I met with Shu monks and talk about you,
或道近遊黔[31]	Some say you have recently traveled to Qian.

Given the third couplet featuring landscapes in Shu, and the last couplet's confirmation of Guanxiu's activities, we can ascertain that this poem was composed immediately before Guanxiu traveled to the Shu region in 903.[32] The most noticeable element of the work are the first two

[30] Besides the poems investigated below, one can also refer to Chen Biao's 陳標 "Ji youren" 寄友人 [To a Friend] and Wang Renyu's 王仁裕 "He Shu houzhu ti Jianmen" 和蜀後主題劍門 [Responding to Later Emperor of the Shu, Inscribed on the Sword Gate] for examples. See Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 20 and 49.

[31] Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 45.

[32] Before entering Shu, Guanxiu stayed in the Jing Xiang 荊湘 area (today's Hu'nan province) for several years, but in 902 he had a long trip to Qian 黔 (today's Guizhou province). See Hu Dajun 胡大浚, "Chanyue dashi Guanxiu nianpugao" 禪月大師貫休年譜稿, in *Guanxiu geshi jinian jianzhu* 貫休歌詩繫年箋注, ed., Hu Dajun (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2011), Vol. 3, 1259-1268.

couplets. The Shu region is regarded as a place that stimulated poetic composition with its marvelous landscapes, and Du Fu thereby represents the poetic tradition of the area. It could be the case that the association between Du Fu and Shu was a commonly acknowledged topical link by the beginning of the tenth century.

Guanxiu himself wrote two poems concerning Du Fu titled "Du Du Gongbu ji er shou" 讀杜工部集二首 [Two Poems on Reading the Collection of Vice Director Du of the Ministry of Works].[33] While the first predictably focuses on Du Fu's literary accomplishments, the second concerns itself mainly with Du Fu's life:

甫也道亦丧	For Du Fu, the way was lost,
孤舟出蜀城	Out of the City of Shu he left in a lonely boat.
彩毫終不撅	His colorful brush never broke off,
白雪更能輕	His literature more lofty than *White Snow*.
命薄相如命	As ill-fated as Sima Xiangru,
名齊李白名	He had a reputation as great as Li Bai.
不知耒陽令	It is not known how the funeral was like
何以葬先生	In which the Magistrate of Leiyang had buried the master.

The precise time of composition is difficult to determine, but given that a reading of Du Fu's collection reminded Guanxiu of the way in which he left Shu, it could have been written during Guan Xiu's stay in the area, or even on his way into Shu, i.e., not long after Qi Ji composed "Ji

[33] Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 43.

Guanxiu." Du Fu is remembered together with Sima Xiangru 司馬相如 and Li Bai, both of whom had close connection with Shu as part of the literary tradition of the area. On one hand, the "Li Du" juxtaposition is readily accepted, yet on the other, Du Fu's hardship – mentioned in tandem with the analogy of Sima Xiangru – is also brought to mind.

As the poem's title demonstrates, some collection of Du Fu's poetry was available to Guanxiu during his lifetime. We cannot be sure which collection he used, but if only due to the fact that it caused Guanxiu to think of Du Fu in Shu, the collection could have included a considerable number of Du Fu's poems composed in Shu. This is also reflected in Li Shangyin's 李商隱 (ca. 813-ca. 858) allusions to Du Fu's poems in 杜工部蜀中離席 [Imitating Vice Director Du of the Ministry of Works: Farewell Banquet in Shu]:

人生何處不離羣	Where in human life are there no leaves?
世路干戈惜暫分	Wartime chaos fills the world's roads; I regret this temporary departure.
雪嶺未歸天外使	Envoys have not returned from outside the Heaven to the snow ridge,
松州猶駐殿前軍	The Palace Force is still stationed in Songzhou.
座中醉客延醒客	Drunken guests in the banquet invite awakened guests,
江上晴雲雜雨雲	Above the River pure clouds are joined by rainy clouds.
美酒成都堪送老	Good wine of Chengdu can indeed accompany my old years,
當壚仍是卓文君[34]	It is still Zhuo Wenjun who is in the tavern.

[34] Ibid., 24.

According to Zhang Caitian 張采田, this poem was written in 852 – prior to Li Shangyin's departure from the Xichuan 西川 Circuit for the Dongchuan 東川 Circuit.[35] Some commentators read it as an allusion to Du Fu's departure from the Shu region, while some understand it only as an imitation poem following Du Fu's style.[36] In either case, Du Fu doubtlessly looms behind the work. The second couplet juxtaposing "snow ridge" 雪嶺 and "Songzhou" 松州 is an allusion to Du Fu's line "The Sword Pass is north to the Star Bridge, Songzhou locates east to the snow ridge" (劍閣星橋北，松州雪嶺東) in "Yan gong tingyan tongyong Shudao huatu" 嚴公廳宴同詠蜀道畫圖 [At Mr. Yan's Banquet Chanting on the Painting of Routes in Shu].[37] The third couplet probably imitates Du Fu's special way of using the same word twice (at the fourth and seventh characters) within a heptasyllabic line, which is exemplified by the couplet from "Wen guanjun shou Henan Hebei" 聞官軍收河南河北 [Hearing about Henan and Hebei Recaptured by the Imperial Army]: "Soon I will go through the Wu Gorge after passing the Ba Gorge, and then go down to Xiangyang before heading to Luoyang" (即從巴峽穿巫峽，便下襄陽向洛陽).[38] The last couplet uses the story of Zhuo Wenjun and Sima Xiangshu, but also alludes to Du Fu's line "Good wine is needed to accompany my life" (應須美酒送生涯) in his "Jiangpan dubu xunhua qi jueju (III)" 江畔獨步尋花七絕句（三）[Seven Quatrains on Walking alone at the River Bank Looking for Flowers

[35] For Li Shangyin's activities in 851 and 852, see Zhang Caitian, *Yuxisheng nianpu huijian* 玉溪生年譜會箋 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1983), 169-184.
[36] See Liu Xuekai 劉學楷 and Yu Shucheng 余恕誠, *Li Shangyin geshi jijie* 李商隱歌詩集解 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988), 1169-77.
[37] Xiao Difei, *Du Fu quanji jiaozhu*, Vol. 5, 2588-90.
[38] Ibid., 2747-52.

(III)].[39] All these poems were written during Du Fu's stay in the Shu. Li Shangyin's allusion therefore suggests that he was familiar with Du Fu's poems composed in the Shu, although he did not leave any records behind of his experience of "reading Du Fu's collection" as did Bai Juyi and Guanxiu.

It is possible that Du Fu's poems written in Shu were preserved better than those composed in other places. This part of his poems could have been separately compiled into collections and circulated in Shu, and it is even possible that Du Fu conducted the compilation himself. The text to which Guanxiu referred could have been a collection of this kind, and Li Shangyin's familiarity with Du Fu's poems written in Shu could also result from his accessibility to such collections when he was in the area.[40]

The accessibility of those of Du Fu's poems that – collected or scattered – were composed in Shu may be one of the reasons for which figures like Guanxiu and Li Shangyin associated Du Fu with the particular area. Another reason, we know with more certainty, is that relics related to Du Fu survived in there. Many poets wrote about passing or visiting Du Fu's residence at the Flower-Rinsing Creek 浣花溪.[41] The following is Yong Tao's 雍陶 (789-873) "Jing Du Fu

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[39] Ibid., Vol. 4, 2223-24.

[40] These conjectured situations are only possibilities, and Du Fu's poems composed in Shu were by no means only circulated in the Shu region. Bai Juyi's poem on reading Du Fu's collection, which reminded him of Du's life after entering the Shu region, was composed in Jiangzhou 江州 (in today's Jiangxi province), not in Shu. Another example is that a considerable portion of Fan Huang's *Du Gongbu xiaoji*, which was compiled in the Southeast immediately after Du Fu's death, is believed to be poems from Shu. See Chen Shangjun, "Du shi zaoqi liuchuan kao," in *Tang dai wenxue congkao*, 309-310. These facts, however, do not undermine the possibility that Du Fu's poems in the Shu were once collected. On the contrary, collected poems are easier to survive and reach far than scattered individual poems.

[41] Apart from what is analyzed below, such poems also include Zhang Ji's 張籍 "Song ke you shu" 送客遊蜀 [Seeing off a Friend for the Shu], Zhang Xiaobiao's 章孝標 "Shuzhong zeng Guang shangren" 蜀中贈廣上人 [In the Shu, for Master Guang], Zheng Gu's 鄭谷 "Shu

jiuzhai” 經杜甫舊宅 [Passing the Old Residence of Du Fu]:

浣花溪裏花多處	At inner Flower-Rinsing Creek, where there are many flowers,
為憶先生在蜀時	I recall the time when the master was in Shu.
萬古只應留舊宅	The old residence should just remain through ages,
千金無復換新詩	A thousand cash can no longer change for a new poem.
沙棚水檻鷗飛盡	Pergolas on sand, rails over water, waterfowls all flying away,
樹壓村橋馬過時	Trees bend over the village bridge as horses pass.
山月不知人事變	The mountain moon does not know the change of human affairs;
夜来江上與誰期[42]	When the night comes, whom is the moon expecting on the River?

Although he was originally from nearby Yun’an 雲安, Yong Tao stayed in Chengdu 成都 for a long period, and had many opportunities to visit Du Fu’s residence in person. The whole poem, as the second line clarifies, centers on the person of Du Fu rather than the landscape or his residence. The residence, per se, functions as a means through which one could remember Du Fu’s poetry. The second half of the poem, by building up the tension between the unchanged natural world and constantly changing “human affairs,” emphasizes the paradoxical fact that although the Flower-Rinsing Creek came to be known because of Du Fu, the poet only exists now in collective memory, while the landscape endures.

Du Fu’s residence seemed to have fallen apart by the beginning of the tenth century, if not

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zhong” 蜀中 [In the Shu] and He Zan’s 何贊 “Shu shi” 書事 [On Some Issues]. See Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 12, 20, 36 and 51 respectively.

[42] Ibid., 21.

earlier. In the preface to Wei Zhuang's 韋莊 (836-910) collection, his brother Wei Ai 韋藹 recalls as to how, in 902, Wei Zhuang located relics of Du Fu's residence when he was in Chengdu:

> 辛酉春，應聘為西蜀奏記。明年，浣花溪尋得杜工部舊址。雖蕪没已久，而柱砥猶存。因命芟夷結茅為一室，蓋欲思其人而成其處，非敢廣其基構耳。[43]
>
> In the spring of the Xinyou year, Wei Zhuang accepted the appointment of Chief Secretary of Western Shu. In the next year, he found relics of Vice Director Du's residence at Flower-Rinsing Creek. Although it had been untended among weeds for a long time, the headstones of pillars remained there. Wei then ordered that weeds be mowed and a thatch hut built. He likely had the place built with the idea to recall the person, rather than daring to expand its basic structure.

Wei Zhuang's purpose was not to preserve the relics he had found, but to "recall the person." Unlike Yong Tao, who simply lamented over fleeting human affairs as opposed to the enduring natural world, Wei Zhuang made efforts to maintain traces of past human activities as a repertoire of memory.

When Du Fu is remembered as a poet of Shu, however, a "problem" emerges: no extant poems by Du Fu remain that treat flowering quince as a topic, which was a flower for which the Shu region was famous. I put "problem" in quotation marks because this actually should not have become a problem. There are many things a poet does not write about, and usually it is not a good question to inquire as to why someone does not write about something. Yet for Du Fu, the

[43] Ibid., 50.

fact that flowering quince does not appear in his poetry arises as a problematic point for which people are obligated to find an explanation. Many poets from Tang to Song addressed this issue in their poems and tried to figure out the reason why flowering quince never appears in Du Fu's poetry. These explanations – most of which are little more than guesses – include that Du Fu did not have the passion to write about the flower, that Du Fu held off for a long time on writing about it until he no longer had the chance to compose of the subject, that even with Du Fu's talent, it was difficult to compose poems of sufficient quality that served to praise the beauty of the flower, that Du Fu did indeed have poems on the flower, but they had all been lost, that Du Fu in fact never saw the flower, etc.[44] A collection of poetic remarks compiled in late Northern Song or early Southern Song, *Gujin shihua* 古今詩話 [*Poetry Remarks from Ancient to Present*], even fabricates a reason that Du Fu's mother was named "Haitang" 海棠 – the Chinese name for flowering quince, so he never wrote these two characters in this poems.[45]

The desire to give an explanation as to why there are no poems by Du Fu regarding

[44] See Zheng Gu's 鄭谷 (851-910) "Shu zhong shang haitang" 蜀中賞海棠 [Appreciating Flowering Quinces in the Shu], Wang Yuchen's 王禹偁 (954-1001) "Song Feng xueshi ru Shu" 送馮學士入蜀 [Seeing Scholar Feng off to the Shu], Guo Zhen's 郭稹 "He shumi shilang yin kan haitang yi jinyuan cihua zuisheng" 和樞密侍郎因看海棠憶禁苑此花最盛 [Responding to the Assistant Minister of Privy Council as Viewing Flowering Quinces and Recalling the Most Exuberant of This Flower Were in the Imperial Garden], Wu Zhongfu's 吳中復 (1011-1078) "Jiangzuo wei haitang wei chuanhong" 江左謂海棠爲川紅 [Flowering Quinces Are Called 'the Red of Chuan' in Areas South to the River], Wang Anshi's 王安石 (1021-1086) "Yu Weizhi tongfu meihua de xiang zi san shou (II)" 與微之同賦梅花得香字三首（其二） [Three Poems on Plum Blossoms Rhyming the Character Xiang, Co-Composed with Weizhi (II)], Lu You 陸游 (1125-1210), "Haitang (Fan Xiyuan yuan)" 海棠（范希元園）[Flowering Quince (at Fan Xiyuan's Garden)], and Yang Wanli's 楊萬里 (1127-1206) "Haitang sishou (IV)" 海棠四首（其四） [Four Poems on Flowering Quince (IV)], in Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 35, 55, 72, 80, 612 and 642.

[45] Ibid., 211.

flowering quince ultimately stem from a growing interest in the flower.[46] It was, however, also rooted in the recollected linkage between Du Fu and Shu, which was especially prominent when he came to be elevated to the lofty position of a great poet. Such a connection was more or less threatened if Du Fu did not, in fact, write anything about the flower for which the Shu region was famous. In this sense, this anxiety was a unique way of remembering Du Fu and his life in Shu.

The Relationship with Yan Wu

Fan Huang:

黃門侍郎嚴武總戎全蜀，君為幕賓，白首為郎，待之客禮。

Yan Wu, Vice Director of the Chancellery, was in charge of military affairs of the entire Shu region. Du Fu joined his private secretariat. Serving as an attendant with hoary head, he was treated as a respected guest.

Yuan Zhen:

劍南節度使嚴武狀爲工部員外參謀軍事。

The Military Commissioner of Jiannan, Yan Wu, submitted recommendation for Du Fu to be Vice Director of the Ministry of Work and Adjutant.

Jiu Tang shu:

[46] Most of the above cited poems are included in the 13th century treatise *Haitang pu* 海棠譜 [*Treatise of Flowering Quinces*], a book collects stories, anecdotes, and poems from Tang to Song concerning the flower.

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，與田夫野老相狎，蕩無拘檢；嚴武過之，有時不冠，其傲誕如此。

The winter of the second year of the Shangyuan reign saw Yan Wu, Vice Director of the Chancellery and Duke of Zheng, take charge of Chengdu’s military affairs. He submitted a memorial to recommend Du Fu as Administrative Adjutant and Acting Vice Director of the Ministry of Work Conferred with a Dark Red Fish Bag. Friendship between the families of Yan and Du spanned the generations, and Yan Wu treated Du Fu very decently. Du Fu was irritable and easily given to extremes. Lacking good demeanor and relying on Yan’s kindness, he became unbridled. Once, being drunk, he ascended to Yan’s coach, stared at him, and said: “Yan Tingzhi has such a son!” Yan did not take it as an offense in spite of his own impatient and violent character. Du Fu planted bamboos and trees at Flower-Rinsing Lane in Chengdu, built a thatch hut at the River, indulged himself with wine and literature, and befriended farmers and local seniors with no self-restriction. Sometimes, when Yan Wu came to visit, he did not wear his hat. This was the extent of his arrogance and impropriety.

Wang Zhu:

上元二年，聞嚴武鎮成都，自閬挈家往焉。武歸朝廷，甫浮遊左蜀諸郡，往來非一。武再鎮兩川，奏為節度參謀、檢校工部員外郎，賜緋。

In the second year of the Shangyuan reign, hearing that Yan Wu took charge of Chengdu’s

military affairs, Du Fu took his family to there from Langzhong. When Yan went back to the court, Du Fu wandered among counties in western Shu, repeatedly coming and going. When Yan Wu came into charge of both circuits in Shu again, he recommended Du Fu to be Administrative Adjutant and Acting Vice Director of the Ministry of Work Conferred Dark Red Fish Bag.

Xin Tang shu:

會嚴武節度劒南東西川，往依焉。武再帥劒南，表為參謀檢校工部員外郎。武以世舊，待甫甚善，親至其家。甫見之，或時不巾，而性褊躁傲誕，嘗醉登武牀，瞪視曰：“嚴挺之乃有此兒！”武亦暴猛，外若不為忤，中銜之。一日欲殺甫及梓州刺史章彝，集吏於門，武将出，冠鉤于簾三。左右白其母，奔救得止，獨殺彝。

At the time Yan Wu came into charge of both the East and West circuits of Jiannan, and Du Fu went to him for sponsorship. When Yan commanded Jiannan again, he submitted a memorial to recommend Du Fu to be Administrative Adjutant and Acting Vice Director of the Ministry of Work. Since friendship spanned generations in the families of Yan and Du, Yan Wu treated Du Fu very well, and went to his home in person. When Du Fu met him, he often did not even wear a head-cover. And with his irritable and arrogant personality, once he got drunk and ascended to Yan’s coach, stared at him, and said: “Yan Tingzhi has such as son!” Also characterized by violence, Yan did not appear to be offended, but in fact bore grudges. One day, having the desire to kill Du Fu and Zhang Yi, who was the Commissioner of Zizhou, Yan Wu had some inferior officials on call at his gate. When he was about to go out, his hat hooked itself on the curtain three times. His attendants told his mother about the

event, who ran to save Du Fu and stop Yan Wu. Only Zhang Yi was killed.

In regard to Du Fu's relationship with his sponsor in Shu, Fan Huang, Yuan Zhen and *Jiu Tang shu* only mention that Du Fu sought refuge with Yan Wu, while the *Xin Tang shu* and Wang Zhu clarify that Yan Wu administrated the Shu twice. This is important information as pertains to Du Fu, because, as seen in Wang Zhu's narrative, Du's life was affected during Yan Wu's leave between his two terms of office. The image of Du Fu faced with hardship continues in Wang Zhu's story.

The most significant difference, however, is that the *Jiu Tang shu* and the *Xin Tang shu* spilled a considerable amount of ink on Du Fu's rude and arrogant behaviors offending Yan Wu. Similar anecdotes – with slight differences in details – are seen in other sources, including:

(1) Li Zhao's *Guoshi bu*:

> 嚴武少以强俊知名。蜀中坐衙，杜甫袒跣登其机桉。武愛其才，終不害。[47]
>
> When he was young, Yan Wu was known for his might and severity. (One day) when he held a court in Shu, Du Fu ascended his table with a naked body and bared feet. Yan Wu appreciated his talent, and did not harm him in the end.

(2) Fan Shu's 范攄 (ca. 835-?) *Yunxi youyi* 雲溪友議 [*Friendly Remarks at the Cloud Creek*]:

> 杜甫拾遺乘醉而言曰："不謂嚴挺之有此兒也！"武恚目，久之曰："杜審言孫子擬

[47] See *Du Fu juan*, 22-23.

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？”房太尉琯亦微有所忤，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。[48]

Reminder Du Fu once said after getting drunk: “It is unexpected that Yan Tingzhi has such a son!” Yan Wu glowered at him, and answered after a long time: “Is Du Shenyan’s grandson intending to stroke the tiger’s beard?” All those at the banquet laughed and reconciled them. Yan Wu said: “We have food and drink for fun; why does one mention grandfathers and fathers?” Commander Fang Guan also had offended Yan Wu a little, and got sick due to worry and fear (for Yan’s revenge). Yan Wu’s mother was afraid that Yan would persecute the virtuous man, so she sent Du Fu out of the Gorges in a small boat. Yan’s mother could be described as virtuous, but the two gentlemen almost failed to escape from the tiger’s mouth.

(3) Wang Dingbao’s 王定保 (870-940) *Tang zhiyan* 唐摭言 [*Collected Remarks of the Tang*]:

杜工部在蜀，醉後登嚴武之牀，厲聲問武曰：“公是嚴挺之子乎？”武色變，甫復曰：“僕乃杜審言兒。”于是少解。[49]

When Vice Director Du of the Ministry of Works was in Shu, he once entered Yan Wu’s coach after getting drunk, and asked Yan Wu in stern voice: “Are you Yan Tingzhi’s son?” Yan Wu’s look changed. Du Fu then said: “I am Du Shenyan’s (grand)son.”

[48] Ibid., 42-43.
[49] Ibid., 46.

Thereupon the two were reconciled a little.

Details vary in these versions, but the main themes are similar. While the ways in which the relationship between Yan Wu and Du Fu actually manifested are the subject of some dispute, recent scholarship has begun to shift attention to the role played by narrative that presents such a relationship, rather than nailing down the actual "facts" of the situation.[50] On this subject, we can perhaps understand a bit more clearly if we further distance ourselves from the goal of actually reconstructing the relationship between Yan Wu and Du Fu. Although – as Matsubara Akira emphasizes – the entire passage in the *Yunxi youyi* features Yan Wu rather than Du Fu, the situation might be different when we probe more deeply into individual sub-plots in the passage.

First of all, the detail of Yan Wu's mother sending Du Fu out of Shu, which does not appear in *Guoshi bu*, probably derived from other sources and was organized into Yan Wu's story by Fan Shu. This detail is not important at all for the story in which Yan Wu appears as a a brutal

[50] For discussion on Du Fu's relationship with Yan Wu, see the following articles as a recent example: Ding Qizhen 丁啟陣, "Du Fu Yan Wu 'yazi' kaobian" 杜甫、嚴武"睚眦"考辨, *Wenxue yichan* 文學遺產, 6 (2002): 17-24; Fu Xuancong 傅璇琮 and Wu Zaiqing 吳在慶, "Du Fu yu Yan Wu guanxi kaobian" 杜甫與嚴武關係考辨, *Wen shi zhe* 文史哲, 1 (2004): 105-110; Ding Qizhen, "Du Fu Yan Wu 'yazi' zai kaobian" 杜甫、嚴武"睚眦"再考辨, *Wen shi zhe*, 4 (2004): 132-137; Li Xin 李新 and Zhao Xinruo 趙欣若, "Du Yan 'yazi' kao, fanzheng duo yinni – yu Ding Qizhen xiansheng shangque" 杜嚴"睚眦"考，反證多隱匿——與丁啟陣先生商榷, *Baoding shifan zhuanke xuexiao xuebao* 保定師範專科學校學報 19, 1 (2006): 19-21. For discussion focusing on the narrative in anecdotes concerning Du Fu and Yan Wu, see Matsubara Akira 松原朗, "To Ho Gen Bu hanmoku setsuwa no kōzō" 「杜甫嚴武反目說話」の構造, *Chūgoku bungaku kenyū* 中國文學研究 31 (2005): 144-157. Matsubara Akira provides an alternative perspective to consider these anecdotes. Centering on the criticism for Du Fu's arrogance in *Jiu Tang shu* and *Xin Tang shu*, he notices that the stories featuring Du Fu in the *Tang zhiyan*, the *Jiu Tang shu* and the *Xin Tang shu* originate from the stories featuring Yan Wu in *Guoshi bu* and *Yunxi youyi*, and argues that since both of these stories depict Yan Wu as a brutal figure, Du Fu is accordingly described as a virtuous person. But in *Tang zhiyan*, *Jiu Tang shu* and *Xin Tang shu*, Du Fu has to be criticized as an arrogant man responsible for his conflict with Yan Wu, because Yan provided him with shelter and support.

figure, and it is difficult to imagine that anyone would fabricate such a plot for Yan Wu's story. More plausibly, this plot was originally part of an anecdote centering on Du Fu, and it is of key importance because it explains the reason as to why he in the end left Shu after spending a long phase of his life in there. By Fan Shu's time, i.e., the mid or late ninth century, there could have been various circulating versions of anecdotes about Du Fu's leaving Shu, and they each provided different explanations as to why he did so. Fan Shu then took the plot involving Du Fu, and organized it into the story about Yan Wu.

Following the above cited passage in *Yunxi youyi*, poems by Li Bai and Du Fu are discussed:

> 李太白為《蜀道難》，乃為房、杜之危也……杜初自作《閬中行》：“豺狼當路，無地遊從。”或謂章仇大夫兼瓊為陳拾遺雪獄，高適侍御與王江寧昌齡申冤，當時同為義士也。李翰林作此歌，朝右聞之，疑嚴武有劉焉之志。支屬刺史章彝，因小瑕，武遂棒殺。後為彝外家報怨，嚴氏遂微焉。
>
> Li Taibai's purpose behind composing "Hard Routes to Shu" was to speak of the danger Fang Guan and Du Fu encountered… At first Du Fu himself composed "Verse on Langzhong": "Jackals and wolves in the way, nowhere can I follow my friends." Some say Grand Master Zhangchou Jianqiong, who exonerated Reminder Chen, and Attendant Censor Gao Shi, who redressed Wang Changling's grievance, were both chivalrous people at that time. Academician Li composed this song, and when it was heard by those in the court, they suspected Yan had the ambition similar to Liu Yan. Commissioner Zhang Yi, an imperial relative, was beaten to death by Yan Wu due to minor affronts. Later, Zhang's maternal relatives took revenge, and the Yan family went into decline.

Li Bai's intent in composing "Shu dao nan" had been the subject of discussion in the Late Tang, if not earlier. In Li Chuo's 李綽 *Shangshu gushi* 尚書故實 [*Stories of the Past Told by the Minister*], "Shu dao nan" is mentioned as a poem "criticizing Yan Wu" (罪嚴武), although no specific reasons are provided as to what Yan was criticized for.[51] Li Chuo lived at approximately the same time as Fan Shu, but the *Shangshu gushi* claims to be a collection of remarks of a certain minister from an earlier generation.[52] If this is true, then the purpose of composing "Shu dao nan" had already become the topic of gossip circulating at the time in which *Yunxi youyi* was compiled. That is to say, Fan Shu adapted a widely circulating narrative centering on Li Bai into his account in *Yunxi youyi*, and centered it primarily on the figure of Yan Wu.[53]

Du Fu's own poem titled "Langzhong xing" here also deserves attention. The line about jackals and wolves does not appear in any extant poems by Du Fu. The closest is the opening line of "Fa Langzhong" 發閬中 [Leaving Langzhong]: "Poisonous serpents ahead, fierce tigers

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[51] Li Chuo, *Shangshu gushi*, in *Tang Wudai biji xiaoshuo daguan* 唐五代筆記小說大觀 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2003), 1164.

[52] It is not known who the minister was. Yu Jiaxi 余嘉錫 suspected it was one of the brothers or cousins of Zhang Yanyuan 張彥遠 (815-907). See his discussion as well as the information on Li Chuo and *Shangshu gushi* in Yu Jiaxi, *Siku tiyao bianzheng* 四庫提要辨證 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), 909-918; also see Zhou Xunchu 周勛初, *Tang dai biji xiaoshuo xulu* 唐代筆記小說敘錄, in *Zhou Xunchu wenji* 周勛初文集 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 2000), Vol. 5, 441-443.

[53] Although today we only have *Shangshu gushi* and *Yunxi youyi* as the two Late Tang examples of interpreting "Shu dao nan" as a criticism of Yan Wu, it does not mean Fan Shu had to draw on *Shangshu gushi*. The differences between the two texts are too big to suggest any intertextual relations between them. On the other hand, Fan Fu could certainly also heard the gossip about "Shu dao nan" from others and took it into his book, just like Li Chuo recorded what he heard from the minister. For a detailed delineation of how the intention of "Shu dao nan" has been understood throughout history, see Luo Liantian 羅聯添, "Li Bai 'Shu dao nan' yuyi tantao" 李白《蜀道難》寓意探討, in Fu Xuancong 傅璇琮 and Zhou Zuzhuan 周祖譔, eds., *Tang dai wenxue yanjiu (di wu ji)* 唐代文學研究（第五輯） (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 1994), 225-254.

behind, I travel all day in creeks, and there are no villages" (前有毒蛇後猛虎，溪行盡日無村塢).[54] What actually occurred here merits several explanations. The so-called "Langzhong xing," along with the quoted line, could be mistakenly recalled for "Fa Langzhong" and its opening couplet. Or, Du Fu could have written a "Langzhong xing" that was known in Fan Shu's time, and the poem was later lost. It is also possible that the title "Langzhong xing" and the quoted line was part of a draft related to the surviving poem "Fa Langzhong." No matter what the situation was, it is reasonable to conjecture that some of Du Fu's poems – no matter whether they have survived to the present day or not – were well-known in the late ninth century. Anecdotes then came to be constructed to contextualize them. The so-called "Langzhong xing" cited by Fan Shu was just one of such examples, as no internal evidence from the poetic text or external evidence (such as Du Fu's "self-commentary" or *zizhu* 自注) support the reading that Fan Shu selects. Rather, Fan establishes the connection between one of Du Fu's poems and Du and Yan's relationship that were already in circulation.

Fan also addresses certain anecdotes concerning Zhangchou Jianqiong 章仇兼瓊 and Gao Shi 高適. The phrase he uses, "或曰," meaning "someone said," again shows that these anecdotes were learned from others.[55] From Li Bai's "Shu dao nan" to Du Fu's "Langzhong xing," to Zhangchou Jianqiong and Gao Shi, and finally to Zhang Yi 章彝, the situation seems

[54] Xiao Difei, *Du Fu quanji jiaozhu*, Vol. 5, 2986.

[55] According to Yu Jiaxi 余嘉錫, these anecdotes were not necessarily untrue. See his *Siku tiyao bianzheng*, 1029-33. Yet some scholars think Yu's conclusion is more or less problematic, because he takes an anecdote demonstrating Gao Shi and Wang Changling's 王昌齡 friendship as reliable material, (i.e., the famous story about Gao Shi, Wang Changling and Wang Zhihuan 王之渙 gathering in a pavilion and enjoying hearing their own poems sung by singing girls), but it is not really the situation. For a recent example of the opinions disagreeing with Yu, see Wang Ning 王寧, *Yunxi youyi jiaozhu* 《雲溪友議》校注 (Ph. D. diss. Xiamen University dissertation 2009), 63.

to be that what we see here are traces of miscellaneous stories that Fan Shu organized into his account of Yan Wu's story. To some degree, this is more a preservation of anecdotes circulating in the ninth century than it was a "composition" of a well-structured story featuring Yan Wu. Actually, in the preface to *Yunxi youyi*, Fan Shu makes it clear that most of the book's contents were heard from others when he traveled.[56] It was also possible that a rich pool of gossip concerning Du Fu and Yan Wu once existed. Similarities and differences among the above cited anecdotes from *Guoshi bu*, *Yunxi youyi* and *Tang zhiyan* signify that all such stories were crafted from a common pool of hearsay and conjecture.

Gossip concerning Du Fu's relationship with Yan Wu provides us with the general impression existing since the eighth century that Du Fu was a talented person with an arrogant attitude.[57] This image can be traced back to Du Fu's own time, while other aspects of his received image, such as Du as a Confucian loyalist or a poet with great skill in composition, cannot.[58] This talented, but arrogant, figure has hardly been accepted since the Song. Instead, it has been regarded as the result of "literary fabrication" and is often not taken seriously. As demonstrated here, however, this image was not necessarily regarded as "fictional" before the eleventh century. It used to be one of many ways in which Du Fu was remembered.

Late Years and Death

Fan Huang:

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[56] See Fan Shu, *Yunxi youyi* (Shanghai: Gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957), 3.

[57] Matsubara Akira, "To Ho Gen Bu hanmoku setsuwa no shōchō" 「杜甫嚴武反目說話」の消長, in *Matsuura Tomohisa hakase tsuitō kinen Chūgoku koten bungaku ronshū* 松浦友久博士追悼記念中國古典文學論集 (Tokyo: Kenbun shuppan, 2006), 497-509.

[58] Pay particular attention to the poem "Zayan ji Du shiyi" 雜言寄杜甫 [A Various-Character Poem to Reminder Du] by Du's contemporary, Ren Hua 任華, in Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 5-6. Matsubara Akira's article cited above also discusses this issue in details.

屬契闊湮阨，東歸江陵，緣湘沅而不返，痛矣夫。

Entangled in toils and hardship, Du Fu got on his way eastward back to Jiangling. He traveled along Xiang River and Yuan River, but never returned. How sad it is.

Yuan Zhen:

旋又棄去，扁舟下荊楚間，竟以寓卒，旋殯岳陽。享年五十九。

Soon he gave the position up and left. In a small boat he went to the Jing and Chu regions. In the end he died on his way and was soon buried in Yueyang. He was fifty-nine when he died.

Jiu Tang shu:

永泰元年夏，武卒，甫無所依。及郭英乂代武鎮成都，英乂武人粗暴，無能刺謁，乃遊東蜀，依高適。既至而適卒。是歲，崔寧殺英乂，楊子琳攻西川，蜀中大亂。甫以其家避亂荊楚，扁舟下峽，未維舟而江陵亂，乃沂沿湘流，遊衡山，寓居耒陽。甫嘗遊嶽廟，為暴水所阻，旬日不得食。耒陽聶令知之，自棹舟迎甫而還。永泰二年，嗢牛肉白酒，一夕而卒於耒陽，時年五十九。

In the summer of the first year of Yongtai reign, Yan Wu died, and Du Fu lost support. Then Guo Yingyi substituted for Yan in taking charge of Chengdu’s military affairs. Guo was a violent infantryman, and Du Fu was unable to introduce himself to him, so he went to east

Shu to count on Gao Shi. When he arrived, Gao Shi died. In that year, Cui Ning killed Guo Yingyi, and Yang Zilin invaded the West Jiannan Circuit. The Shu region was in great disorder. Du Fu took his family to the Jing Chu region for refuge. They passed the Gorges in a small boat. Before they stopped their boat (at the destination), Jiangling was in chaos, so they traveled along Xiang River, visited Heng Mountain, and settled in Leiyang. Du Fu once visited the mountain deity's temple, was trapped by flood, and had no food for ten days. Magistrate Nie of Leiyang got to know it, and rowed out a boat himself to take Du Fu back. In the second year of the Yongtai reign, Du Fu ate beef and drank white wine, and died overnight in Leiyang. He was fifty-nine in that year.

Wang Zhu:

永泰元年夏，武卒，郭英乂代武。崔旰殺英乂，楊子琳、栢正節舉兵攻旰，蜀中大亂，甫逃至梓州。亂定，歸成都，無所依，乃泛江遊嘉戎，次雲安，移居夔州。大歷三年春，下峽，至荊南，又次公安，入湖南，泝沿湘流，遊衡山，寓居耒陽。嘗至嶽廟，阻暴水，旬日不得食。耒陽聶令知之，自具舟迎還。五年夏，一夕醉飽卒，年五十九。

In the summer of the first year of Yongtai reign, Yan Wu died, and Guo Yingyi substituted for him. Cui Gan killed Guo, and then Yang Zilin and Bai Zhengjie raised an army to attack Cui. The Shu region was thrown into turmoil, and Du Fu fled to Zizhou. After the turmoil was pacified, he returned to Chengdu, but had no sponsorship, so he sailed in the River to Jiazhou, Rongzhou, then to Yun'an, before finally moving his family to Kuizhou. In the spring of the third year of Dali reign, he traveled through the Gorges to south Jing, then to Gong'an, before he entered Hunan, traveled along Xiang River to visit Heng Mountain, and

settled in Leiyang. Once he visited the mountain deity's temple, was trapped by flood, and had no food for ten days. Magistrate Nie of Leiyang came to know this, and rowed out a boat himself to take him back. In the summer of the fifth year of Yongtai reign, after eating his fill and getting drunk, he died in his sleep at the age of fifty-nine.

Xin Tang shu:

武卒，崔旰等亂，甫往來梓夔間。大歷中，出瞿唐，下江陵，泝沅湘以登衡山，因客耒陽。游嶽祠，大水遽至，涉旬不得食。縣令具舟迎之，乃得還。令嘗饋牛炙白酒，大醉一昔卒，年五十九。

Yan Wu died, Cui Gan and others caused turmoil, and Du Fu came and went between Zizhou and Kuizhou. During the Dali reign, he traveled out of Qutang Gorge, went downstream to Jiangling, sailed along Yuan River and Xiang River to ascend Heng Mountain, and settled in Leiyang. Once when he visited the mountain deity's temple, flood suddenly came, and he got trapped without food for ten days. He was unable to return until the magistrate prepared a boat to retrieve him. The magistrate used to send him roasted beef and white wine. He got very drunk, and died in his sleep at the age of fifty-nine.

After leaving Shu in 765, Du Fu stayed in various places, including Yun'an 雲安, Kuizhou 夔州, Jiangling 江陵, Gong'an 公安, Changsha 長沙, Tanzhou 潭州 and Hengzhou 衡州. The five biographies all, to some extent, outline his whereabouts, although Fan Huang and Yuan Zhen only provide very vague information while *Jiu Tang shu* contains many mistakes. Modern

scholars have reinvestigated Du Fu's late years.[59]

It was Wang Zhu who, for the first time, mentioned Du Fu's stay in Kuizhou. About one third of the poems in Wang Zhu's edition (as we can see from *Song ben Du Gongbu ji*), i.e., more than four hundred, were written in Kuizhou, and we now know Du Fu's life in Kuizhou better than any other phases of his life. However, no one before the eleventh century is known to have ever mentioned Du Fu's stay in Kuizhou in their writings, and no anecdotes about his life in there are known to have circulated. When we compare Fan Huang's *Du Gongbu xiaoji* with Wang Zhu's edition, of all the sixty-two poems containing textual variants from Fan's edition that we know today, only four were written in Kuizhou.[60] The ratio is only one fifteenth of his poem. If we assume that this ratio also reflects the situation of the whole collection, then of the 290 poems of *Du Gongbu xiaoji*, there were only about twenty poems written in Kuizhou. This was only one twentieth of what Wang Zhu collected in his edition.

It is thus not hard to understand why Wang Zhu was able to mention Kuizhou in particular as one of the places Du Fu had stayed. He probably learnt about Du Fu's life in Kuizhou from his poetry. Although Kuizhou was only very briefly mentioned in Wang's preface, this two-year part in Du Fu's biography becomes a typical example of how biography can be constructed based on the author's own writings.[61]

Another point Wang Zhu made by reading Du Fu's poetry was the time of Du Fu's death.

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[59] Besides Du Chengxiang's "Liang *Tang shu* Du Fu zhuan dingwu" and Hu Chuan'an's "Liang *Tang shu* Du Fu zhuan buzheng" mentioned earlier in this chapter, also see Chen Yixin, *Du Fu pingzhuan*, 915-1329, and Chen Shangjun, "Du Fu wei lang li Shu kao" 杜甫為郎離蜀考 and "Du Fu li Shu hou zhi xingzhi yuanyin xinkao" 杜甫離蜀後之行止原因新考, in *Tang dai wenxue congkao*, 268-305.

[60] The numbers are counted by Chen Shangjun in "Du shi zaoqi liuchuan kao," in *Tang dai wenxue congkao*, 309-310.

[61] The highlight of Kuizhou poems is also discussed in Chapter 1 as a particular case of poetic evaluation based on collecting and chronologically arranging Du Fu's poems.

He and Su Shunqin 蘇舜欽 (1008-1048) were the earliest people we know that pointed out Du Fu lived until 770, rather than 766 as the *Jiu Tang shu* records it, and both Su and Wang based their conclusions on newly discovered poems by Du Fu.[62] There was, however, no way to know Du Fu's age when he died from his poems alone. The age of "fifty nine," adopted by the *Jiu Tang shu*, Wang Zhu, and the *Xin Tang shu*, originated from Yuan Zhen's epitaph, which probably, in turn, came from Du Fu's grandson, Du Siye.

Another issue important to Du Fu's death was the locale and way in which he died. The *Jiu Tang shu*'s narrative is that Du Fu died in Leiyang after eating beef and drinking wine. The *Xin Tang shu* also implicitly indicates that he died there, as it was the Magistrate of Leiyang that provided Du Fu with the beef and wine in the narrative. Wang Zhu's account severs the connection between Du Fu's death and Leiyang, but he still preserves the plot line that says that Du Fu died after having beef and wine.

In comparison with the time of Du Fu's death, the locale and way in which he died incurred much more interest and discussion. There are many poems reflecting that people up to the eleventh century regarded Leiyang as the place of Du Fu's death.[63] From these poems, we know

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[62] See Wang's preface and Su's "Ti Du Zimei bieji hou" 題杜子美別集後, in Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 62 and 73 respectively. As discussed in Chapter 1, although Wang's edition came out later than Su's, he did not refer to or even know about Su's work.

[63] See Cui Jue's 崔玨 "Daolin si" 道林寺 [The Daolin Temple], Zheng Gu's 鄭谷 "Song Tian Guang" 送田光 [Seeing off Tian Guang], Luo Yin's 羅隱 "Jing Leiyang Du Gongbu mu" 經耒陽杜工部墓 [Passing the Tomb at Leiyang of Vice Director Du of the Board of Works], Cao Song's 曹松 "Ku Chentao chushi" 哭陳陶處士 [Weeping for the Recluse of Chentao], Pei Xie's 裴諧 "Jing Du Fu fen" 經杜甫墳 [Passing Du Fu's Tomb], Pei Yue's 裴説 "Jing Du Gongbu fen" 經杜工部墳 [Passing the Tomb of Vice Director Du of the Board of Works], Qi Ji's 齊己 "Ci Leiyang zuo" 次耒陽作 [Composed When Passing Leiyang], "Diao Du Gongbu fen" 吊杜工部墳 [Lamenting at the Tomb of Vice Director Du of the Board of Works] and "Yiyun chouxie zunshi jianzeng" 依韻酬謝尊師見贈 [Following Its Rhyme to Respond the Poem Bestowed by the Esteemed Master],and Meng Binyu's 孟賓于 "Leiyang Du

that there was indeed a tomb said to be Du Fu's in Leiyang, while Yuan Zhen's tomb inscription clarifies that, after his death, Du Fu's coffin was only temporarily placed in Yueyang 岳陽 before Du Siye escorted it back to their homeland and had it buried in the Du clan's ancestral grave there. Although we do not know when and by whom it was built, the tomb in Leiyang embodied a particular memory about Du Fu's death, as exemplified by the following entry from the "Addendum" (*Buyi* 補遺) part of Zheng Chuhui's 鄭處誨 (*jinshi* 834) *Minghuang zalu* 明皇雜錄 [*Miscellaneous Records of Emperor Minghuang's Reign*]:

> 杜甫後漂寓湘潭間，旅於衡州耒陽縣，頗為令長所厭。甫投詩於宰，宰遂置牛炙白酒以遺。甫飲過多，一夕而卒。集中猶有贈聶耒陽詩也。[64]
>
> At a later time, Du Fu wandered and temporarily settled in the region of Xiang and Tan, and then stayed in Leiyang County of Hengzhou. There he was quite disliked by the Magistrate. Du Fu sent the Magistrate poems, so the Magistrate prepared roasted beef and white wine to send him. Du Fu overdrank, and died overnight. There is still the poem sent to Magistrate Nie of Leiyang.

Among Du Fu's poems in the Wang Zhu edition, the only "poem to Nie" is the one titled "Nie Leiyang yi pu zushui shuzhi jiurou shi de daihuai zhi xian cheng Nie" 聶耒陽以僕阻水書致酒肉詩得代懷至縣呈聶 [Magistrate Nie of Leiyang, knowing I was trapped by flood, sent me wine and meat with his letter. I compose this poem to express my feelings and come to the

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Gongbu mu" 耒陽杜工部墓 [The Tomb in Leiyang of Tomb of Vice Director Du of the Board of Works], in Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 26-27, 35, 38, 41, 45 and 49.

[64] Ibid., 24.

County Office to present it to Nie].[65] It is doubtful that this is the poem mentioned by Zhang above. As the poem's title shows, it is a poem of gratitude composed after Du Fu received the food Nie sent, but according to Zheng Chuhui, Du Fu sent a poem to ask for Nie's help. That is to say, Du sent the poem to Nie before the latter sent him beef and wine. A poem may have indeed existed that Zheng saw, but later lost. Zheng Chuhui could either have used an anecdote to contextualize a poem known to be written by Du Fu, or he could have used Du Fu's poem to support an anecdote that was widely known. Ironically the surviving "poem to Nie" demonstrates that Zheng's story of Du Fu's death from one night of overindulgence in drink was untrue.

Many people, however, had believed Du Fu died in Leiyang. According to Zhang Qixian's 張齊賢 (943-1014) "Shu Du Gongbu citang" 書杜工部祠堂 [Writing at the Shrine of Vice Director Du of the Ministry of Works], shrines had been built at Du Fu's tomb in Leiyang by the 940s, and sacrifices were offered to him there.[66] This was the earliest known instance of Du Fu being the object of worship. From that time forward, the shrine came to be repaired for several times, and Zhang himself bore witness to the most recent repairs. The goal of his writing "Shu Du Gongbu citang" was to "urge people to sacrifice to Du Fu" 勸民奉祀, as it was the case that local people were "only interested in excessive and improper sacrifices, but unable to make offerings at the Director's shrine." 邑里之民止好淫祀，而不能設奠於工部之祠. It seems that, at that time, worship for Du Fu was not popular among commoners. Du Fu was only an object of veneration among local literati and was worshiped merely as one of many virtuous local people of Leiyang, rather than as someone who represented the greatest achievement in Chinese poetry.

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[65] Du Fu, *Song ben Du Gongbu ji* 宋本杜工部集, Xu guyi congshu 續古逸叢書, ed. Zhang Yuanji 張元濟 (1922; repr., Yangzhou: Jiangsu Guangling guji keyinshe, 1994), Vol.4, 209b.
[66] Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 54-55. The article was written at some point during 977-981 when Zhang served as the Controller-general 通判 of Hengzhou 衡州.

On the other hand, in the Northern Song, it was also widely known that there was a tomb of Du Fu in his hometown, Gongxian 鞏縣.[67] Song Minqiu 宋敏求 (1019-1079), in his *Chunming tuichao lu* 春明退朝錄 [*Records after Withdrawing to Chuming Lane from Court*], still regarded Leiyang as the locale of Du Fu's death, but ventured a guess that Du's coffin was moved back to Gongxian while the tomb in Leiyang continued to be preserved.[68] Song clearly was not aware of the conclusions made by Su Shunqin and Wang Zhu regarding Du's death, and was probably unaware of the collections they compiled either, despite the fact that the *Chunming tuichao lu* came out in early 1070s – more than 10 years after Wang Zhu's edition was printed.

At around the same time that Su Shunqin and Wang Zhu compiled their editions of Du Fu's poems, the discussion of his death also went in a relatively new direction. When Xu Jie 徐介 (fl. the mid-eleventh century) passed the Du Fu shrine in Leiyang, he exclaimed in verse thus:

固教工部死　　The Vice Director of the Ministry of Work was truly destined to die
來伴大夫魂[69]　　To accompany the spirit of the Grand Master.

Xu associates Du Fu with Qu Yuan due to the fact that they both died – or so Xu believed – in the same region. In this sense, Xu elevated Du Fu to a high position in literary history on par with Qu Yuan. Du Fu's death came to be remembered as a qualification for which he was predestined, and a privileged honor rather than a sad incident. Xu Jie was not the only one who thought this way. According to Zheng Ang 鄭卬 (fl. the mid twelfth century), Xu Jie's

[67] See Zhou Xu 周序, "Jing Shaoling mu (zai Gongxian)" 經少陵墓（在鞏縣）, in ibid., 63-64.
[68] Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 79.
[69] Xu Jie, "Leiyang Du Gongbu citang" 耒陽杜工部祠堂, in ibid., 77.

contemporary, Liu Fu 劉斧 (fl. 1050s-1070s) made the same comparison in a much more refined manner. Liu's *biji* collection, *Qingsuo zhiyi* 青瑣摭遺 [*Collected Notes from the Green Latticed Window*], contains a poem attributed to Han Yu entitled "Ti Du Gongbu fen" 題杜工部墳 [Writing at the Tomb of Vice Director Du of the Ministry of Works], and a so-called "supplementary biography" of Du Fu attributed to Li Guan 李觀 (766-794).[70] The poem constructs a persona of Han Yu by means of a story in which Han once visited Du Fu's tomb. It begins with a cosmological discussion of the way in which virtuous people in the world embodied the pure energy (*qingqi* 清氣) of the universe and thereby become immortal. In extolling the Tang Dynasty's great cultural achievements, Du Fu occupies a particularly exalted place:

中間詩筆誰清新	Who possessed the fresh brush of poetry among them?
屈指都無四五人	Counting on one's fingers, there were no more than four or five.
獨有工部稱全美	Only the Vice Director is known for his overall excellence,
當日詩人無擬倫	No poets in those days were his peers.

The above is an evaluation that sounds more like the opinion of someone in the Song rather than it does of one living in the Tang (i.e., Han Yu's). Even though Han Yu did indeed admire Du Fu, he never elevated him to the most eminent position. But in this poem's depiction, "Han Yu"

[70] Zheng Ang 鄭卬, "Ba Zimei shi bing xu" 跋子美詩并序, in Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 325. For *Qingsuo zhiyi*, see Li Jianguo 李劍國, *Song dai zhiguai chuanqi xulu* 宋代志怪傳奇敘錄 (Tianjin: Nankai daxue chubanshe, 1997), 199-202. *Qingsuo zhiyi* is now lost, but it is the earliest source to which we can trace the poem and the supplementary biography, while they are also still available in Southern Song editions of Du Fu's collection.

summoned his friends and made a special trip to visit Du Fu's tomb, which was located in a very remote place – so remote that he asked a young cowherd for directions. This entire narrative functions to present the persona's extreme admiration for Du Fu. When arriving there, "Han Yu" worshiped Du Fu and lamented his death:

怨聲千古寄西風	The voice of lament is, through the ages, consigned to the west wind,
寒骨一夜沉秋水	The chilled bones sank in the autumn water overnight.
當時處處多白酒	At that time much white wine was here and there,
牛肴如今家家有	In the present day every household has roasted beef.
飲酒食肴今如此	Drinking wine and eating beef are all the same today,
何故常人無飽死	Why does no one among the common people dies from having his fill?
子美當日稱才賢	Zimei was known for his talent and merit in his heyday,
聶侯見待誠非喜	Magistrate Nie indeed was not happy to meet and treat him.
洎乎聖意再搜求	Since His Majesty repeatedly looked for Du Fu,
姦臣以此欺天子	The treacherous official took this excuse to cheat the son of Heaven.

To the best of our knowledge, this is the first time Du Fu is stated to have died from drowning. As would be expected, such a view rejected the notion that he died from overindulgence in food and drink. Moreover, the poem accuses Magistrate Nie of cheating the emperor. While such an

idea was itself novel, the accusation still appears somewhat ambiguous unless one refers to the "supplementary biography" attributed to Li Guan that relates such events in more detail:

> 一日過江上洲中飲，既醉不能復歸，宿酒家。是夕江水暴漲，子美為驚湍漂泛，其尸不知落於何處。洎玄宗還南内，思子美，詔天下求之。聶侯乃積空土於江上，曰："子美為白酒牛炙脹飫而死，葬於此矣。"以此事聞玄宗。吁！聶侯當以實對天子也！既空為之墳，又醜以酒炙脹飫之事。子美有清才者也，豈不知飲食多寡之分哉？
>
> One day (Du Fu) passed an isle in the river and drank there. After getting drunk, he was unable to return, so he lodged at the tavern. River water violently flooded the isle that night and whirled Zimei away. It was not known where his corpse had gone. When Emperor Xuanzong returned to the Southern Palace, he missed Zimei, and decreed that his whereabouts in the empire should be known. Magistrate Nie then piled up an empty tomb at the river, saying: "Zimei died from having too much white wine and roasted beef, and was buried here." This was reported to Emperor Xuanzong. Alas! Magistrate Nie should have told the truth to the emperor! Having built the empty tomb, he further defamed Du Fu with the scandal of having too much wine and beef. Zimei was a person with pure talent. How could he not be aware of the proper amount of food and drink?

Since Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (685-762) died earlier than Du Fu, this story definitely cannot be true. But when Du Fu appears depicted as someone the emperor missed, he turns out to be a poet whose significance was fully acknowledged even in his own time. Such an image is, again, in line with the impression people had after Du Fu was elevated to a higher position in the eleventh century. This is also the effect that the poem attributed to Han Yu tries to achieve. Just

after the stanza quoted above, Du Fu's death – the drowning version – becomes analogized to the deaths of other two great poets – Qu Yuan and Li Bai:

捉月走入千丈波	(Li Bai) walked into waves ten thousand feet high to grasp the moon;
忠諫便沉汨羅底	(Qu Yuan) admonished loyally only to sink himself in Miluo River.
固知天意有所存	It is known, indeed, that the Heaven has made up its mind:
三賢所歸同一水	The three virtuous men ended up in water all the same.

The thought here is similar to that of Xu Jie: drowning becomes a shared fate that distinguished the three poets from others, and death is treated as a privilege granted by Heaven. The end of the poem states the fact that many poets had composed poems extolling Du Fu, and "Han Yu" here calls for rectification of the account that described Du Fu's death as resulting from eating and drinking too much. The issue is also echoed in the "supplementary biography":

> 高顯宰耒陽，有詩曰："詩名天寶大，骨葬耒陽空。"雖有感，終不灼。然唐賢詩曰："一夜耒江雨，百年工部墳。"獨韓文公詩，事全而明白，知子美之墳空土也，又非因酒炙而死耳。
>
> When Gao Yong served as the magistrate of Leiyang, he had a poem that read: "Du Fu's poetic reputation in the Tianbao period was great, his bones were buried in Leiyang in vain." Although he had sentiments, they did not manifest in the world. Yet a poem by some virtuous person in the Tang says: "(Since) the one night's rain on the river of Leiyang, a hundred years with the Vice Director's tomb (has passed)." Only the poem by Han Yu, Duke

of Wen, relates the complete event in a clear way. From this we know that Du Fu's tomb was empty, and that he did not die from having too much wine and roasted beef, either.

This paragraph resembles an annotation on "Han Yu's poem." It not only provides specific examples of poems extolling Du Fu, but also explicitly calls attention to "Han Yu's poem." By doing so, however, it also reveals itself as a forged text, if only for the fact that Li Guan, to whom the "supplementary biography" is attributed, died before Han Yu, and it was therefore impossible for him to know Han's posthumous name: Wen 文. It could be the case that the supplementary biography provided by "Li Guan" and the poem by "Han Yu" were actually written by the same anonymous person in the eleventh century. They shore up each other's account and thereby jointly provide a fictional version of Du Fu's death.

Almost three hundred years after Du Fu died, his "corpus" took form in a gradual manner, and enabled readers to draw an image of Du Fu from his own writings. This does not, however, mean that Du Fu was an obscure poet prior to his poems having been collected and chronologized. The anecdotes, poems and biographies discussed in this chapter all reflect, to a certain extent, the way in which he came to be remembered. Such recollections, however, were themselves relatively disconnected. Certain phases of this life, such as his time in Shu, gave rise to a good deal of debate. Other issues – such as his reputation having been juxtaposed with Li Bai, his relationship with Yan Wu, his death in Leiyang, and so forth – also generated a litany of commentary from the late Tang forward. On the contrary, issues like his early visit to the Southeast, his stay in the capital before the An Lushan Rebellion, and his life in Kuizhou remained relatively untouched.

The disconnected state of collective memories that concerned Du Fu suggests that the actual life of Du Fu as he lived and breathed, or at least part of it, is hard to know. The eleventh century collection of his poems and the concerted inquiry into his life that such collecting activities entailed, constructed a new Du Fu that persisted through the ages. Although some phases of Du Fu's life, such as his stay in Kuizhou, have been the subject of considerable discussion, our knowledge of the poet is still mainly restricted to that which is related in his more than 1400 poems.

Later readings of Du Fu often involved intentional or unrealized comparison between the received image distilled from his corpus and the image preserved in materials that circulated prior to their collection in the Song. If a certain aspect of his earlier image appears to have been in line with the Du Fu relayed in poetry, it is likely that both poem and biography alike served to confirm such "facts" in following eras. The notion that knowing a person's biography assisted one in understanding his writings therefore assured that biographical information functioned as the foundation for literary evaluation. The most typical example of such a process is perhaps Du Fu's image as poet faced with hardship. Such a topic will be further discussed in Chapter 5.

On the contrary, if some image – such as the arrogant Du Fu offending Yan Wu – appears to have been in conflict with the Du Fu that was knowable from his own writings, the result was that such an image was doubted and rejected, and became filtered out in later reconstructions of his poetic persona. Although such images persisted at a certain time, they later become vague as time went on. They appeared instead in fragments that eventually fell by the wayside as poems came to be the primary source for inquiries into Du Fu's life. This process, as the next chapter shows, intertwined with the construction of Du Fu as a poet-historian.

Chapter 3. The Poet-Historian

If *biannian* 編年 enabled the construction of Du Fu's biography to emerge from his own poetry, on a more fundamental level, such a situation was also made possible by the consciousness that poetry could be a key source of demanded knowledge. Knowledge derived from poetry enabled readers to know the past in detail, and in this way poetry became "poetic-history" (*shishi* 詩史). "Poetic history" has, in turn, taken on various connotations in a variety different contexts since the eleventh century.[1]

The relationship between Du Fu and "poetic history" was itself somewhat circular. The thesis of "poetic history" first took shape through an understanding of Du Fu's poetry. As it became more widespread as an approach, however, it also became an established standard that could be taken for granted and subsequently applied to the evaluation of past and contemporary poets, which included Du Fu himself. Meanwhile, the awareness that poetry could be a source of knowledge drove efforts beginning in the late eleventh century that aimed to chronologically arrange those of Du Fu's poems that were extant. The *biannian* therefore appeared to provide the impression that Du Fu was indeed a "poet-historian" who recorded much about his own era in his poetry.[2]

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[1] See Zhang Hui 張暉, *Zhongguo shishi chuantong* 中國詩史傳統 (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2012) for a comprehensive delineation of the development of the "poetic history" (*shishi* 詩史) tradition.

[2] For examples of Du Fu recognized as a poet-historian in the Song, see Chen Wenhua's 陳文華 description of this issue in *Du Fu zhuanji Tang Song ziliao kaobian* 杜甫傳記唐宋資料考辨 (Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1987), 241-262; also see Yang Songnian 楊松年, "Songren cheng Du shi wei shishi shuo xiping" 宋人稱杜詩為詩史說析評, in *Zhongguo gudian wenxue piping lunji* 中國古典文學批評論集 (Hongkong: Sanlian shudian youxian gongsi, 1987), 127-162; Huang Zihong 黃自鴻, "Du Fu 'shishi' dingyi de fanyan xianxiang" 杜甫"詩史"定義的繁衍現象, *Hanxue yanjiu* 漢學研究 25, 1 (2007): 189-220.

In order to investigate the construction of Du Fu as a poet-historian, a study of Du Fu alone remains insufficient, just as it is similarly insufficient to examine the thesis of "poetic history" as it expanded in scope through the Song. The key issue is the notion that newly developed in the Song that poetry could be a source of demanded knowledge. Such notion was a renewal of poetry's connotation, even though the name of "poetry" or "*shi* 詩" as a genre remained the same. In this chapter, I argue that "poetic history" came to refer to a particular perspective through which one could read Du Fu's poetry. This arose through a new understanding of poetry's function as it took shape in the Northern Song. However, it also obscured other possible influences that Du Fu's works brought to bear on the developing process of Chinese poetry.

Before examining Du Fu's poetry and the Song literati, however, we should take note of the fact that "poetic history" as a concept only appeared in a ninth century entry in Meng Qi's 孟啟 *Benshi shi* 本事詩 [*Poems with Anecdotal Origins*]. After the *Benshi shi*, the second earliest appearance of "poetic history" is, to our best knowledge, in Du Fu's biography in the *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 [*The New History of the Tang*], which was completed in 1066. The gap of two centuries between the two texts is particularly notable, as it reveals that "poetic history" as a subject remained in abeyance for a relatively long period of time. Before we move on to the eleventh century, we will first turn to this issue.

The Problem of *Benshi shi*

"Poetic history" is first mentioned in the initial entry of the third Chapter of the *Benshi shi*, entitled "The Elegantly Free" 高逸, after it relates an account of Li Bai's 李白 (701-762) deeds:

杜所贈二十韻，備叙其事；讀其文，盡得其故跡。杜逢祿山之難，流離隴蜀，畢陳於詩，推見至隱，殆無遺事。故當時號為詩史。[3]

The "Twenty Couplets" that Du Fu presented (to Li Bai) provides a complete account of his deeds. Reading it, one obtains an understanding of all of the past traces he left behind. When he encountered the disaster caused by An Lushan, Du Fu wandered to the region of Long and Shu. Everything came to be expressed through his poetry in all of its subtleties, and nothing was missing at all. At that time his poetry was thus called "poetic history."

The majority of those that discuss "poetic history" quote this paragraph as the origin of the concept. The ninth century has therefore come to be regarded as the time in which the term "poetic history" came into being. Recently, however, scholars have come to pay more attention to the phrase "at that time" (當時) that appears in this material, and have therefore argued that Du Fu's compositions came to be recognized as "poetic history" in his own time, i.e., the eighth century.[4]

Yet some issues still remain as pertain to the hypothesized appearance of "poetic history" in either the eighth or the ninth century. First of all, there is no other source during this time that refers to Du Fu's poetry in such terms. Indeed, the *Benshi shi* was the only source in which "poetic history" as a term appeared prior to it becoming a major topic of discussion in the eleventh century. Also noteworthy is the fact that the entire entry included in *Benshi shi* that

[3] Meng Qi, *Benshi shi* 本事詩, in *Benshi shi Benshi ci* 本事詩本事詞 (Shanghai: Gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957), 17.

[4] For discussion on this issue, see Gong Pengcheng 龔鵬程, *Shishi bense miaowu* 詩史本色妙悟 (Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, 1993), 19; Han Jingtai 韓經太, "Chuantong 'shishi' shuo de chanshi yixiang" 傳統"詩史"說的闡釋意向, *Zhongguo shehui kexue* 中國社會科學, 3 (1999): 169-172; Wang Shihai 王世海, "Du shi 'shishi' shuo dangshi yixiang tanjiu" 杜詩"詩史"說當時意向探究, *Zhongguo yunwen xuekan* 中國韻文學刊, 2 (2006): 1-4.

refers to both Du Fu and "poetic history" actually features Li Bai, not Du Fu. The paragraph cited above mentions "poetic history" in the last part of the entry, and, as Zhang Hui has pointed out, although stories about Li Bai told in this entry are also found in other sources from mid-Tang to early Song, no other sources refer to the concept of "poetic history."[5]

Relatively little is known about Meng Qi, and it is unclear as to whether or not his peculiarity represents a novel innovation at the time.[6] If he did indeed hold Du Fu in relatively high esteem, however, it is notable that the *Benshi shi* does not refer to him elsewhere. *Benshi shi* is still, ultimately, a text that recorded stories related to poems, and as such, one must inquire as to the fact that if Meng Qi truly recognized that everything Du Fu had seen during the An Lushan Rebellion was presented in his poetry, would it not have been the case that Du Fu could have served as a prime example for narratives linked to poetic composition? Why is it that he appears as a mere footnote at the end of an entry focusing on Li Bai?

More vexing problems emerge as we further investigate characteristics of the *Benshi shi* and the particular text it contains in regard to "poetic history." After it emerged in the ninth century, the *Benshi shi* circulated in two ways: as a whole book, and as a quotation in various anecdote collections, *leishu* 類書 encyclopedias, and poetic remarks. While quotation in other sources could have certainly resulted in alteration of the quoted text, its circulation as a complete text by

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[5] Zhang's reading is that Meng Qi, so uniquely recognizing the value of the thesis, uses the whole entry featuring Li Bai to pave the way for promoting Du Fu and his "poetic history," and that others telling Li Bai's stories rarely shared the same interest in Du Fu or "poetic history" until the eleventh century. See the discussion in *Zhongguo shishi chuantong*, 1-11.

[6] For information on Meng Qi, see Wang Meng'ou 王夢鷗, "Qianyan" 前言 of *Benshi shi jiaobu kaoshi* 本事詩校補攷釋, in *Tang ren xiaoshuo yanjiu sanji* 唐人小說研究三集 (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1974), 22-24; Chen Shangjun 陳尚君, "*Benshi shi* zuozhe Meng Qi jiashi shengping kao" 《本事詩》作者孟啟家世生平考, in *Xin guoxue (Di liu juan)* 新國學（第六卷） (Chengdu: Ba Shu shushe, 2006), 1-17.

no means guaranteed that its contents were transmitted accurately.[7] This was partly due to the fact that, as a collection of anecdotes, the *Benshi shi* was not regarded in Northern Song as a sufficiently notable text deserving seriously treating. The transcribers and editors of the *Benshi shi* therefore had considerable freedom to change the text as it appears in various forms.

Taking the above into account, I argue that the received version of the *Benshi shi* does not necessarily more closely resemble the book's original appearance than paragraphs transcribed in other Northern Song sources do. Accordingly, for the entry concerning Li Bai, Du Fu and "poetic history," the methodology adopted here is to compare its received version in the *Benshi shi* and its appearance in *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 [*Extensive Records of the Taiping Era*], the earliest known source in which this entry was transcribed.[8] Neither the received version nor the *Taiping guangji* version should be presumed to more closely resemble Meng Qi's original version unless comparative textual study points to certain possibilities of this being the case.

In the received version of *Benshi shi*, Du Fu appears three times, which includes the above quoted paragraph on "poetic history." In the *Taiping guangji* version, he only appears once. Due to the fact that the *Benshi shi* records stories related to poems, the following chart lists the major content of the entry in both versions, as well as all poems that appear cited or mentioned. Poems by Du Fu are underlined:

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[7] As Wang Meng'ou has shown, in the received version of *Benshi shi*, of which the earliest extant edition was from the sixteenth century, some contents are missing that the original version should once have; some single entries, including the one featuring Li Bai, might be the result of later editors' combination of several shorter entries in the original version. For details, see Wang Meng'ou, "Qianyan" of *Benshi shi jiaobu kaoshi*, 1-17.

[8] See the text in Li Fang 李昉 et al., eds., *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1961), Vol. 5, 1511-12.

Major contents	Received version	*Taiping guangji* version
Li Bai's talents discovered by He Zhizhang 賀知章	蜀道難、烏棲曲、烏夜啼、寄李十二白二十韻	蜀道難、烏棲曲、烏夜啼
Li Bai's literary views	戲贈杜甫	N/A
Li Bai's literary activities in the imperial palace	宮中行樂詩	宮中行樂詩
Li Bai's life after being dismissed by the Emperor	寄李十二白二十韻	醉吟詩、憶賀監知章詩、寄李十二白二十韻

Only one poem by Du Fu appears in the *Benshi shi*'s narrative of Li Bai's deeds, i.e., "Ji Li shi'er Bai ershi yun" 寄李十二白二十韻 [Twenty Couplets Sent to Li Bai, the Twelfth (in His Clan)]. For this poem, Du Fu appears mentioned twice in the account that appears in the received version and once in the *Taiping guangji* version. It is this poem that serves as material for the "poetic history" mentioned at the end of the received version. This poem is examined below in reference to the context relayed in both versions.

For the part of "Li Bai's talents discovered by He Zhizhang," in both versions three of Li Bai's poems are quoted. While in the *Taiping guangji* they are quoted one by one as the story of He Zhizhang visiting Li Bai unfolds, in the received version of the *Benshi shi* Du Fu appears mentioned before "Wuqi qu" 烏棲曲 [Song of Perching Crows] is quoted. Relevant paragraphs in both versions are as follows, and the content concerning Du Fu is italicized:

Received version	*Taiping guangji* version
賀又見其《烏棲曲》，歎賞苦吟曰：“此詩可以泣鬼神矣！”*故杜子美贈詩及焉。*曲曰：“…” He then saw his “Song of Perching Crows.” Marveling at his painstaking composition, he said: “This poem can make ghosts and gods weep!” Therefore the poem presented by Du Zimei mentions this. The song goes as follows: “…”	賀又見其《烏棲曲》，歎賞苦吟曰：“此詩可以泣鬼神矣！”曲曰：“…” He then saw his “Song of Perching Crows.” Marveling at his painstaking composition, he said: “This poem can make ghosts and gods weep!” The song goes as follows: “…”

The only difference above is that the received version contains the sentence “故杜子美贈詩及焉.” “The poem presented by Du Zimei” can be determined to refer to the “Twenty Couplets to Li Bai,” because He Zhizhang’s comment about “making wind and rain weep” is indeed the content of the opening part of the poem:

昔年有狂客	Some years in the past, there was a mad man,
號爾謫仙人	He called you “the banished immortal.”
筆落驚風雨	Putting your brush to paper, you startled wind and rain;
詩成泣鬼神	When your poem was completed, it made ghosts and gods weep.

"Mad man" is the short form of He Zhizhang's style name, the "mad man of Siming" 四明狂客. These two couplets describe the event of He Zhizhang meeting Li Bai and praising his writings. The problem, however, emerges in the fact that this poem by Du Fu appears mentioned in the received version of the *Benshi shi* in a rather abrupt manner. No title or other reference appears in a clear fashion, despite the fact that this is the first time the poem is ever mentioned. The person who refers to the "Twenty Couplets" as "*the poem* presented by Du Fu" seemed to assume that the reader would already know which poem was being discussed. It is hard to imagine Meng Qi would have written in this way in the first place. It is more likely that the text was re-edited and that this sentence originated elsewhere. Given that the adverb "therefore" 故 functions to begin an explanatory sentence inserted into the coherent narrative of Li Bai and He Zhizhang's meeting, the entire sentence about Du Fu's poem appears to be a note. It could even be a note someone made for oneself, which would explain the omission of the poem's title. Such a note could have been written down by someone reading the *Benshi shi* entry and the "Twenty Couplets" together – someone who subsequently discovered the intertextual relations between such texts. If this reader also transcribed this text, the note may have been included beneath He Zhizhang's remark that the poem "could make ghosts and gods weep" during the act of transcription. When the text was transcribed again, it may have been the case that the note was mistakenly included as part of the original text of the *Benshi shi* as it came to be transmitted to later generations.

Besides in the *Taiping guangji*, this part of *Benshi shi* also came to be transcribed in Li Qi's 李頎 *Gujin shihua* 古今詩話 [*Poetry Remarks of the Past and the Present Time*].[9] As another

[9] Li was Su Shi's 蘇軾 (1037-1101) contemporary; *Gujin shihua* is lost, but a considerable part of its contents, including the story of He Zhizhang visiting Li Bai, are transcribed in Ruan Yue's

Northern Song version of the *Benshi shi* text, it also does not relate anything about Du Fu either. Although we cannot use the *Gujin shihua* version or the *Taiping guangji* version to completely reject the received version of the *Benshi shi*, they ultimately cast doubt on the reliability of Du Fu's appearance in the story of He Zhizhang meeting Li Bai.

After He's meeting with Li Bai, Du Fu's poem is mentioned again in the part that relates "Li Bai's life after being dismissed by the Emperor," i.e., toward the end of the whole entry. This time, both the received version and the *Taiping guangji* version mention Du Fu's poem by its title:

Received version	*Taiping guangji* version
常出入宮中，恩禮殊厚，竟以疏從乞歸。上亦以非廊廟器，優詔罷遣之。後以不羈，流落江外，又以永王招禮，累謫於夜郎。及放還，卒于宣城。*杜所贈二十韻，備敘其事，讀其文，盡得其故跡。杜逢祿山之難，流離隴蜀，畢陳於詩，推見至隱，殆無遺事，故當時號爲詩史。* (Li Bai) often went into the palace and	玄宗恩禮極厚，而白才行不羈，放曠坦率，乞歸故山。玄宗亦以非廊廟器，優詔許之。嘗有醉吟詩曰："…"更憶賀監知章詩曰："…"後在潯陽，復為永王璘延接，累謫夜郎。*時杜甫贈白詩二十韻，多敘其事。*白後放還，遊賞江表山水，卒於宣城之采石，葬於謝公青山。

阮閱 (*jinsh*i 1085) *Shihua zonggui* 詩話總龜 [*Erudite Collection of Poetry Remarks*], which was compiled during the Xuanhe 宣和 period (1119-1125) and is still available today. Although it cannot be guaranteed that what is seen in *Shihua zonggui* is exactly the same as what used to be in *Gujin shihua*, the version in *Shihua zonggui* does reflect one of *Benshi shi*'s appearances by the early twelfth century. Find the text in question in *Shihua zonggui* (Taipei: Guangwen shuju, 1973), 102-103.

enjoyed great favor and courteous reception, but, in the end, he petitioned for retirement due to alienation. The Emperor, also considering him to be unsuited for officialdom, dismissed him with an honorably-phrased edict. Later, due to his unrestricted nature, he wandered beyond the region of the River. Because of his acceptance of Prince Yong's courteous invitation, he was implicated (in Prince Yong's rebellion) and banished to Yelang. After being released and returning, he died in Xuancheng. The "Twenty Couplets" that Du Fu presented (to Li Bai) provides a complete account of his deeds. Reading it, one obtains an understanding of all of the past traces he left behind. When he encountered the disaster caused by An Lushan, Du Fu wandered to the region of Long and Shu. Everything came to be expressed through his poetry in all of its subtleties, and nothing was missing at all. At that time his poetry was thus called "poetic	Emperor Xuanzong treated Li Bai with very great favor and courtesy, but Li was self-indulgent and straightforward with his unrestricted talent and behavior, and he petitioned to return to his old mountain. The emperor, also considering him to be unsuited for officialdom, approved of him through an honorably-phrased edict. Li Bai once had a poem on drunkenness: "…" and a poem remembering He Zhizhang, Curator of the Imperial Library: "…" Later, in Xunyang, he was invited and recruited by Prince Yong, and came to be banished to Yelang due to the implication (that he participated in Prince Yong's rebellion). The "Twenty Couplets" of Du Fu presented to Li at that time narrates much about the incident. Later, Li Bai was released and returned. He traveled so as to appreciate landscapes along the River, died in Caishi of Xuancheng, and was buried at

history.”	Xie Tiao’s Blue Mountain.

A variety of differences emerge between the two narratives. Most obviously, the *Taiping guangji* version includes two of Li Bai’s poems that are not included in the received version of *Benshi shi*. As the *Taiping guangji* was a *leishu* encyclopedia, it would have been unusual for it to add content to the original text of the *Benshi shi* that was transcribed into it. On the other hand, the received version of the *Benshi shi* may reflect the result of the collapse and reconstruction of the original text. During this process, Li Bai’s poems came to be omitted, but it added the lines related to Du Fu and “poetic history.”

Specifically concerning Du Fu’s poems, in the received version of the *Benshi shi* the “Twenty Couplets” appears mentioned after Li Bai’s death, while in the *Taiping guangji* version it is cited following the account of Li Bai’s banishment to Yelang due to his involvement in Prince Li Lin’s 李璘 political activities. With the temporal adverbial “時,” the poem Du Fu presented to Li Bai appeas to be part of the coherent narrative of Li Bai’s deeds, and “多敘其事” means that the “Twenty Couplets” uses a considerable amount of the narrative to delineate the specifics of Li Bai’s banishment to Yelang after he worked for Li Lin, which, as we check the poem, is true: eight of the twenty couplets (couplets 11-18, see below) address the event of Li Bai working for Prince Li Lin and his subsequent banishment.

The received version provides another reading. It mentions Du Fu’s poem after it relates Li Bai’s death, and uses the phrase “備敘” (literally meaning “completely narrate”) rather than “多敘” (meaning “narrate much”). More importantly, it clarifies that reading the poem enabled one to know about *all* of the traces of Li’s activities (讀其文，盡得其故跡). In this way, Du Fu’s

poem comes to be a source for Li Bai's biographical information in general. The last sentence, which refocuses the narrative from the "Twenty Couplets" to Du Fu's other poems written during the An Lushan Rebellion and "poetic history," is then completely devoted to Du Fu. Again, the adverb "therefore" 故 indicates some explanatory sense that highlights Du Fu instead of Li Bai as the focus of attention. The "Twenty Couplets" mentioned here therefore functions to smoothly refocus the topic from Li Bai to Du Fu, and therefore transforms the entire entry from one related to Li Bai to one of "poetic history" related to Du Fu.

While it is clear that the received version of the *Benshi shi* concerns itself with Du Fu to a large extent, this seems rather abnormal for the ending part of an entry featuring Li Bai. Moreover, the received version's claim that the "Twenty Couplets" "completely accounts his deeds" is not well supported by the poem's actual content. The acts of Li Bai recalled in the poem are mostly also covered by the entry in *Benshi shi*; but the poem is by little means "complete" if it is compared with the prefaces to Li Bai's collections compiled by Wei Hao 魏顥 (fl. mid-eighth century) and Li Yangbing 李陽冰 (fl. 762), or the epitaphs for Li Bai by Liu Quanbai 劉全白 (fl. 766-795) and Fan Chuanzheng 范傳正 (*jinshi* 794).[10] This fact undermines the claim that the "Twenty Couplets" enables its readers to "completely" know Li Bai's deeds.

Meanwhile, the ending part of the received version also points to the possibility that all of the content that concerns Du Fu and "poetic history" originated as a comment or note for the

[10] Wei Hao, "*Li Hanlin ji* xu" 李翰林集序, Li Yangbing, "*Caotang ji* xu" 草堂集序, Liu Quanbai, "Tang gu Hanlin xueshi Li jun jie ji" 唐故翰林學士李君碣記, and Fan Chuanzheng, "Tang Zuoshiyi Hanlin xueshi Li gong xin mubei (bing xu)" 唐左拾遺翰林學士李公新墓碑（并序）, in Jin Taosheng 金濤聲 and Zhu Wencai 朱文彩, eds., *Li Bai ziliao huibian (Tang Song zhi bu)* 李白資料彙編（唐宋之部）, Gudian wenxue yanjiu ziliao huibian 古典文學研究資料彙編 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2007), respectively 11-12,13-14, 14, 15-17. Fan's epitaph is also mentioned at the end of the *Taiping guangji* version.

entire entry. For the first time, the "Twenty Couplets" comes to be referenced by its title, but its author, Du Fu, is only mentioned by his surname, "Du." It would be unusual if Meng Qi used his abbreviation in his original text, but it would be sufficiently acceptable if such an abbreviation came to be utilized as a note taken for the text.

If we hypothesize that all content here concerning Du Fu originated from a note for the whole entry before it was mistakenly transcribed as part of the original text, our reading of the text would change, as well. The phrase "備敘其事" would mean that "(the 'Twenty Couplets') completely accounts the events *in this entry.*" The intertextual relations between this entry and the "Twenty Couplets" made the latter appear to be a typical example of "poetic history," which by then had been widely recognized as characteristics of Du Fu's poetry. The recognition of the intertextual relations is indeed indicated by the word "therefore" (故) used here.

The note proposed by the above may have been written by someone who was familiar with both the "Twenty Couplets" and the thesis of "poetic history." He/she could even have collated the *Benshi shi* text with the "Twenty Couplets." Although the hypothesis as such cannot be proved or denied unless we find concrete evidence, such as a *Benshi shi* text excavated from Meng Qi's own tomb, or a Northern Song manuscript of *Benshi shi* with all content concerning Du Fu appearing in its notes rather than the primary text. So far, there is not much hope that such evidence is to be discovered. Anyway, the incoherence between the content on Li Bai and the content on Du Fu in the received version of the *Benshi shi* is obvious, especially when the *Taiping guangji* version is taken for comparison. I therefore propose that, rather than pestering ourselves with the question when the concept of "poetic history" was first raised, we could instead focus more on the concept per se, which only emerged after the *Taiping guangji* was compiled, i.e., probably in the eleventh century.

The following chart demonstrates the way in which the contents of the "Twenty Couplets" correspond to *Benshi shi*:

Major contents in *Benshi shi*	Couplet in the "Twenty Couplets"
Li Bai's talents discovered by He Zhizhang	1-3
Li Bai's literary views	N/A
Li Bai's literary activities in the palace	4-6
N/A	7-10 (the time Li Bai and Du Fu spent together)
Li Bai working for Li Lin	11-13
Li Bai banished to Yelang	14-18
N/A	19-20 (Li Bai's recent situation as Du Fu imagined and Du's good wish for him)

Parenthesized above is the content written in the poem that does not appear in the *Benshi shi*. In italics is the content which the *Benshi shi* addresses but is not explicitly mentioned in the poem. It can therefore be observed that the content missing in *Benshi shi* is entirely related to Du Fu's personal experiences and feelings, and that which is absent in the "Twenty Couplets" is Li Bai's thoughts on literature, rather than his actual activities. That is to say, none of the missing content relates to "deeds" or "past traces" that are mentioned in the received version of the *Benshi shi*.

Meanwhile, all the remaining contents are covered by both the "Twenty Couplets" and *Benshi shi*. Moreover, some issues that appear to have been quite important to accounts of Li Bai's life, such as his marriage or his registry as a Daoist priest, are missing in both of the two texts discussed here. In other words, the two texts correspond with each other to a large degree. Unless we treat "Li Bai's deeds and past traces" as equivalent to that "visible in the *Benshi shi*," the claim that the "Twenty Couplets" completely accounts for Li Bai's deeds and reveals his past traces makes little sense.

Given the dubious characteristics present in the text of the received version of the *Benshi shi*, Meng Qi's identity as the inventor or recorder of the thesis is also doubtful. Alternatively, there are reasons that justify us casting doubt on the text that concerns "poetic history" in the major body of the *Benshi shi* entry featuring Li Bai. These parts can be regarded as a para-text that originated from unknown sources prior to them being mistakenly transcribed into the main text of the *Benshi shi*. The claim that Du Fu's "Twenty Couplets" is the locus classicus of "poetic history" is indeed confirmed by a collateral reading of the "Twenty Couplets" and the Li Bai stories in the *Benshi shi*, but such a reading should not be attributed to Meng Qi's unique foresight in the ninth century. Rather, it is merely one of the specific cases that reflected a general understanding of "poetic history," which did not emerge as a proper issue until the eleventh century. When such a concept finally did emerge, it became intertwined with the reception history of Du Fu, and became one of Du Fu's authorial properties.

"Poetic History" as the Author's Property

Even without the *Benshi shi* or other historical sources relating Li Bai's biography, we can still derive some information from the "Twenty Couplets" regarding Li Bai's meeting with He

Zhizhang, his activities in the palace, his friendship with Du Fu, and his banishment due to his service for Prince Li Lin. In the same way, "Fengzeng Wei Zuocheng zhang ershier yun" 奉贈韋左丞丈二十二韻 [Twenty Two Couplets Humbly Presented to Left Assistant Director Wei] in particular features Du Fu recalling his own life. "Zi jing fu Fengxian xian yonghuai wubai zi" 自京赴奉先縣詠懷五百字 [Five Hundred Words: My Thoughts on Traveling from the Capital to Fengxian] and "Bei zheng" 北征 [Journey North] record his experiences during the An Lushan Rebellion in great detail. In short, Du Fu's poems provide information regarding his contemporaries, the era in which he lived, and himself. The received version of the *Benshi shi* also makes clear that "everything came to be expressed through his poetry in all of its subtleties, and nothing was missing at all. At that time his poetry was thus forth called 'poetic history.'" (杜逢祿山之難，流離隴蜀，畢陳於詩，推見至隱，殆無遺事。故當時號為詩史.)

Statements of other Northern Song writers, such as Hu Zongyu 胡宗愈 (1029-1094), reflected similar sentiments. In his "Chengdu caotang shibei xu" 成都草堂詩碑序 [Preface to the Poetic Tablet in the Thatched Cottage in Chengdu], Hu states the following:

> 先生以詩鳴於唐，凡出處、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。[11]
>
> The Master spoke out with his poetry during the Tang. Whether he officiated or retreated, migrated or settled down, toiled or relaxed, grieved or rejoiced, became worried or delighted, became aroused due to his royalty, or sentimental when stimulated, showed

[11] Hua Wenxuan 華文軒, ed., *Du Fu juan* 杜甫卷, *Gudian wenxue yanjiu ziliao huibian* 古典文學研究資料彙編 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1964), 92.

admiration for the virtuous or resentment for the evil, all was presented in his poetry. When one reads it, one can know about his era. Scholars and officials call this poetic history.

While the received version of the *Benshi shi* establishes a link between Du Fu's "Twenty Couplets" and Li Bai's deeds, Hu Zongyu does not make association between Du Fu's poetry and any texts. Instead, he regards Du Fu's poetry as a direct source that provides its readers with information on the poet's life and his era. This method of getting to know Du Fu's biography from his poetry is still widely accepted by modern scholarship.

On the other hand, the *Benshi shi* was by no means the only case of the collateral reading method. In his "Du Gongbu ji ji" 杜工部集記 [A Note on the *Collection of Vice Director Du of the Ministry of Works*], Wang Zhu 王洙 (997-1057) relates the way in which he read Du Fu's poems and – through them – came to know matters regarding Du Fu's life:

觀甫詩與《唐實録》，猶概見事迹。比《新書》列傳，彼為踳駁。[12]

By reading Du Fu's poetry and *The Veritable Records of the Tang*, one can roughly perceive Du's deeds. In comparison with Du Fu's biography in *The New History*, the latter is filled with disorders and mistakes.

For Wang Zhu, there was no doubt that Du Fu's poems provided valuable information on his deeds. Meanwhile, he also read the *Jiu Tang shu*. Although his conclusion was ultimately that the *Jiu Tang shu* was not as good a source as Du Fu's own poems for obtaining such information, the latter's value would not have been easily perceptible if the *Jiu Tang shu* had not been taken for

[12] Ibid., 62.

comparison.

The information that Wang Zhu and Hu Zongyu got from Du Fu's poetry, which was about an earlier poet's deeds and the broader picture of his era, was history.[13] The material Wang used for his collateral reading of Du Fu's poetry, the *Jiu Tang shu*, was also history. But these two kinds of "history" should be understood on different levels. To be precise, the concept of "history" refers to our knowledge of the past rather than the past itself. For Wang Zhu, the content of the *Jiu Tang shu*, including Du Fu's biography, was human knowledge on the past that had already been established. That which he or Hu Zongyu drew from Du Fu's poetry, however, was newly acquired knowledge that could supplement – or even supplant – the former. The difference lay in the fact that Wang Zhu utilized established knowledge to cross-reference newly acquired knowledge, while Hu Zongyu did not. In this sense, Wang Zhu and Hu Zongyu can both be regarded as representatives of two different approaches of reading Du Fu's poetry as history, which can be respectively viewed as a "collateral reading" approach and a "discerning" approach.

The "collateral reading" approach can be observed in Wang's interpretations of specific lines or phrases in Du Fu's poetry. As Wang Zhu's son, Wang Qinchen 王欽臣 (ca.1034-ca.1101) would come to note, Wang Zhu noticed that Du Fu "often used events at that time" (多用當時事) in his poetry.[14] Wang Zhu cites two examples in this respect. The first is a line in "Zhujiang wushou (I)" 諸將五首第一 [Five Poems on Those Generals (I)] that reads:

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[13] While "poetic history" later became an independent theoretical thesis in Chinese literary criticism, the understanding of it as a particular perspective to interpret Du Fu's poetry should not be confined to the term per se. Rather, attention should be paid to how this perspective took form in the study of Du Fu and his poetry in the first place. Seen from this angle, Wang Zhu's study of Du Fu's biography, some of which has been discussed in details in Chapter 2, was indeed the same as Hu Zongyu's perspective of "poetic history," although Wang Zhu never used the term.

[14] Wang Qinchen, *Wangshi tanlu* 王氏談錄, Quan Song biji 全宋筆記, Seri. 1, Vol. 10, 181.

"The place where the jade fish were interred yesterday" (昨日玉魚蒙葬地).[15] Wang Zhu points out here that relevant events mentioned in this line could be found in Wei Shu's 韋述 *Liang jing ji* 兩京記 [*Records of the Two Capitals*], which conveyed that once, during the reign of Emperor Gaozong 高宗 (r. 649-683), a ghost haunted the palace, who turned out to be a Han Dynasty prince. When an offer was made to re-inter him, the ghost expressed gratitude and explicitly mentioned that he had a pair of jade fish that he wanted to keep. When the re-interment took place, the prince's coffins appeared rotten, but the jade fish were indeed held within.

Wang Zhu's second example is a line from "Xingci Zhaoling" 行次昭陵 [Passing the Zhao Mausoleum], which reads: "Iron horses, sweating, galloped from afar" (鐵馬汗常趨).[16] Although Wang only says that this line "refers to the event that horses from the Zhao Mausoleum assisted in fighting" without specifically clarifying the cited source, later commentators located the story in Yao Runeng's 姚汝能 *An Lushan shiji* 安祿山事蹟 [*Events and Deeds of An Lushan*], which was probably also Wang Zhu's source. It relays the story thus: In one of the battles between the Tang army and the rebel army, a cavalry division took part in the war, fought for the Tang, and then disappeared. Later, it was reported that on that day, stone cavalry soldiers and their horses at the Zhao Mausoleum were found to be sweating.

From a modern perspective, these two stories about the ghost and the stone cavalrymen cannot be called history. Wang, however, regarded them as "events at that time" and took notice of the fact that Du Fu's poems recorded such events. This is much as Du Fu's poems also recorded his own life or the past traces of Li Bai's life. It was not necessarily the case that Wang Zhu truly took *Liang jing ji* or *An Lushan shiji* to collaterally read with Du Fu's poetry, but he

[15] Xiao Difei 蕭滌非, ed., *Du Fu quanji jiaozhu* 杜甫全集校注 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2014), Vol. 7, 3763.
[16] Ibid., Vol. 1, 185.

did keep them in mind when he associated them with specific poems by Du Fu. The core element of his "collateral reading" approach was his treatment of Du Fu's poems as intertextual events related to other texts or knowledge regarding past figures, events, or issues. When his knowledge of the past appeared to be in conformity with the content of Du Fu's poetry, poetry became historical material.

The "discerning" approach, however, regarded Du Fu's poems as isolated texts unrelated to other forms of knowledge. Poems provided knowledge, but in such a case, the reader stopped short of utilizing it in relation to other texts. One of such examples was related to Emperor Zhenzong 真宗 (r. 997-1022) of the Song, who once asked about the price of wine in the Tang. A courtier, Ding Wei 丁謂 (966-1037), answered that the price was "three hundred cash per *dou* 斗," and he cited Du Fu's line "Let's soon get together and have one *dou* to drink – by lucky coincidence, I have three hundred bronze cash (to spend on it)" (速須相就飲一斗，恰有三百青銅錢) as evidence.[17]

A similar story appears in the *Jiu Tang shu* regarding Emperor Wenzong 文宗 (r. 827-840) of the Tang, who once ordered palaces and pavilions to be built around Qujiang 曲江 Pond, due to the fact that Du Fu's line "Around Qujiang Pond, thousands of the palace gates are locked; For whom do the slim willows and newly grown catkin willows turn green?" (江頭宮殿鎖千門，細柳新蒲為誰綠) revealed that there had been such edifices before the An Lushan Rebellion.[18]

Both stories were widely known in the eleventh century. A considerable number of people accepted that such a methodology of reading Du Fu's poems was indeed valid, and discussion

[17] Liu Ban 劉攽, *Zhongshan shihua* 中山詩話, *Song shihua quanbian* 宋詩話全編, Vol. 1, 445.
[18] Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 46-47.

also extended to the size of cypresses or price of salt that appear in Du Fu's poetry.[19] In these cases, Du Fu is assumed to have provided precise information. Wang Dechen 王得臣 (1036-1116) summarized the informational character of Du Fu's poetry by referring to it as "faithful records." In his discussion of Bai Juyi's line "Waves, like white flowers, splash upon Toutuo Temple" (白花浪濺頭陀寺), Wang took notice of the fact that the Temple's actual location was far from the Yangzi River, and asked how the temple could sit adjacent to waves splashing against it. In regard to such skepticism, he cited the reputation of "poetic history" that has been established for Du Fu:

> 予以謂世稱子美爲詩史，蓋實錄也。[20]
>
> As I put it, people call Zimei's poetry "poetic history" – this is because his poems are faithful records.

Regardless of the fact that Wang Dechen himself did not provide any examples of Du Fu's poetry serving as "faithful records," such a concept, as demonstrated in the stories cited above concerning wine price and the arrangement of the palace as it existed in Du Fu's time, indeed laid foundation for the "discerning" approach. The problem, however, is the circular logic at work here There seems to be a paradox: if one wants to read history out of a poem, he must believe that poems serve as "faithful records," but if one wants to ascertain that "faithful records" of history are provided in a poem, he must already have had knowledge of history to confirm what is said in the poem. Therefore, the "discerning" approach turns out to be rooted in nothing

[19] See Zhang Hui's summarization in *Zhongguo shishi chuantong*, 29-34.
[20] Wang Dechen, *Zhu shi* 麈史, Quan Song biji, Seri. 1, Vol. 10, 44-45.

but the reader's own trust in Du Fu.

Such trust by Northern Song literati, however, was not unfounded. Since the two approaches outlined above coexisted in the same cultural sphere, the trust in Du Fu that drove the "discerning" approach was sustained by the "collateral reading" approach. With its mechanism of cross-referencing Du Fu's poetry with the knowledge on history that one already acquired, the "collateral reading" approach could prove that Du Fu did indeed provide "faithful records" in his poetry. The "discerning approach" could also use such evidence as grounds for the presumption that justified its methodology. In other words, Du Fu was taken as a unified author who served as the foundation for both approaches. If some of Du Fu's poems revealed historical information, then Du Fu, as the author, would hypothetically make the same effort wherever it was possible to do so. Poetic composition therefore became an activity that reflected the author's writing attitudes and embodied the author's literary views. Often enough such attitudes or views were considered persisting throughout an author's *oeuvre*.

Michel Foucault's summary of the way in which an author's name functions competently explains Song views in regard to Du Fu's role vis-à-vis "poetic history":

> [A]n author's name is not simply an element of speech […] Its presence is functional in that it serves as a means of classification. A name can group together a number of texts and thus differentiate them from others. A name also establishes different forms of relationships among texts […] Finally, the author's name characterizes a particular manner of existence of discourse. Discourse that possesses an author's name is not to be immediately consumed and forgotten; neither is it accorded the momentary attention given to ordinary, fleeting words. Rather, its status and its manner of reception are regulated by the culture in which it

circulates.[21]

As long as "Du Fu's" poetry (rather than anyone else's) was characterized as "poetic history," the understanding of some poetic texts – once Du Fu's authorship became clear – would be pushed toward a particular direction in line with such characterization. An example of Gong Dingchen 龔鼎臣 (1009-1086) involves the issue of textual variants. In his discussion of Du Fu's line "Ziyun kept his innocence, and since today, he rose to officiate" (子雲清白守，今日起為官), Gong argued that the character 今 should be read as 金.[22] In his reading, "Jin Mi" 金日, the abbreviation for "Jin Midi" 金日磾, perfectly corresponded to Ziyun 子雲 (i.e., Yang Xiong 揚雄), both of whom were Han dynasty figures, and the whole couplet became "Ziyun kept his innocence, Jin Mi rose to officiate."[23] Here Gong used his historical knowledge to support a particular reading that he has chosen. But the whole poem containing this couplet, "Song Yang liu Panguan shi Xifan" 送楊六判官使西蕃 [Seeing off Administrative Assistant Yang the Sixth to Tibet as Envoy], was about the Tang rather than about the Han, which meant that allusions to Han history in this couplet were meant to mirror situations in the Tang.[24] That is to say, in order to well support his selection of the variant "金" over "今", Gong Dingchen not only needed to clarify the allusions to the Han, but had to find the counterpart in the Tang history as well.

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[21] Michel Foucault, "What Is an Author?" in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice*, ed. Donald F. Bouchard, trans. Donald F. Bouchard and Sherry Simon (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977), 123.

[22] In this case, 金日 should be pronounced as "Jin Mi", rather than "jinri".

[23] Midi was a Xiongnu 匈奴 prince, who was ordered to raise imperial horses after surrendering to the Han. Emperor Wu 武 (156 B.C.E.-87 B.C.E.) of the Han bestowed the surname Jin on him, and assigned him high positions.

[24] Xiao Difei, *Du Fu quanji jiaozhu*, Vol. 2, 890-896.

Unfortunately, Gong failed to do so. Instead, he threw this issue to Du Fu:

唐中興時，贊普必有相類者，故甫用之。[25]

When the Tang revived, there must have been similar situations among the Tibetan *tsenpos*, so Du Fu used this allusion in his poetry.

When Wang Zhu said that Du Fu's poetry "used events at that time", he provided specific examples. On the contrary, Gong Dingchen's suggestion is completely a conjecture. He cites no evidence to clarify the way in which "similar situations" emerged in the Tang. Gong's selection of a character from several textual variants was therefore not based on convincing evidence, nor was grounded on concrete knowledge of historical events. Instead, it emerged directly from his own trust in Du Fu as a poet who was always inclined to use events of his own time as material for his poetry. It is doubtful that Gong Dingchen would have made such a conjecture if the author in question was not Du Fu.

Another case concerns institutional history. Pang Yuanying 龐元英 (fl. 1088), an expert of Tang and Song bureaucratic institutions, became muddled when reading Du Fu's line "On my way back to the East Department from the palace, I often encounter Kui and Long, who were dispatched to gather at the Phoenix Pond" (宮中每出歸東省，會送夔龍集鳳池). The problem is that the East Department of the Tang Dynasty, as far as Pang knew, was the Chancellery (*Menxia Sheng* 門下省), but "the Phoenix Pond" was in the Secretariat (*Zhongshu Sheng* 中書省). How, then, could Du Fu meet officials heading to the Secretariat on his way back to the Chancellery? As he was unable to provide a good explanation, all Pang Yuanying could do was to trust Du Fu:

[25] Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 75.

杜詩不應有誤，恐唐朝別有故事。又恐是時政事堂適在右省耳。[26]

Du Fu's poetry should not contain mistakes. It is suspected that there were other old institutional designs during the Tang Dynasty. Or, it could be the situation that at that time the Administrative Headquarter happened to be in the Secretariat.

Pang's conjecture was not supported by any evidence. His evidence derived solely from Du Fu's authority. His motive for guessing in this matter was similar to the reason for which Gong Dingzhen made guesses in regard to Tibet – Du Fu's reputation as an author of "poetic history" urged them to believe that what they read was history, and this was true regardless of whether they really knew the facts as they had actually occurred.

In short, the eleventh-century recognition of Du Fu as an author of "poetic history" ensured that the "collateral reading" approach sustained the "discerning" approach. When it was the case that Du Fu's writing appeared to be "history," Du Fu became the author of "poetic history." "Poetic history" was not, however, a concept that had directed Du Fu to compose his poems, but a quality attributed to him by his readers since the eleventh century. Moreover, the term was more often used to describe his poetry in general rather than his specific poems. This is the reason that, since the Southern Song, many editions of Du Fu's poetry came to be titled *shishi* 詩史.[27]

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[26] Pang Yuanying 龐元英, *Wenchang zalu* 文昌雜錄 (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju Shanghai bianjisuo, 1958), 60.

[27] For example, *Wang Zhuangyuan ji baijiazhu biannian Duling shishi* 王狀元集百家注編年杜陵詩史, *Yunlei shishi* 韻類詩史, *Huang shi bu qianjia jizhu Du Gongbu shishi* 黃氏補千家集注杜工部詩史, *Shishi ziyun* 詩史字韻, *Chongdiao Lao Du shishi yayun* 重雕老杜詩史押韻,

The conclusions reached through the "collateral reading" approach were also not always stable. If we regard Wang Zhu's opinion that Du Fu "often used events at that time" as examples, it turns out that each of the "events at that time" indicated by Wang later emerged as disputed issues. Pan Chengzhang 潘檉章 (1626-1663) once argued that the jade fish in "Zhujiang wushou (I)" served as an allusion to some event occurring in the Western Han rather than in the Tang.[28] Qiu Zhao'ao 仇兆鰲 (1638-1717) believed that the sweating iron horses in "Xingci Zhaoling" alluded to a story in *Nan shi* 南史 [*The History of the Southern Dynasties*] about the Liang 梁 dynasty (502-557) prince Xiao You 蕭猷.[29] Their alternative readings render the "poetic history" of Du Fu's own era into allusions to earlier history. In this way, they considerably undermined Du Fu's image as an author of "poetic history."

Although examples of this kind are few, they reveal the more or less unstable aspect of Du Fu's image as a poet-historian. The extent to which this image appears fragile does not rely on Du Fu, as the actual texts attributed to him are in fact stable; rather, it relies on the way in which later readers understood these texts. In this sense, the key issue centers on the reasons for which Song readers were inclined to read Du Fu's poetry as texts containing historical information relating to his time.

The Pleasure to Know

Thus far, most scholarship discussing the emergence of the "poetic history" thesis in the

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see Zhang Zhonggang 張忠綱 et al., eds., *Du ji xulu* 杜集敘錄 (Ji'nan: Qi Lu shushe, 2008), 67-68, 73-74, 94-96, 98 and 115-116.

[28] Pan Chengzhang, *Dushi boyi* 杜詩博議. This book is lost, but the point concerning the discussion here is cited in Qiu Zhao'ao 仇兆鰲, ed., *Dushi xiangzhu* 杜詩詳注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), Vol. 3, 1364.

[29] Qiu Zhao'ao, *Dushi xiangzhu*, Vol. 1, 410.

Song emphasizes the literati's interest in history and the way in which such interest influenced poetry.[30] While the influence that historiography exerted on poetry was large indeed, the key issue went beyond the disciplines of poetry and historiography. Starting in the eleventh century, an understanding of history and historiography emerged anew. History became regarded as an organism of consistency that justified the contemporary ordering of the world.[31] Historiographical exploration also came to be perceived as a way through which one could acquire encyclopedic knowledge of the entire world.[32] In short, while historiography in the Song indeed investigated the past, such investigation was often implicitly concerned for the present, and historiography did not remain isolated from other disciplines. They opened to one another and permeated through one another.[33] As a result, many disciplines developed into a renewed appearance. When viewed together, they jointly restructured the map of human knowledge.

Through such a process, established principles, stances, methodologies, or preconceived concepts in a certain discipline came to be challenged, and their focus was then often reoriented to center on the discipline's "raw material" – texts. Texts came to be created or reprocessed

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[30] For recent examples, see Hao Runhua 郝潤華, "Song dai shixue yishi yu 'shishi' guannian de cansheng" 宋代史學意識與"詩史"觀念的產生, *Xibei daxue xuebao* 西北大學學報, (2000): 1-7; Asami Yōji 浅見洋二, "Wenxue de lishixue" 文學的歷史學, in *Juli yu xiangxiang: Zhongguo shixue de Tang Song zhuanxing* 距離與想象—中國詩學的唐宋轉型, trans. Jin Chengyu 金程宇 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2005), 280-334.

[31] See Peter K. Bol's discussion of Sima Guang in *This Culture of Ours: Intellectual Transitions in T'ang and Sung China* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1991), 233-246.

[32] Zheng Qiao's 鄭樵 historiography was perhaps the most typical example in the Song. See Thomas H. C. Lee, "History, Erudition and Good Government: Cheng Ch'iao and Encyclopedic Historical Thinking," in *The New and the Multiple: Sung Senses of the Past*, ed. Thomas H. C. Lee (Hongkong: The Chinese University Press, 2004), 163-200.

[33] For a case of example, see Achim Mittag, "History in Sung Classical Learning: The Case of the *Odes* (*Shih-ching*)," in ibid., 201-236.

inasmuch as they could sustain renewed consideration on different theoretical levels.[34] This also occurred in poetry, in the sense that poetic texts were regarded as sources for acquiring knowledge that was beyond the poetic discipline. That is to say, poetic texts became a medium loaded with information. When "poetic history" emerged as a result of the interplay between poetry and history, such information was historical; but meanwhile, poetry was also read for other kinds of information.

Three examples appear in works by Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101) for this reading strategy. The first deals with a poetic line concerning the history of Tang, "自平宮中呂太一."[35] According to Su Shi, the meaning of this line is difficult to ascertain, and some "presumptuous" people read the line as "LüTaiyi in Ziping Palace." That is to say, one is supposed to read 自平 as the name of a palace. Su Shi, however, reads 自 as the preposition "since" and 平 as a verb meaning "pacify." In this way, the entire line becomes a prepositional structure used as an adverbial for the whole couplet, and can be translated as "Since LüTaiyi was pacified in the palace." To support his understanding of this line, Su Shi quotes the *Xuanzong shilu* 玄宗實錄 [*The Veritable Records of the Reign of Emperor Xuanzong*], in which it was recorded that "LüTaiyi from the palace rebelled in Guangnan" (宮中呂太一叛於廣南). Su Shi's point in this discussion is that if it was known that there was a rebellion, then the rebellion would finally come to be pacified. This pacification therefore appeared in Du Fu's poem.[36]

Su Shi's reading is a case of the "collateral reading" approach, as Du Fu's poem comes to be read together with the *Xuanzong shilu*. However, the *Xuanzong shilu* is not simply used to

[34] For example, see Sima Guang's case as discussed in Hoyt Cleveland Tillman, "Textual Liberties and Restraints in Rewriting China's Histories: The Case of Ssu-ma Kuang's Re-construction of Chu-ko Liang's Story," in ibid., 61-106.
[35] Du Fu, "Ziping" 自平, in Xiao Difei, *Du Fu quanji jiaozhu*, Vol. 9, 5270-75.
[36] Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 102.

confirm or deny historical information that had been provided by Du Fu's poem. It instead assists one in clarifying the meaning of the poetic line, which would otherwise be difficult to understand. The meaning turns out to be historical, but Su Shi's initial purpose has little to do with exploring the poem for historical information. His focus is on the precise understanding of the poetic text.

Another case concerns textual variants in Du Fu's poetry. In this case, Su Shi's selection of a character is supported by knowledge acquired from daily life rather than from historical texts. The line in question is "The scabrous flesh mane moves, and its pattern resembling stringed coins" (肉騣碨礧連錢動).[37] The second character of this line, "騣" (mane) used to be "驄" (greenish-white motley horse), and, in that reading, the subject of the line is "肉驄" (fleshy greenish-white motley horse). Once in Qinzhou 秦州, however, Su Shi saw a horse which resembled a bull, with flesh drooping under its chin, and there was mane on the flesh. Local people told Su Shi this was called "肉騣馬" (flesh mane horse). Su Shi therefore figured out that the right word in Du Fu's line should be "肉騣" (flesh mane) rather than "肉驄."[38]

The "local people" probably knew nothing about Du Fu's poem. For them, the term "flesh mane horse" was only a signifier in regard to a special kind of horse. It was Su Shi who, after getting to know this term, related it to Du Fu's poem, and determined the "right" textual variant. While this reading has little to do with history, the way in which Su Shi established connections between Du Fu's poetry and information outside the poetic text is similar to his collateral reading of Du Fu's poetry and the *Xuanzong shilu*.

Apart from being taught by others, Su Shi also referred to his own experiences so as to best understand Du Fu's poetry. In regard to Du Fu's line "On both sides mountain trees merge, all

[37] Du Fu, "Congma xing" 驄馬行, in Xiao Difei, *Du Fu quanji jiaozhu*, Vol. 2, 608-614.
[38] Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 102.

day cuckoos cry" (兩邊山木合，終日子規啼), Su Shi once commented:

> 非親到其處，不知此詩之工。[39]
>
> Unless one reaches there in person, one would not know how exquisite this poem is.

Proper evaluation of artistic quality in poetry, such as whether or not a poem is "exquisite," is usually subjective and difficult to relate to others. Su Shi, however, bases his evaluation on that which he claims to be an objective foundation: the exquisite quality of Du Fu's poem is apparent because Su Shi had seen the depicted scene in person, much as the right variant came to be determined based on what he has seen and heard about the flesh mane horse. In his artistically-focused evaluation of Du Fu's poetry, Su Shi does not simply provide impressionistic comments, but turns to experiences gained outside the poetic text. In this way, the "exquisite" quality of Du Fu's poem does not appear to be something Su Shi felt or thought, but something he knew.

In each of these three cases, Su Shi's focus centers on some aspect of the poem itself: the proper understanding of a line's meaning, the correctness of the text, and its artistic quality. But each time he refers outside of the poetic text in order to solve the problem at hand. The key point here is that he regards poetic texts as a medium loaded with information; information that one could actively seek out. Understanding poetry in this way justified Su Shi's use of external sources to inquire into specific problems generated within the poetic text.

Other examples from the eleventh century stand by. As mentioned by Shen Kuo 沈括

[39] Ibid. The poem discussed is "Zigui" 子規, in Xiao Difei, *Du Fu quanji jiaozhu*, Vol. 6, 3498-3501.

(1031-1095) in his *Mengxi bitan* 夢溪筆談 [*Brush Talks from Dream Brook*], a learned man named Liu Ke 劉克 once cited the *Kuizhou tujing* 夔州圖經 [*Illustrated Gazetteer of Kuizhou*] to prove that the 烏鬼 (literally "black ghost") in Du Fu's line "Every household raises black ghosts, and at each meal there are yellow fishes to eat" (家家養烏鬼，頓頓食黃魚) was in fact a reference to the cormorant. After recording Liu Ke's opinion, Shen Kuo referred to his own daily life experience:

> 予在蜀中，見人家養鸕鷀使捕魚，信然，但不知謂之烏鬼耳。[40]
>
> When I was in Shu, I saw households raise cormorants and have them catch fish. (What Liu Ke found out is) indeed believable. I just did not know they were called "black ghosts."

Liu relates Du Fu's poem to what he had learned from the gazetteer. Such a reading method was similar to that of Wang Zhu or Su Shi's collateral reading of Du Fu's poetry and history. Shen Kuo then uses his own experience – that which he had seen in person – to confirm Liu's argument. Here, daily life experiences and external texts function to confirm information in Du Fu's poetic texts.

Pang Yuanying, in his *Wenchang zalu* 文昌雜錄 [*Miscellaneous Records at the Department of State Affairs*], provides another example when he cites Du Fu's line in his discussion of Tang Dynasty court etiquette:

> 唐制：天子坐朝，宮人引至殿上。故杜甫詩云"戶外昭容紫袖垂，雙瞻御座引朝儀。"

[40] Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 90.

天祐二年十二月詔曰：宮妃女職，本備內任。今後每遇延英坐日，只令小黃門祗候引從，宮人不得出內。自此始罷也。[41]

The rule in the Tang was that when the emperor came to hold the court meeting, he was ushered to the meeting hall by palace ladies. So Du Fu's poem says: "Outside the gate palace, ladies' purple sleeves hang down, and in two lines they peered at the throne and took lead of the rite at court." In the twelfth month of the second year of the Tianyou reign, it was ordained: "Palace ladies and imperial concubines in the first place were only for positions in the inner palace. From now on, on days when the emperor holds meetings in Yanying Hall, only young eunuchs are to wait, usher and follow. Palace ladies should not go outside the inner palace." Since then the rule (of ushering by palace ladies) was revoked.

The content of Du Fu's poem becomes clarified by Pang thanks to his knowledge regarding Tang palace rules. There is difference between Shen Kuo and Pang Yuanying's uses of Du's poetry: while Shen comes to know that a cormorant was called a "black ghost" via Du Fu's poem, Pang actually does not necessarily need Du Fu's poem in his discussion of the Tang institutions. The poem is only mentioned in passing, but this still indicates that Song literati regarded poetry as a medium loaded with information.

As the examples of Su Shi, Shen Kuo and Pang Yuanying make clear, eleventh century readers widely recognized that poetry was loaded with valuable information, and literati could probe for such information according to their specific purposes. Those reading history from Du Fu's poetry, such as Wang Zhu and Hu Zongyu, did not differ from others in this respect. If they were special in any way, it was just because the information they sought concerned history,

[41] Pang Yuanying, *Wenchang zalu*, 73-74. The cited poem by Du Fu is "Zichendian tuichao kouhao" 紫宸殿退朝口號, in Xiao Difei, *Du Fu quanji jiaozhu*, Vol. 2, 1017-21.

specifically. Although "poetic history" came to be important in regard to Du Fu's work, his poems also provided information on a special kind of horse, for example, or in regard to the local custom of raising cormorant for fishing, as well as on Tang Dynasty court etiquette. More than "poetic history," his poetry could also be called "poetic encyclopedia," if one wishes to go that far.

The fact that poems could contain encyclopedic information came to be recognized in as early as the starting phase of the hermeneutic tradition of *Shijing* 詩經. Poems by medieval aristocratic or imperial writers – many of whom were also significant historical figures – also contain information regarding the time in which they lived. But it did not become a widely adopted practice to intentionally probe for such information until the eleventh century. Before then, as early medieval literary theories – such as Lu Ji's 陸機 (261-303) "Wen fu" 文賦 [The Poetic Exposition on Literature] – demonstrate, poetry was mainly regarded as a literary form stemming from internal emotions of human beings.[42] The "Mingshi" 明詩 [An Exegesis of Poetry] Chapter of *Wenxin diaolong* 文心雕龍 [*The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons*] also bases its defining of poetry on the traditional teaching that "poetry articulates that upon which the mind is intent" (*shi yan zhi* 詩言志).[43]

In short, poetry originated as an expression of human emotions, which in turn came to be considered to be the result of inspiration from the external world. Such ideas not only directed the composition of poetry, but also reflected the way in which poetry would be read. Liu Xie 劉勰 (ca.465-520) once summarized the reading process as follows: "In the case of composing

[42] See Zhang Shaokang 張少康, *Wen fu jishi* 文賦集釋 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1984), 71.
[43] See Fan Wenlan 范文瀾, *Wenxin diaolong zhu* 文心雕龍注 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1958), 65.

literature, the affections are stirred and words come forth; but in the case of reading a work of literature, one opens the text and enters the affections [of the writer], goes against the current to find the source; and though it may [at first] be hidden, it will certainly become manifest. None may see the actual faces of a remote age, but by viewing their writing, one may immediately see their minds" (夫綴文者情動而辭發，觀文者披文以入情，沿波討源，雖幽必顯。世遠莫見其面，覘文輒見其心).[44] Although the purpose described here is also a way of "knowing about the author," the reader's focus remains on the author's emotions rather than on factual information on his biography or his time.

Throughout the entire history of Chinese literature, human emotion never explicitly came to be rejected in the composition and reading of poetry, but in the Song it was joined by more other concerns. While the intellectual character of poetic composition in the Song has been extensively discussed, the issue, to be precise, was about exploring for additional functions of poetry, rather than abandoning old ones.[45] Yan Yu's 嚴羽 (fl. 13th century) *Canglang shihua* 滄浪詩話 [*Canglang Remarks on Poetry*] puts it in this way:

> 夫詩有別材，非關書也。詩有別趣，非關理也。然非多讀書，多窮理，則不能極其至……
> 詩者，吟詠情性也。盛唐諸人惟在興趣……近代諸公，乃作奇特解會，遂以文字為詩，

[44] The English translation is from Stephen Owen, *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought* (Cambridge, MA. And London: Harvard University Press, 1992), 290; see the Chinese text in the "Zhiyin" 知音 Chapter in Fan Wenlan, *Wenxin diaolong zhu*, 715.

[45] The intellectual character of Song poetry has been commonly acknowledged by almost every researcher of the Song Dynasty poetry and poetics. For elaborated discussion of the issue, see Gōyama Kiwamu 合山究, "Sōshi no gakumon sei" 宋詩の學問性, *Chūgoku bungaku kenkyū* 中国文学論集 1 (1970): 3-14; Zhou Yukai 周裕鍇, *Song dai shixue tonglun* 宋代詩學通論 (Chengdu: Ba Shu shushe, 1997), 136-165; Uchiyama Seiya 内山精也, "Sōdai shitaifu no shikakan: So Kō kara kōkohai he" 宋代士大夫の詩歌観:蘇黄から江湖派へ, *Kanran* 橄欖 13 (2005): 5-32.

以才學為詩，以議論為詩，夫豈不工，終非古人之詩也。[46]

Poetry involves a unique material that has nothing to do with books. Poetry involves a unique taste that has nothing to do with principles. But unless one reads a lot and exhausts principles, one cannot exhaust [poetry's possibilities]… Poetry is to sing about one's emotion and nature. Those High Tang poets only paid attention to spontaneous inspiration… Poets of recent times, relying on their peculiar understanding, have based their compositions on ornate diction, on learning, and on argumentation. Isn't such poetry exquisite? It is just not the poetry of the ancient people.

Yan Yu defines poetic composition in the same way as the medieval theorists cited above inasmuch as he regards the purpose of poetry as a way of communicating one's emotions. Those "poets of recent times" were, in his eyes, writing a kind of poetry that differed from that "of the ancient people." Although Yan Yu personally did not approve of the path they chose, he still had to admit that their composition was exquisite. That is to say, there are at least two kinds of poetry: poetry written by ancient people and poetry written by recent people. They coexisted in this world. No one among Song poets, i.e., "poets of recent times" as Yan Yu put it, explicitly claimed they were conducting a revolutionary campaign of replacing old compositional methods with novel ways. Their new ways of composition added to more traditional methods. Thus the scope of poetry's functions became expanded. It not only communicated human emotions, but also articulated philosophical thought, discussed argumentative issues, transmitted substantial information, and recorded history. In this sense, the connotation of *shi* poetry as a genre gained new meaning, despite the fact that there was never a new term invented for the genre.

[46] Yan Yu 嚴羽, *Canglang shihua jiaoshi* 滄浪詩話校釋, ed., Guo Shaoyu 郭紹虞 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1961), 23-24; also see Guo's insightful discussion in 29-43.

In the process of redefining a genre, reading and writing reflected two sides of the same coin. Yet Song poets still did not take a revolutionary stance to break with the past, and their efforts in expanding poetry's functional scope needed to be endorsed by tradition. When they selected reading strategies to read earlier poetry, they were actually setting models for themselves to follow in their own composition.[47] Such models would preferably be personalized, i.e., follow an idealized image of a poet rather than that present in some scattered poems. This poet would live in an earlier time rather than in the contemporary era, and should also appear to have intentionally composed poetry in a similar way to their Song counterparts. Du Fu fulfilled all these requirements. By regarding Du Fu's poetry as source of information rather than merely expression of human emotions, Song poets implicitly expressed their own understanding of the way in which they felt poetry should be read and written. Aside from expressing human feelings and emotions – they never denied the importance of this function – poetry also functioned as the repertoire of knowledge. As long as poetry was read as such, their own compositions in the same direction came to be justified.

To conclude, literati in the eleventh century selected a particular reading strategy for Du Fu's poetry in light of poetry's cognitive function, and history was one of the issues they got to know from Du Fu's poetry. In this way, Du Fu's image as a poet-historian came to be distilled from his poetic texts. It was Song poets who ultimately took the initiative to construct such a received image. Meanwhile, Du Fu's relevant poetic texts also potentially provided other interpretative possibilities, but they, in turn, came to be obscured by readings that were actually accepted in the Song.

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[47] For elaborated discussion of this issue, see Li Gui 李貴, *Zhong Tang zhi Bei Song de dianfan xuanze yu shige yinge* 中唐至北宋的典範選擇與詩歌因革 (Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 2012).

Another Possibility

Du Fu's poetry was influenced by the poetic exposition, or *fu* 賦 ,of the Six Dynasties. As demonstrated above, *shi* poetry in the early medieval period was usually regarded as a genre that transmittied the author's internal emotions. Meanwhile, functions of *fu* came to be recognized from other perspectives. A comparative understanding of both genres is expressed in Lu Ji's "Wen fu":

> 詩緣情而綺靡，賦體物而瀏亮。[48]
>
> *Shi* stems from emotions and should be ornate; *Fu* describes things and should be clear.

Here, *fu* is contrasted with *shi*. "*Wu*" 物 is presented as the contrast of "*qing*" 情 or human beings' internal emotions. In this sense "*wu*" includes not only physical objects or things, but also human activities and events. That is to say, in contrast to *shi*'s inward focus, *fu* potentially allowed the writer to deal with the whole external world. In fact, aside from "poetic exposition chanting on objects" (*yongwu fu* 詠物賦), early works of the genre already covered themes such as hunting and traveling. And aside from depicting objects, "*tiwu*" 體物 also included the narration of human activities.

While Lu Ji contrasted *fu* to *shi*, the understanding that they were two closely related genres manifested in the term *shifu* 詩賦. In his *Wenxin diaolong*, Liu Xie highlights *fu*'s function of not only elaborately describing the external world but also articulating what existed in one's mind. He states that "*fu* (as one of the Six Forms, or *Liu yi* 六義, in *Shijing*) means 'to expose' –

[48] Zhang Shaokang, *Wen fu jishi*, 71.

to expose colorful speeches and display literary grace, describing things and writing about one's intentions" (賦者，鋪也，鋪采摛文，體物寫志也).[49] Noticeably, *fu* can be traced to the Six Forms of *Shijing*. In this sense, *fu* was closer to *shi* poetry than to other prose genres that were usually traced to *Shangshu* 尚書 [*Book of Documents*].

Lu Ji and Liu Xie's summary of *fu*'s characteristics reflected the way in which early medieval writers understood *shi* and *fu*. *Fu* was a genre that shared some features with *shi* in the sense that human intentions and emotions could also be expressed through composition of the genre. At the same time, however, *fu* was unique because it had much more capacity than *shi* to elaborate upon the external world. Understood in this way, *fu* became a genre in which the author could deal with themes which were otherwise unsuitable for prose genres and *shi* poetry. With such an expectation, a new theme emerged in the Six Dynasties in which the author expressed his own emotions via an elaborate narrative of the contemporary history of his time. Representatives of this theme include Yu Xin's 庾信 (513-581) "Ai Jiangnan fu" 哀江南賦 [Poetic Exposition to Lament the South] and Yan Zhitui's 顏之推 (531-591) "Guan wosheng fu" 觀我生賦 [Poetic Exposition of Viewing My Life].

"Ai Jiangnan fu" elaborately recalls the Liang 梁 (502-557) Dynasty's fall due to Hou Jing's (503-552) 侯景 rebellion and Yu Xin's personal experiences in the turmoil. "Guan wosheng fu," as the title indicates, provides a reflection on Yan Zhitui's own life with a special focus on the way in which he was captured to the north and had to serve in the courts of Western Wei 西魏 (535-557), Northern Qi 北齊 (550-577) and Northern Zhou 北周 (557-581). Both Yu Xin and Yan Zhitui infused strong personal emotions in their works so as to lament for the advanced culture of the South that disappeared with the fall of Liang, and to express sorrow over

[49] Fan Wenlan, *Wenxin diaolong zhu*, 134.

the sufferings they had experienced in the great chaos of the time.

The infusion of personal emotion into these works differentiates their exhaustive narrative of contemporary historical events from the extensive description present in earlier works of *fu*, such as Sima Xiangru's 司馬相如 "Shanglin fu" 上林賦 [Poetic Exposition on the Shanglin Imperial Park] or Zhang Heng's 張衡 "Er jing fu" 二京賦 [Poetic Exposition on the Two Capitals]. While the tradition of *fu* was characterized by exhaustive description, it did not necessarily have to be expressive of the author's personal emotions. On the other hand, *fu* works with more lyric elements, from Jia Yi's 賈誼 (200 BC-168 BC) "Diao Qu Yuan fu" 吊屈原賦 [Poetic Exposition to Lament Qu Yuan] to Jiang Yan's 江淹 (444-505) "Bie fu" 別賦 [Poetic Exposition on Departure] and "Hen fu" 恨賦 [Poetic Exposition on Sorrow], generally all provided descriptions of specific human activities, but they were not the core parts of the these works.

For Yu Xin and Yan Zhitui, however, detailed narratives of contemporary historical events functioned as the base of the expression of their emotions. In other words, both the exhaustively narrated history and the author's emotions came to be essential parts of their works. This was due to the fact that aristocratic elites of the south like Yu and Yan were indeed traumatized by the historical events of that era, which resulted not only in the fall of the Liang state but also the collapse of Southern culture.[50] Their inborn relation to the elite culture in the South defined their spiritual world, and the loss of it expectedly gave rise to huge shock and pain. As key participants of such events, Yu Xin and Yan Zhitui used *fu* to relate their shock and pain, as the genre provided them with enhanced capacity for both narrative and lyric articulation. Liu Xizai's

[50] See Xiaofei Tian, *Beacon Fire and Shooting Star* (Cambridge [Massachusetts] and London: Harvard University Press, 2007), 367-413.

刘熙载 (1813-1881) understanding of *fu*'s function well explains this function:

> 賦起源於情事雜沓，詩不能馭，故為賦以鋪陳之。斯於千態萬狀，層見迭出者，吐無不暢，暢無或竭。[51]
>
> *Fu* originates from sophisticated emotions and complicated things that the *shi* is not able to handle. Therefore *fu* is composed to elaborately present such things. Thousands of forms are shown, layer after layer. Every utterance is given in a fluent way, and this fluency is never exhausted.

This is to say that the *fu* genre was particularly useful when one's emotions could not be sufficiently expressed unless they were given forth in exhaustive exposition. This was the case of both Yu Xin and Yan Zhitui. For them, it was not wise to divide their emotions from historical narrative in their works; nor was it best to regard "Ai Jiangnan fu" and "Guan wosheng fu" as mere historical records. Rather, the two works exemplified a new lyric pattern in which narratives of contemporary history came to mediate emotional expression.

On the other hand, the mutual influence between *shi* and *fu* never ceased, and the early medieval period saw *shi* gradually replace *fu* as the major genre of literary composition.[52] Thus far, scholarship on lyric forms, such as syntax or prosody, dominates the field in regard to the relationship between these two genres.[53] And while it has also been generally noted that the

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[51] Liu Xizai 劉熙載, *Yi gai* 藝概 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1978), 86.

[52] See Ami Yūji 網祐次, "Fu chūshin yori shi chūshin he" 賦中心より詩中心へ, in *Chūgoku chūsei bungaku kenkyū* 中國中世文學研究 (Tokyo: Shinjusha, 1960), 421-431.

[53] See Xu Gongchi 徐公持, "Shi de fuhua yu fu de shihua – Liang Han Wei Jin shi fu guanxi zhi xunzong" 詩的賦化與賦的詩化——兩漢魏晉詩賦關係之尋蹤, *Wenxue yichan* 文學遺產, 1 (1992): 16-25; Hu Dalei 胡大雷, "'Yi fu wei shi' kaobian" "以賦為詩"考辨, in *Zhonggu*

effort Du Fu made in writing "extended lyrics," as Susan Cherniack defines it, were likely influenced by his interest in *fu*, there is still room to deepen the discussion.[54] Du Fu's efforts to expand the capacity of *shi* poetry in both "extended lyrics" and grouped *lüshi* 律詩 (regulated verse) poems resulted from the influence of early medieval *fu* – especially those by Yu Xin and Yan Zhitui.[55] Examples for analysis here are "Zi jing fu Fengxian xian yonghuai wubai zi" 自京赴奉先縣詠懷五百字 [Five Hundred Words: My Thoughts on Traveling from the Capital to Fengxian], "Bei zheng" 北征 [Journey North] and "Qiuxing bashou" 秋興八首 [Eight Poems on Autumn Meditation].

As records of two of his significant travels during the chaos during the An Lushan Rebellion, "Five Hundred Words" and "Journey North" are not limited to narrating what Du Fu encountered on route. In both poems, Du Fu's concern addresses the broader situations of the state at that time. The first sixteen couplets of the "Five Hundred Words," i.e., almost one third of the poem, are devoted to speaking of how Du Fu had been eager to serve the state but had been severely frustrated in reality. Following this segment are twenty-four couplets describing the people, places, and things Du Fu encountered on his way to his home in Fengxian. In this section, Du Fu spills more ink in imagining imperial lives in the Lishan 驪山 palace than he did in depicting

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fuxue yanjiu 中古賦學研究 (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2011), 299-319. Particularly for Yu Xin's case concering this issue, see Xu Baoyu 徐寶余, *Yu Xin yanjiu* 庾信研究 (Shanghai: Xuelin chubanshe, 2003), 167-175.

[54] Susan Cherniack, "Three Great Poems by Du Fu" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1988), 49-54. Cherniack uses "extended lyrics" to refer to those unusually long *gutishi* 古體詩 (ancient-styled verse) poems that Du Fu wrote, including the two poems I will also be discussing below. For a general description of the influence Du Fu's poetry received from *fu*, see Yu Shucheng 余恕誠, "Du Fu yu Tang dai shiren chuangzuo dui futi de canyong" 杜甫與唐代詩人創作對賦體的參用, *Wenxue yichan* 文學遺產, 1 (2011): 49-57.

[55] Needless to say, Du Fu's poetic composition also received influence from Six-Dynasties *shi* poets, especially Yu Xin. See Wu Huaidong 吳懷東, *Du Fu yu Liuchao shige guanxi yanjiu* 杜甫與六朝詩歌關係研究 (Hefei: Anhui jiaoyu chubanshe, 2002), particularly 214-253.

the landscape he actually saw in front of him. The last ten couplets speak of what he saw and thought after arriving at his home. His youngest son died from starvation, which caused him considerable shock and sorrow. He also expressed his wish that other people should be spared from war and heavy taxations, and not suffer from the same tragedy as he has. A similar mixture of personal experiences with thoughts on public affairs is also apparent in "Journey North." The first ten and last twenty-four couplets of the poem are all about Du Fu's concern for the emperor and the Tang state as they faced potential threat from the rebels. The remaining thirty-six couplets in the middle of the poem relate things he saw on the road and at home: the country severely damaged by war, and common people, including his own family, struggling in disorder and impoverishment.

The traditional readings of these two poems regard them as typical examples of Du Fu's Confucian loyalty for the Tang state and his heartfelt concern for commoners.[56] This reading is based on the assumption that the two extremely long poems both directly and intensively reflect Du Fu's thoughts and emotions, which is somewhat true. However, in the case of either poem, it is difficult to expect Du Fu to have poured out all he had in mind and completed so long a work at one stroke. As we carefully scrutinize the two poems, we can observe that each of these poems provides glimpses of conflicting poetic personae.

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[56] For pre-modern readings, see Wang Sishi 王嗣奭, *Du yi* 杜臆 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1983), 34-36 and 57-59; Pu Qilong 浦起龍, *Du Du xinjie* 讀杜心解 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1978), 21-23 and 39-43. For examples of modern readings, see Fu Gengsheng 傅庚生, *Du shi sanyi* 杜詩散繹 (Xi'an: Shaanxi renmin chubanshe, 1979), 124-134 and 140-155; Chen Yixin 陳貽焮, *Du Fu pingzhuan* 杜甫評傳 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe), 236-244 and 344-354; Huang Shen 黃珅, *Du Fu xinying lu* 杜甫心影錄 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1991), 66-69; Ge Xiaoyin 葛曉音, *Du Fu shi xuanping* 杜甫詩選評 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002), 38-41 and 60-63. Also see Yoshikawa Kōjirō's 吉川幸次郎 reading of "Journey North" in *Kaon To shishō* 華音杜詩抄 (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō: 1981), 79-95, and *Yoshikawa Kōjirō zenshū* 吉川幸次郎全集 (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō: 1973), Vol. 12, 389-401.

“Five Hundred Words” describes the death of Du Fu’s youngest son as an extremely sad incident. Despite mention of this heartbreaking issue, however, only three couplets address it directly:

入門聞號咷	Entering the door I heard crying,
幼子饑已卒	My youngest son had died from starvation.
吾寧舍一哀	I would rather rid myself of the sorrow,
里巷亦嗚咽	My neighbors also whimpered (for my loss).
所愧爲人父	I was ashamed as a father,
無食致夭摺	I had no food to save my son from premature death.

The monologue following this section, however, turns immediately to articulating Du Fu’s wish for the happiness of all people in the world rather than continuing to express his grief. This is not, of course, due to the fact that Du Fu did not feel sad about his son. What we see here is that when his personal emotion and his care for the public – the state and the common people – are competing for attention, Du Fu intentionally chooses the latter.

The similar conflict between his personal feelings and his concern for the state also appears in “Journey North.” While the entirety of the poem generally addresses his deep concern for the Tang Empire as it swayed in the midst of raging storm caused by the An Lushan Rebellion, there is a short paragraph depicting the happiness he has with his family:

瘦妻面複光	My emaciated wife was restored to her radiant face,

癡女頭自櫛　　My silly little girl was combing her own hair.

學母無不爲　　Copying her mother in doing everything,

曉妝隨手抹　　She randomly put on makeup on her face in the morning,

移時施朱鉛　　She put on rouge and powder as time flew,

狼藉畫眉闊　　And messily painted her eyebrows wide.

生還對童稚　　Having returned alive and facing my young children,

似欲忘饑渴　　It felt like I was about to forget starvation.

問事競挽須　　Asking this, asking that, they competed to pluck my beard.

誰能即嗔喝　　Who could get angry at once and scold them?

翻思在賊愁　　Rather, thinking about the distress I had among the rebels,

甘受雜亂聒　　I was glad to be in such mess and noise.

The last couplet reveals the spontaneous reaction that an ordinary person would usually have in the midst of social chaos. It is primarily personal and family safety, rather than other bigger concerns, that really seemed to matter. In "Journey North," the grateful feelings of a survivor squeezes into the text, but are immediately submerged by Du Fu's worry for the emperor. In the following part of the poem, Du Fu's focus returns to expressing his concerns about the Empire. Specifically, he worries about the Tang court's decision to borrow Uyghur troops, and provides his own suggestions about how to strategically pacify the Rebellion.

In both "Five Hundred Words" and "Journey North," two poetic personae emerge. One is the Du Fu who speaks of his personal feelings, and laments the loss of his son or enjoys the family reunion after narrowly surviving the social chaos during the Rebellion; the other is the Du

Fu who commits himself to the state, and worries for the emperor and for commoners alike. The two personae are, in effect, competing for the ink that the author spills in regards to them, if only due to the fact that Du Fu's personal concern and his public commitment were hardly well connected. Unlike Yu Xin and Yan Zhitui, who, as aristocratic elites of the South, really felt their worlds collapse when the Southern culture fell during Hou Jing's Rebellion, Du Fu's sufferings and losses mainly resulted from shortage of living materials and depended little on whether the Tang court survived the An Lushan Rebellion or not. His concern for the state thus was not based on his personal life experiences, but on the values he held, of which we know little except for what he conveys in poems like "Five Hundred Words" and "Journey North."

When we view Du Fu from this perspective, these two poems are not utterings of the spontaneously-flowing of emotions in his mind. Rather, the arrangement of his writing that expresses his concern for the state via his personal experiences of traveling home constructs a noble persona. In the tradition established by Yu Xin and Yan Zhitui vis-à-vis their *fu*, one's concern for the state melded with one's lament for his own life too, which was probably the model that Du Fu chose to follow. In "Ai Jiangnan fu" and "Guan wosheng fu," the narrative of contemporary history came to be an integral way of expressing emotion, and the huge capacity of the *fu* genre became necessary for such a mode. Du Fu, in aiming to construct a similar persona that expressed similar concerns for the state, was also pushed to expand the capacity of his works, but his genre was *shi* poetry, not *fu*.

"Eight Poems on Autumn Meditation" were composed with similar efforts inasmuch as they expanded the capacity of the *shi*. Grouped poems were not new in Du Fu's time. Ruan Ji's 阮籍 (210-263) eighty-two "Yonghuai" 詠懷 [Writing What Is in My Bosom] poems and Yu Xin's twenty-seven "Ni Yonghuai" 擬詠懷 [Imitation of Writing What Is in My Bosom] poems were

both earlier examples of poems packed together as a series. But the difference between "Autumn Meditation" and these earlier grouped poems is obvious. The "Yonghuai" poems were packed up as a set after they were completed. Ruan Ji in the first place did not necessarily have a well-established plan to write a poem series. "Ni Yonghuai" followed the way of "Yonghuai" to group poems addressing the same theme. Although Yu Xin's plan to write a poem series in the form of imitation was clear since the beginning, there is no strong logic to connect these poems into an organic series either.

The eight poems in "Autumn Meditation," however, were not randomly arranged in a package. Each poem in the series unfolds based on previous poems, and their sequence could not be changed. When depicting landscapes of Kuizhou 夔州, where Du Fu stayed when composing the poem series, the first three poems follow the sequence of dusk, night and the next day's morning. Poem IV recalls the fall of the capital in the Rebellion, and Du Fu's thought also turns to the past. Poems V, VI and VII elaborate how the capital used to be prosperous, followed by the last poem in the set, in which the memory of Du Fu's early life in the capital is evoked.

The eight poems jointly form an extended, yet comprehensive, piece of work. Many allusions, especially those concerning Han dynasty history, appear, but, as a whole, the series is not about any specific event. This makes the emotion in the poem series much more ambiguous and sophisticated than that expressed in ordinary, singular poems. Unlike "Five Hundred Words" and "Journey North" in which we observe conflicting personae, that expressed in "Autumn Meditation" is unified and free from any vexing ruptures between the present scenes in Kuizhou and the memory of the past in the capital. This is why, as a presentation of Du Fu's reminiscence of and lament for the Tang Dynasty's glory that has gone with the An Lushan Rebellion, the poem series is able to express quite subtle and complicated emotions.

Du Fu was able to achieve as such probably due to the fact that "Autumn Meditation" was composed in 766, i.e., about ten years after "Five Hundred Words" (composed in 755) and "Journey North" (composed inn 757). During these ten years, he had indeed gone through many hardships in person, and doubly witnessed his hopes for the Tang Dynasty to revive fade from view. Such experiences thereby remolded his emotions into a more profound but also more restraining situation, and enabled him to further meld his personal feelings with public concerns. It is in this sense that "Autumn Meditation" appears closer in tone to Yu Xin's "Ai Jiangnan fu" and Yan Zhitui's "Guan wosheng fu," regardless of the fact that it is a series of regulated verse, and each poem in it is much shorter than "Five Hundred Words" or "Journey North."[57]

To conclude, it is clear that in both extended lyrics represented by "Five Hundred Words" and "Journey North," as well as in the regulated verse exemplified by "Eight Poems on Autumn Meditation," the poetic texts present themselves as the result of efforts to expand the capacity of *shi* poetry beyond its former limits. Such capacity was not merely an issue of poetic technique. Rather, in the first place of its development, as exemplified through the *fu* works of Yu Xin and Yan Zhitui, it came to be bound to the expression of extremely sophisticated human emotions in a chaotic time, including heartfelt concerns for one's state and traumatized memory of the past that was glorious but already gone. In Du Fu's poetic practice dealing with similar emotions, he followed the model of Yu Xin and Yan Zhitui, and tried to expand the capacity of *shi* poetry. In other words, *shi* poetry came to be made suitable for the emotional patterns that used to be

[57] "Autumn Meditation" is among the most classical poems of Du Fu that would never be studied enough. In addition to insightful interpretations in pre-modern commentaries and a good deal of modern scholarship in China, important research by North American scholars includes Ye Jiaying 葉嘉瑩, *Du Fu Qiuxing bashou jishuo* 杜甫秋興八首集說 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1988); Tsu-lin Mei and Yu-kung Kao, "Tu Fu's 'Autumn Meditations': An Exercise in Linguistic Criticism," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 28 (1968): 44-80; Shan Chou, "Allusion and Periphrasis as Modes of Poetry in Tu Fu's 'Eight Laments,'" *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 45, 1 (1985): 77-128.

expressed in the *fu*. In this, the *shi* genre's characteristics came to be renewed.

However, in the later discourse of Chinese poetics, the capacity of *shi* poetry did not produce much theoretical interest. Du Fu's relevant poems came to be discussed from other perspectives. The persona in which he showed concern for his lord was subsequently singled out in the eleventh century and Du Fu was taken as a Confucian poet loyal to the emperor and the state. As pertains to "poetic history," it was historical information provided in the expanded capacity of *shi* poetry that drew attention. Ye Mengde 葉夢得 (1077-1148) compared Du Fu's extended lyrics to *Shiji* as follows:

> 長篇最難，晉、魏以前，詩無過十韻者。蓋常使人以意逆志，初不以序事傾盡為工。至老杜《述懷》、《北征》諸篇，窮極筆力，如太史公紀、傳，此固古今絕唱。[58]
>
> Long works are the most difficult to compose. Before the Wei and Jin, no poem exceeded ten couplets due to the fact that the reader was often made to reckon the author's intention and, in the beginning, exhaustively narrating events was not considered an advantage (of poetry). When it came to Du Fu's composition of poems like "Telling My Thoughts" and "Journey North," he exhausted the ability of his brush, and these poems, like the *Benji* and *Liezhuan* biographies in the *Records of the Grand Historian*, are indeed the highest unrivaled chants of all time.

Given the phrase "exhausting the ability of his brush," the expanded capacity of Du Fu's poetry seems to be vaguely recognized here, though it is immediately compared to historical accounts. Another twelfth century critic, Huang Che 黃徹 (1093-1168), focused on information

[58] Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 228.

as precise as specific dates in poems like “Journey North”:

> 子美世號詩史，觀《北征》詩云：“皇帝二載秋，閏八月初吉”；《送李校書》云：“乾元元年春，萬姓始安宅”；又《戲友》二詩：“元年建巳月，郎有焦校書”、“元年建巳月，官有王司直”，史筆森嚴，未易及也。[59]
>
> Zimei’s work is called “poetic history” in the world. Reading “In the autumn of the second year of the new emperor’s reign, on the first day of the adjusted eighth month” in “Journey North,” “In the spring of the first year of the Qianyuan Reign, peaceful life of commoners just began to restore” in “For Editor Li,” and “In the fourth month of the first year of the reign, among directors there was an Editor Jiao” and “In the fourth month of the first year of the reign, among officials there was a Rectifier Wang” in the two pieces of “Teasing Friends,” (it is observed that) the historical style is impeccably established and not easy to follow.

Such emphasis on the historical characteristics of Du Fu’s poetry set a model for later poets and allowed them to overstep the bounds of topics exemplified by earlier poetry. Contemporary history was not so commonly involved in medieval poetry, but, since the twelfth century, it became an important topic that poets often felt obliged to write about. The seventeenth century in particular provided many examples of poetic history, as it saw the Ming Empire collapse due to Li Zicheng’s 李自成 Rebellion and the Manchu invasion. Qian Qianyi 錢謙益 (1582-1664) followed Du Fu’s “Autumn Meditation” to compose one hundred and eight poems under the title of “Hou Qiuxing” 後秋興 [Sequel to Autumn Meditation], which cover many aspects of the

[59] Ibid., 469.

contemporary history. Wu Weiye's 吳偉業 (1609-1671) "Yuanyuan qu" 圓圓曲 [A Song of Yuanyuan] also uses an extremely long ancient-styled poem to present significant historical events between Ming and Qing via Chen Yuanyuan's 陳圓圓 personal life.[60]

Both Qian and Wu, as the most eminent poets of their time, handled complicated issues by making full use of the capacity that *shi* poetry could possibly have. It is not the case that after Du Fu, no one continued to make efforts to expand the capacity of *shi* poetry. The problem is that with "poetic history" established as a thesis in Chinese poetics, the expansion of *shi* poetry's capacity was not treated as an independent theoretical issue, and therefore did not really receive sufficient consideration as a topic of inquiry. While some talented poets, like Qian Qianyi or Wu Weiye, were occasionally able to deal with the expanded capacity that *shi* poetry could ever possibly have, it rarely became part of the training that all poets had to receive. When "Five Hundred Words," "Journey North" or "Autumn Meditation" are regarded as examples of the poetic legacy that Du Fu provided for later poets, it is "poetic history" that has best been remembered, and such a practice first emerged as an issue in the Song.

The concept of "poetic history" overwrote more nuanced aspects of Du Fu's poetic reception as it developed from the Song forward, and in this respect, Song poets considerably affected the direction of the literary history. The traditional description of the poetic transition from Tang to Song is that Song poetry was quite different from Tang poetry, while the works of

[60] For Qian Qianyi and Wu Weiye, as well as the historical and cultural context of their poetry, see Chen Yinke 陳寅恪, *Liu Rushi biezhuan* 柳如是別傳 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1980); Yan Dichang 嚴迪昌, *Qing shi shi* 清詩史 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 2002), 361-370 and 375-402; Lawrence C.H. Yim, *Qian Qianyi's theory of Shishi during the Ming-Qing transition* (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan zhongguo wenzhe yanjiusuo, 2005) and *The Poet-Historian Qian Qianyi* (New York: Routledge, 2009); Sun Zhimei 孫之梅, *Qian Qianyi yu Ming mo Qing chu wenxue* 錢謙益與明末清初文學 (Ji'nan: Shandong daxue chubanshe, 2010); Ye Junyuan 葉君遠, *Wu Meicun zhuan* 吳梅村傳 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2012).

some Tang poets, such as Du Fu, already reflected new qualities that were about to be expanded upon in the Song. This chapter, however, has provided another way to understand the issue inasmuch as it states that Song poets, in their own era, reset the direction of poetry's development. Throughout this process, they applied new reading strategies to earlier poetry so as to best endorse their choice of direction for the composition of poetry, and as one of the results of their efforts, Du Fu's image as a poet-historian took a form that is recognizable today.

In the meantime, by indulging themselves in Du Fu's poetic texts, literati in the Song achieved much more. With the rise of poetry remarks as a new critical genre, particular poetic lines came to be selected for analysis of multiple issues that Song poets concerned themselves with, including character usage, syntax, prosody, and so forth. Some of these issues were already raised in the Tang, while some emerged anew in the Song. Du Fu's poetic texts provided Song poets with a platform to discuss these issues, and witnessed the establishment of new evaluative standards in the realm of poetics. As Chapter 4 will discuss in detail, such standards were also applied to Du Fu himself, which ultimately served to elevate him as a master of poetic craft.

Chapter 4. The Master of Poetic Craft

In the seventeenth century, Jin Shengtan 金聖歎 (1610-1661), a contemporary of Qian Qianyi 錢謙益 (1582-1664) and Wu Weiye 吳偉業 (1609-1671), grouped Du Fu's poetry in with *Zhuangzi* 莊子 [*Zhuangzi*], *Lisao* 離騷 [*Encounter Sorrow*], *Shiji* 史記 [*Records of the Grand Historian*], *Shuihu zhuan* 水滸傳 [*Water Margin*], and *Xixiang ji* 西廂記 [*Romance of the West Chamber* when he exclaimed that they were "Six Books of Genius" 六才子書. This epithet included texts from a variety of genres. Jin's definition for "book of genius" is to some degree similar to the concept of "literature" in the modern sense, and Du Fu's poetry appears numbered among these texts due to its literary import. Jin Shengtan's *pingdian* 評點 (punctuation and annotation) for Du Fu's poems more or less resembles the methodology of close reading, and intensively highlights the compositional techniques in Du's poetry.[1]

While discussion of compositional techniques mainly focused on literary texts themselves rather than the author creating these texts, the author was by no means absent in the critical discourse. The evaluation of textual characteristics required criteria, which, in traditional Chinese poetics, often became cataloged in reference to the names of model poets' names. Stylistic criteria came to be expressed as "the style of somebody," and later poets whose styles met such established criteria were said to be following styles of earlier poets. That is to say, the narrative of literary history summarized from poetic texts is often presented as a genealogy of significant poets. As for Du Fu, poets in Ming and Qing regarded him as a representative of the highest

[1] For Jin Shengtan and his "Six Books of Genius," especially his commentary on Du Fu's poetry, see Chen Hong 陳洪, *Jin Shengtan zhuanlun* 金聖歎傳論 (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubanshe, 1996); Liangyan Ge, "Authoring 'Authorial Intention:' Jin Shengtan as Creative Critic," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 25 (Dec. 2003): 1-24; Ji Hao, "Confronting the Past: Jin Shengtan's commentaries on Du Fu's Poems," *Ming Studies* 64 (Sep. 2011): 63-95.

standard of poetry, and, to a considerable degree, such understanding is still viewed as acceptable by many modern scholars.

Du Fu, however, was not admired so much in his own time. As a poet, he was not elevated to such a position until three decades after his death, and such an elevation did not reach its climax until the eleventh century. Techniques in his poetry, or his poetic style, were not extensively discussed until poetry remarks arose as a newly developed critical genre emerged in the eleventh century. Meanwhile, in the three centuries after Du Fu's death, there were indeed many essential issues that emerged in the developing history of Chinese poetry. Poetry came to be seen as a craft demanding careful work and various techniques. The role of learning came to be emphasized as a core aspect of the cultivation of poetic compositional abilities. And poets in the Song Dynasty paid much more attention than their precursors to locating themselves in relation to poetic history by retrospectively defining the poetic past. These issues were joined by the discussion of the craft in Du Fu's poetry to form the cultural environment in which Song literati's poetic composition was rooted.

This chapter begins with a review of the comparison between Li Bai and Du Fu in Tang and Song poetic discourse, and investigates the elevation of Du Fu to a master of poetic craft since the eleventh century. Du Fu did not prefigure the poetic development that followed in the three centuries after him; rather, the elevation of Du Fu resulted from newly adopted approaches of writing poetry that transformed since the late Tang. New standards of poetic pursuits emerged, and Du Fu's poetry was considered meeting such standards, which, in the end, resulted in Du Fu becoming the greatest poet in literary history.

Crafting, Learning, and Literary Genealogy

Du Fu is juxtaposed with Li Bai 李白 (701-762) as the top two poets of not only the Tang but the entire history of Chinese literature. Yet the connotation of this juxtaposition, as reflected in literary criticism stretching back more than a thousand years, is not the same as other juxtapositions, such as Wang Wei 王維 (701-761) and Meng Haoran 孟浩然 (689-740) for High Tang landscape poetry, Han Yu 韓愈 (768-824) and Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (773-819) for prose, or Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101) and Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅 (1045-1105) for Song poetry. While all the other juxtapositions are based on shared characteristics of the juxtaposed writers, for Li Bai and Du Fu there seems to be only one characteristic they have in common: they are both recognized as the greatest poets. But in what sense are they great? The answers for Li Bai and for Du Fu are quite different. Li Bai's poetry is said to be driven by the talent that spontaneously poured out from his brush, and was difficult to imitate. Skill in poetic craft was Du Fu's special characteristic, and as such, it served a model for later poets.

We, of course, do not know how Li Bai or Du Fu actually composed their poetry. The "talent-sustained/craft-sustained" dichotomy as it emerges in the narrative of traditional poetics reflects, in effect, the understanding of Li Bai and Du Fu's different styles as they appear in their poetic texts. In short, the directness in Li Bai's poetry is believed to be the result of spontaneous composition, while the highly exquisite features observed in the many dimensions of Du Fu's poetry reflected Du Fu's careful pondering during the process of composition and repeated revisions afterwards. Later readers were inclined to guess according to a writer's style how he used to compose. In the first place, styles were just literary characteristics presented by texts. When a certain style came to be associated with a writer, however, and was determined to be an intentionally accomplished element of an author's *oeuvre*, it subsequently became a hallmark of the author. Accordingly, analysis of styles became evaluation of authors, and reading of literary

text led to exploration for compositional methods.

From the ninth century forward, the juxtaposition of Li Bai and Du Fu has been a key element of collective memory as it relates to High Tang literary culture. Among literati who discussed Li Bai and Du Fu, Yuan Zhen 元稹 (779-831) in particular took notice of their different literary styles, which are mainly summarized and evaluated in the tomb inscription he wrote for Du Fu:

> 予觀其壯浪縱恣，擺去拘束，模寫物象，及樂府歌詩，誠亦差肩於子美矣。至若鋪陳終始，排比聲韻，大或千言，次猶數百，詞氣豪邁而風調清深，屬對律切而脱棄凡近，則李尚不能歷其藩翰，況堂奥乎？[2]
>
> As I see it, Li Bai's writings are vigorous, unrestrained, liberated, unreserved, and free from limitations. His description of things and images and his Music Bureau verses are indeed shoulder to shoulder with Zimei, as well. As for elaborating throughout a composition, arranging tones and rhymes, in hundreds – if not as long as a thousand – words, with heroic and far-reaching diction and clear and deep characteristics and style, paralleling with appropriate prosody, and casting away the mediocre and the superficial: (in all these aspects) Li could not even reach the boundary (of Du Fu's achievements), not to mention getting the innermost recess.

The above cited entry makes clear the major differences between the two poets. For Li Bai, it emphasizes that he remained free from any restrictions; that is to say, Li Bai's literary merit

[2] "Tang jianjiao gongbu yuanwailang Du jun muximing bing xu" 唐檢校工部員外郎杜君墓係銘并序, in Hua Wenxuan 華文軒, ed., *Du Fu juan* 杜甫卷, *Gudian wenxue yanjiu ziliao huibian* 古典文學研究資料彙編 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1964), 15.

could rarely be measured by any established standards or regulations. On the other hand, Du Fu's achievements came to be demonstrated in the prosody and good structure – the extended length of composition is easy to observe, and prosody could be objectively analyzed on the technical level. In this sense, this frequently quoted paragraph comparing Li Bai and Du Fu not only initiated the "Li Bai/Du Fu" dichotomy in poetic criticism during the next millennium, but also implicitly brought to light – via the "Li Bai/Du Fu" dichotomy – the tension between two compositional modes: one could either let what he wanted to write just pour out from his brush, or organize it into a well-crafted and refined form.

Since Du Fu's achievements were viewed as more easily mimicked, the act of learning his style became an object of interest. At the end of the tomb inscription, immediately after comparing Li and Du, Yuan Zhen tells us that Du Fu's poems were worthy models for later poets:

> 予嘗欲條析其文，體別相附，與來者為之準，特病懶未就爾。[3]
>
> I once planned to analyze his writings, classify their genres and arrange those of the same genres together in order to provide standards to upcoming poets. But just due to sickness and laziness, I never began.

In other places Yuan Zhen's experiences of "learning from Du Fu" is also recorded. In an essay-letter he sent to Bai Juyi 白居易 (772-846), "Xu shi ji Letian" 敘詩寄樂天 [To Letian: A Preface to My Poems], Yuan recalls in detail how he learned to compose poetry. He stated that reading earlier poets was one way of learning poetic composition, and in this regard, Du Fu

[3] Ibid.

ranked above other early Tang poets:

> 又久之，得杜甫詩數百首，愛其浩蕩津涯，處處臻到，始病沈、宋之不存寄興，而訝子昂之未暇旁備矣。[4]
>
> Again after a good while, I obtained hundreds of Du Fu's poems, and appreciated their qualities inasmuch as they swept across the realm of poetry and presented accomplishments in every way. Thereafter I take it as weakness of Shen Quanqi and Song Zhiwen that their poetry includes no profound concerns, and feel astonished that Chen Zi'ang had not been able to develop in ways other than on the path he had taken.

The comment that Du Fu's poems "swept across the realm of poetry and presented accomplishments in every way" is especially noteworthy. Instead of excelling in a certain aspect or in a particular style, Du Fu appears to have been good at everything. That is to say, anyone wishing to learn to write poetry, no matter his aim or taste level, could learn from Du Fu. We do not know which among Du Fu's poems numbered among the "hundreds" that Yuan Zhen read, but the comment here probably indicates that, in Yuan Zhen's opinion, these poems reflected consideration of most issues concerning poetry and poetics at the time. At the beginning of the tomb inscription he wrote for Du Fu, he also expresses this idea:

> 余讀詩至杜子美，而知小大之有總萃焉。[5]
>
> In my reading of poetry, when it came to Du Zimei, I realized that all possibilities, no matter whether it was big traditions or small trends, well converge (in his writings).

[4] Ibid., 14.
[5] Ibid.

And after delineating the development of literature from the ancient beginnings to the Tang, Yuan Zhen emphasizes Du Fu's achievement:

> 盡得古今之體勢，而兼人人之所獨專矣。[6]
>
> He exhaustingly mastered all styles and trends of ancient and present, and had everyone's unique expertise converge in himself.

To sum up, if we read "Xu shi ji Letian" and the tomb inscription for Du Fu together, we can perceive that Yuan Zhen used to teach himself poetic composition by reading Du Fu, and, in his opinion, Du Fu was a poet worth emulating in every aspect. The point was not simply to copy him, however, as every writer needed to learn how to write. Instead, the uniqueness of Yuan Zhen's advocacy of Du Fu was in its emphasis of "learning poetic composition" as a particular issue, which should be considered within the broader poetic culture in the ninth century.

The ninth century, as Stephen Owen has pointed out, saw the emergence of the new notion that regarded poetry as "a combination of good fortune and craft" instead of merely being manifestation of the poet's sentiment.[7] Poems produced through effort did not necessarily have to appear crafted. Bai Juyi, for example, is said to have made efforts to compose poems in a simplistic and direct style so that the most illiterate could understand them.[8] If a poet's works were recognized as crafted, however, such an appearance likely manifested through effort.

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[6] Ibid., 15.

[7] Stephen Owen, "Ideas of Poetry and Writing in the Early Ninth Century," in *The End of the Chinese 'Middle Ages': Essays in Mid-Tang Literary Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 107-129.

[8] Wu Wenzhi 吳文治, ed., *Song shihua quanbian* 宋詩話全編 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1998), Vol. 3, 2430.

"Making efforts to compose" became an issue in the ninth and tenth centuries. Several poets particularly wrote about "arduous chanting" 苦吟. Guanxiu 貫休 (832-912), Du Xunhe 杜荀鶴 (846-904), Cui Tu 崔涂 (b. 854) and Lu Yanrang 盧延讓 (fl. 902) all have poems titled "Kuyin" 苦吟.[9] In most cases, instead of meaning simply chanting, 吟 should be understood as repeatedly chanting out and carefully pondering possible characters, phrases or lines of a poem during the process of composition. For example, Cui Tu presents himself as a poet that pondered poem day and night:

朝吟復暮吟	Chanting in the morning, and chanting at dusk,
只此望知音	It is only for this that I look forward to (meeting) those who know the sound.

And Lu Yanrang pictures his chanting as follows:

吟安一個字	In my chanting, to find an appropriate character,
捻斷數莖須	I rub off several beards:
險覓天應悶	Difficultly seeking it – to the extent that even the Heaven would be bored;
狂搜海亦枯	Madly searching for it – until the seas also dries up.

Echoing Jia Dao's 賈島 (779-843) self-statement that "I spent three years obtaining these two

[9] See these poems respectively in Peng Dingqiu 彭定求 et al, eds., *Quan Tang shi* 全唐詩 (Beijing: Zhonghau shuju, 1960), Vol. 23, 9423; Vol. 20, 7944-45, and 7741; Vol. 21, 8212.

lines, once I read them, my tears flowed in twin streaks" 二句三年得，一吟雙淚流, both Cui and Lu highlight the prolonged process of composition.[10] Such an emphasis on repeatedly crafting a poem, in effect, denied the assumption that poetry spontaneously came into being. In this way, learning emerged as an important element of self-cultivation, as craft was usually acquired rather than inborn. One needed to learn or to be trained in order to acquire the ability to craft poems; and in order to learn properly, one needed to read works by earlier poets.

In such context of the ninth century, Yuan Zhen's recollection of the way he learned from Du Fu and his evaluation of Du Fu's poetry should be considered together. As long as poetry is understood as the result of crafting, there could be no higher evaluation than the claim that Du Fu was a great poet who provided models for everything (i.e., various styles in multiple genres). Such a comment indicates that every poet, no matter what his preferred style or genre, could refer to Du Fu for resources. On the other hand, Yuan Zhen did not regard Li Bai as a model to for learning poetic composition. He summarized the respectable features of Li Bai's poetry as "unrestrained," suggesting that Li's poetry was generated by the author's spontaneous writing. This is a compositional mode different from the way one crafted a poem. In this sense, the "Li/Du" competition raised by Yuan Zhen not only compared the two poets, but also hinted the emerging dichotomy of two writing modes – namely spontaneous writing and crafted writing. The fact that, in the Northern Song, Du Fu was finally considered superior to Li Bai also reflects the overwhelming rise of crafted writing as a lauded genre.

Meanwhile, the issue of learning from earlier poets raises the question of how earlier poets actually composed their poems. The compositional process was a conducted activity, but when later poets were to learn to compose from an earlier poet, usually what he had was only the text

[10] This self-statement of Jia Dao is in his "Ti shihou" 題詩後, see it in *Quan Tang shi*, Vol. 17, 6692.

of the earlier poet's work. That is to say, what was displayed was only the product, rather than the process, of the earlier poet's compositional activity, and the learning poet would still be interested to know – often enough such interest was shown just as the inclination to imagine – how such compositional activities were done. As a result, many anecdotes emerged since the tenth century regarding the way in which significant poets of earlier or contemporary times composed poems. Well known anecdotes include Jia Dao pondering on whether to use "push" 推 or "knock" 敲 in his poem, Chen Shidao 陳師道 (1053-1101) covering himself in a quilt to painstakingly ponder on poetic lines, or the fake allusions about Meng Haoran 孟浩然 (ca. 689-740), Pei You 裴祐 and Wang Wei 王維 (701-761) recorded in the pseudo-book *Yunxian zaji* 雲仙雜記 [*Miscellaneous Records of the Cloud Immortal*]. [11] While many of them are fictional stories rather than reliable records, they reflect the fact that, since the tenth century, people were no longer satisfied to simply know that their precursors used to "arduously chant."

[11] As Shizunaga Takeshi 靜永健 has pointed out, the anecdote of Jia Dao was fabricated, and it first appears in the Late Shu 後蜀 (934-965) anecdote collection, *Jian jie lu* 鑒戒錄 [*Records of Warnings and Precepts*]; see Shizunaga Takeshi, "Jia Dao 'tuiqiao' kao" 賈島"推敲"考, trans. Liu Weizhi 劉維治, *Nanyang shifan xueyuan xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 南陽師範學院學報（社會科學版）9, 1 (Jan. 2010): 51-56. According to *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考 [*Comprehensive Examination of Literature*], which was completed in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the story of Chen Shidao is recorded by Ye Mengde 葉夢得 (1077-1148), but nothing is left in Ye's extant writings. *Yunxian zaji* is attributed to a Tang person named Feng Zhi 馮贄. In the second *juan*, it is quoted from a book titled *Shiyuan zhijue* 詩源指訣 [*The Pointed Gist of Poetic Origins*] that "Meng Haoran's eyebrows all fell; Pei You folded his arms in sleeves until his sleeves were worn out; Wang Wei stepped into a vinegar urn. All of these were because of their arduous chanting." 孟浩然眉毫盡落，裴祐袖手，衣袖至穿，王維至走入醋甕，皆苦吟者也; moreover, in the fifth *juan*, it is quoted from the so-called *Bai shi jinsuo* 白氏金鎖 [*Bai's Golden Lock*] that Zhang Hu 張祜 also used to "arduously chant." According to Cao Zhi 曹之, however, Feng Zhi never existed, and *Yunxian zaji* was actually compiled by Wang Zhi 王銍 (fl. early 12th century). Many anecdotes and citated sources in the book are fake; specifically, neither *Shiyuan zhijue* nor *Bai shi jinsuo* ever existed. See Cao Zhi, "*Yunxian zaji* zhenwei kao" 《雲仙雜記》真偽考, *Guji zhengli yanjiu xuekan* 古籍整理研究學刊, 4 (1992): 18-20.

They instead demanded details about the way in which such arduous chanting was done.

It was in such context that Du Fu's self-construction of how he made efforts to craft his poetry became more and more appreciated. Examples of his self-statements include:

為人性僻耽佳句　　With an eccentric personality, I am addicted to pretty lines,

語不驚人死不休[12]　　Unless my words startle others, I will not give up, even facing death.

and:

晚節漸于詩律細[13]　　In my late years I gradually became meticulous in prosody.

Moreover, Du Fu also claimed he learned from earlier poets. He particularly advocated "benefiting from multiple teachers in turn" (轉益多師);[14] and in "Jiemen (qi wu)" 解悶（其五） [Dispel the Boredom, No. 5], he specifies:

李陵蘇武是吾師　　Li Ling and Su Wu are my teachers,

孟子論文更不疑[15]　　Mencius's discussion on literary composition is never given to doubt.

[12] Xiao Difei 蕭滌非, ed., *Du Fu quanji jiaozhu* 杜甫全集校注 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2014), Vol. 4, 2165.
[13] Ibid., Vol. 8, 4397.
[14] Ibid., Vol. 5, 2511.
[15] Ibid., Vol. 9, 4946.

A perhaps better known poem is the (VII) of the same series:

陶冶性靈在底物	It is in this thing that I cultivate my nature and spirit,
新詩改罷自長吟	When a poem is newly revised, I chant it in slow tones.
孰知二謝將能事	I acquaint myself with how the two Xies conduct what they excelled,
頗學陰何苦用心[16]	And well follow Yin and He to assiduously focus my mind.

The second line confirms that he made efforts to revise his poems, and the second couplet specifies that the models he chose to follow were Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 (358-433), Xie Tiao 謝朓 (464-499), Yin Keng 陰鏗 (511-563) and He Xun 何遜 (d. 518). Such a statement, together with his statement about his concern for poetic craft, allowed later readers to construct an image of Du Fu as follows: Du Fu made efforts to learn from earlier poets, digested what he had learned, and then his followers learned from him in turn. In narratives like this, Du Fu became a pivotal figure through whom the development of poetic craft was continued.

The problem, however, is that Du Fu, like most other poets of the Tang, did not specifically convey the way in which he learned from his precursors. It is usually up to later readers to interpret the way in which one poet's style inherited some aspects of an earlier poets' style while changing or abandoning other aspects. In this way, the genealogy of literary authors in history turns out to be the result of later readers' construction based on discovery of intertextual relations among works of different authors.

We could see Wang Anshi's 王安石 (1021-1086) discussion as an example. In *Cai Kuanfu*

[16] Ibid., 4948.

shihua 蔡寬夫詩話 [*The Poetry Remarks of Cai Kuanfu*], it is recorded that:

> 王荊公晚年亦喜稱義山詩，以為唐人知學老杜而得其藩籬，惟義山一人而已。每誦其“雪嶺未歸天外使，松州猶駐殿前軍。”“永憶江湖歸白髮，欲回天地入扁舟。”“池光不受月，暮氣欲沉山。”“江海三年客，乾坤百戰場”之類，雖老杜亡以過也。義山詩合處，信有過人。若其用事深僻，語工而意不及，自是其短。世人反以為奇而效之，故崑體之弊，適重其失。義山本不至是云。[17]
>
> During his late years, Wang Anshi, the Duke of Jing, also liked to praise Yishan's poetry, contending that, among Tang poets, Yishan was the only one who knew how to learn from Du Fu and who (actually) achieved the hedge of Du Fu's skill. Every time when he chanted Yishan's couplets, such as "To the snow ridge, envoys have not returned from outside Heaven, and in Songzhou the Palace Force are still stationed there;" "Always remembering the will to return to rivers and lakes at the time when my hair has turned grey, I wish to restore (the order between) heaven and earth before stepping into a small boat;" "The light in the pond is not received from the moon, the dusk air shall sink behind the mountains;" "(I have been) a guest among rivers and seas for three years, and (the world between) heaven and earth has been turned into battlefields for hundreds of wars," (he thought) even Du Fu had no poems that exceeded them. Among Yishan's poems, those that were harmonious ones were indeed extraordinary. As for abstruse allusions, or pretty words that were not matched by good meanings, these were surely Yishan's demerits. Instead (of rejecting these aspects of his work), people thought that they were unusual and imitated them – therefore the disadvantage of the Xikun style just aggravated such shortcomings. Yishan himself did

[17] Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 176-177.

not go as far as this extent.

In the above, Wang raises genealogy as an issue. Learning activities constructed genealogy in literary history, and the genealogy he highlights in particular extends from Du Fu to Li Shangyin 李商隱 (813-858). In the meantime, he rejects the genealogy extending from Li Shangyin to the Xikun poets, although the Xikun poets themselves claimed to have learnt from Li.[18] Meanwhile, the Xikun poets did not consider themselves to be Du Fu's descendants. Yang Yi 楊億 (974-1020), who admired Li Shangyin on one hand, and disdainfully calling Du Fu "old rustic" 村夫子 on the other, would probably not have considered relating Li Shangyin to Du Fu as Wang Anshi did.[19] Moreover, when Fang Hui 方回 (1227-1307) in the thirteenth century recognized Du Fu as the "ancestor" of the so-called Jiangxi Poetic School 江西詩派, he in every sense took Du Fu as a starter, and neither he nor Wang Anshi would further trace the school back to Xie Lingyun, Xie Tiao, Yin Ken and He Xun, whom Du Fu himself recognized as sources for learning poetic composition.[20] To a considerable extent, most literary histories accept the narrative that Du Fu influenced Li Shangyin, or Wang Anshi, or the Jiangxi poets

[18] For the Xikun poets, see Zeng Zaozhuang 曾棗莊, *Lun Xinkun ti* 論西崑體 (Kaohsiung: Liwen wenhua gongsi 麗文文化公司, 1994); Zhou Yizhong 周益忠, *Xikun yanjiu lunji* 西崑研究論集 (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1999); Zhang Minghua 張明華, *Xikun ti yanjiu* 西昆體研究 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2010). Also see Yabuki Shigeru 藪木茂, "Ri Gisan no shi to Saikon tai" 李義山の詩と西崑體, *Chūgoku chūsei bungaku kenyū* 中國中世文學研究 2 (1962): 10-16.

[19] Yang Yi's comment on Du Fu was recorded by Liu Ban 劉攽; see Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 83.

[20] For Fang Hui's thesis of the "one ancestor and three masters" of the Jiangxi Poetic School, see Zha Hongde 查洪德, "Guanyu Fang Hui shilun de 'yizu sanzong' shuo" 關於方回詩論的"一祖三宗"說, *Wen shi zhe* 文史哲, 1 (1999): 71-77. For Wang Anshi's reception of Tang poets, especially Du Fu, see Yuasa Yōko 湯淺陽子, "Ō Anseki no shi ni okeru Tō shi no juyō ni tsuite" 王安石の詩における唐詩の受容について, *Jinbun ronsō: Mie daigaku jinbun gakubu bunka gakka kiyō* 人文論叢:三重大学人文学部文化学科紀要 20 (2003): 53-67.

represented by Huang Tingjian, but still, few would further acknowledge the Six-Dynasties poets as the origin of those who followed Du Fu's footsteps.

Meanwhile, the issue of learning and crafting revealed in genealogies involving Du Fu also could give rise to some dispute. Yang Yi's reference to Du Fu as an "old rustic" meant that, in his opinion, Du's poetry was not sufficiently crafted. Su Shi, by taking note of and recording some of Du Fu's "coarse lines" 陋句, did not consider all of Du Fu's poems to be canonical either.[21] On the other hand, Lü Benzhong's 呂本中 (1084-1145) recognized that Du Fu, Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072) and Huang Tingjian formed a lineage due to the fact that they all made intentional efforts to revise their poems, and in this sense, cared about poetic craft. But, meanwhile, Ouyang was also known to be not following Du Fu's style.[22]

All these examples demonstrate the fact that literary genealogies based on learning activities – no matter whether such activities were recognized as actually having happened or were no more than off-hand remarks – were relatively mutable by nature. Poets and critics constructed genealogies so as to manifest literary history as they understood it, and they did so by emphasizing some aspects or elements of the complexity of the literary past and neglecting others. In Michel Foucault's words, "genealogy opposes itself to the search for 'origins.'"[23] On the contrary, what we can see from genealogy is more of a discontinuity:

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[21] Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 103.

[22] See Lü Benzhong's comment in ibid., 282. As for Ouyang Xiu, it was observed by Northern Song critics that Ouyang's style is like that of Du Fu, although interpretations vary as to why this is the case. There was gossip that Ouyang intentionally avoided learning from Du Fu because he thought Du was too talented to learn, while some people believed Ouyang Xiu just did not like Du Fu. See the anonymous record in *Zhu zhuang shihua* 竹莊詩話 [*Poetry Remarks of the Bamboo Villa*] and the record by Liu Ban in ibid., 136 and 83 respectively.

[23] Michel Foucault, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History," in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, trans. and ed. D. F. Bouchard (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977), 140.

> Genealogy does not pretend to go back in time to restore an unbroken continuity that operates beyond the dispersion of forgotten things; its duty is not to demonstrate that the past actively exists in the present, that it continues secretly to animate the present, having imposed a predetermined form to all its vicissitudes. Genealogy does not resemble the evolution of a species and does not map the destiny of a people. On the contrary, to follow the complex course of descent is to maintain passing events in their proper dispersion; it is to identify the accidents, the minute deviations – or conversely, the complete reversals – the errors, the false appraisals, and the faulty calculations that gave birth to those things that continue to exist and have value for us; it is to discover that truth or being do not lie at the root of what we know and what we are, but the exteriority of accidents.[24]

From this perspective, Du Fu should not simply be regarded as a precursor from whom later poets – mainly those in the Song – learnt poetic composition. Instead, Du Fu's image as a master poet emerged in a new poetic discourse as it existed from the ninth century forward, in which the importance of learning came to be emphasized and crafted poetry became important. Newly emerging poetic concerns came to be reflected in a variety of topics that were frequently the object of discussion, including character usage, syntax, and prosody.

Character Usage and the Expression of Poetic Thought

Two major theses were raised about Du Fu's use of characters in his poems. (I), That he had the ability to find the best character for a particular line or poem; (II), Every character he uses alludes to some earlier text. While both theses focused on the poetic text itself, the received text

[24] Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 146.

of Du Fu's poetry was not necessarily identical to his original version. As Chapter 1 has shown, it took centuries for the received version of Du Fu's poetry collection to take form. Many poets in the eleventh century were simultaneously both the reader and the editor of Du Fu's poems, and often enough the understanding of a particular text came to be intertwined with the necessary process of determining the accepted textual variant from multiple possibilities. In other words, it was not only Du Fu, but later editors as well, who participated in the production of the poetic text that supported Du Fu's image as a master poet.

The example of Chen Congyi 陳從易 (966-1031) and his fellows trying to guess a missing character in Du Fu's poem demonstrates the way in which editors could have participated in building up the received text to which they had addressed. As Ouyang Xiu recorded it:

> 陳公時偶得杜集，舊本文多脫誤，至《送蔡都尉》詩云“身輕一鳥”，其下脫一字。陳公因與數客各用一字補之，或云疾；或云落；或云起；或云下，莫能定。後得一善本，乃是“身輕一鳥過”。以為雖一字，諸君不能到也。[25]
>
> At that time, Chen occasionally obtained (several editions of) Du Fu's collected poems. Some old editions contained many missing or incorrect texts. When it came to the line "His figure is as agile as a bird…" from "Seeing off Commander Cai," an entailed character is missing. Chen and several guests then each complemented it with one character. Some said it could be "rapid," or "land," or "arise," or "descend," and no agreement could be reached. Later Chen obtained a good edition, in which the text read "His figure is as agile as a bird passing." He (thus) contended that, even for choosing a single character, those gentlemen could not reach (Du Fu's level).

[25] Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 70.

Here appear both an "old edition" and a "good edition." Due to the fact that a character was missing in the "old edition," Chen and his fellows took the opportunity to guess which character would fit well at that place. It turned out that none of their proposed characters were as good as the "good edition," so Chen concluded that none of his fellows (including Chen himself) had Du Fu's ability to choose the best character for a poetic line.

The problem is by what standards could we, or Chen Congyi, judge that the "good edition" was really better than the "old edition"? Does "good" mean there were fewer missing characters? Or does it mean poems in this edition, with their textual variants, resulted from a superior composition? Similar problem already looms there in a Tang anecdote:

> 京兆韋氏子……嘗納妓於潞，顏色明秀，尤善音律，慧心巧思，眾寡其倫。韋曾令寫杜工部詩，得本甚舛誤，妓隨筆鉛正，文理曉然，以是韋頗惑之。[26]
>
> A young man surnamed Wei from the capital region…once married a concubine in Lu. With a bright and pretty look, the concubine was especially good at music; her wise mind and bright thoughts were considered to be rarely matched by her peers. Wei used to ask her to transcribe Vice Director Du's poems. The edition they had contained many errors, and the concubine corrected them as her brush moved on. The transcribed text came to be filled with clear logic and reasoning. Wei was quite confused about it.

Although the entire anecdote of Wei and his concubine is a ghost story, this part about the concubine modifying Du Fu's poetic texts probably reflects an actual practice in Tang manuscript

[26] Ibid., 40.

culture. The edition that Wei obtained in the first place was also filled with errors, just like Chen Congyi's "old edition." After the concubine transcribed and modified it, the new edition was better in terms of unity and coherence. Such an edition was the product of the hand of the editor, i.e., the concubine, rather than that of Du Fu. However, if it was passed down to the Northern Song, people like Chen Congyi, given the text's better quality (fewer missing characters, and higher degree of coherence and unity), would have probably considered it to have been better than the original edition filled with errors and missing characters. When they marveled at the literary talents shown in these poetic texts, the credit would also be likely given to Du Fu, rather than Wei's concubine.

In Chen Congyi's case, it is not known whether "過" was the character Du Fu originally used or that it was just the result of an unknown editor's modification. While "過" could indeed be Du Fu's original character that just narrowly escaped the fate of being lost, it is clear that the editing activities did not stop even after Wang Zhu's 王洙 (997-1057) edition came out in the eleventh century.[27] In other words, the text of Du Fu's poetry was still not stable. At the same time, the acknowledgement of Du Fu's poetry as highly crafted also continued to circulate. These issues intertwined, and formed a circular logic: Du Fu's poetry was known as having the quality of being crafted, so in editing process textual variants understood as better reflecting such quality were chosen and others were filtered out; meanwhile, those textual variants that had been chosen because they were "better" than those filtered out in turn confirmed the crafted quality of Du Fu's poetry.

A typical example was Wang Anshi. A detailed account of his editing of Du Fu's poetry appears again in the *Cai Kuanfu shihua*:

[27] See discussion in Chapter 1.

今世所傳子美集，本王翰林原叔所校定。辭有兩出者，多并存於注，不敢徹去。至王荊公為《百家詩選》，始參考擇其善者，定歸一辭。如“先生有才過屈宋。”注“一云先生所談或屈宋。”則捨正而從注。“且如今年冬，未休關西卒。”注：“一云如今縱得歸，休為關西卒。”則刊注而從正本。若此之類，不可概舉。其采擇之當，亦固可見矣。惟“天闕象緯逼，雲臥衣裳冷。”“闕”字與下句語不類；“隅目青熒夾鏡懸，肉駿碨礧連錢動。”肉駿於理若不通。乃直改“闕”作“閱”、改“駿”作“騣”，以為本誤耳。[28]

The collection of Zimei that circulates today was initially edited by Academician Wang Yuanshu. When there are textual variants, usually all of them are preserved in the commentary rather than impudently removed. It was when Wang Anshi, the Duke of Jing, compiled *An Anthology of a Hundred Tang Poets* that (different versions) began to be investigated and all variants came to be unified into a single version that was regarded good. For example, for the line “The master had talent surpassing Qu Yuan and Song Yu,” the commentary (by Wang Zhu) says that “another edition goes ‘What the master talked about could be Qu Yuan and Song Yu,’” and (Wang Anshi) selected the commentary’s text rather than the primary text. For the line “As this year’s winter, soldiers west to the Pass are not yet rested,” the commentary reads that “another edition goes ‘Even if we could get back now, never be soldiers stationed west to the Pass,’” and (Wang Anshi) followed the primary text instead of the commentary. Examples of this kind are too many to be raised in their entirety. Those appropriately selected variants are surely visible. The only (exceptions) are “Heaven’s palace approaches constellations, lying amidst clouds I feel cold in my clothes,”

[28] Ibid., 171-172.

in which the character "palace" is not the same type as its counterpart in the next line, and "Its scowling eyes sparkle like mirrors hanging opposed; the fleshy steed is scabrous, and its patterns resemble juxtaposed coins," in which "fleshy steed" is probably not a reasonable reading. So he directly changed "palace" into "see," "steed" into "mane," contending that the original texts were erroneous.

Wang Zhu preserved different textual variants, but in Wang Anshi's anthology, the latter simply selected those he thought to be the best available characters.[29] Even though there was sometimes no textual variants recorded in Wang Zhu's edition, Wang Anshi would change the text according to his own understanding. When he changed "闕" to "閱" and "駿" to "騣," there was no concrete textual evidence to support him at all; all of his choices were based on his own criteria for better composition. There is, however, no evidence that Du Fu thought in the same way.

On the other hand, Wang Anshi also made some effort in emphasizing that Du Fu possessed peerless literary talent:

其詞所從出，一莫知窮極，而病未能學也。世所傳已多，計尚有遺落，思得其完而觀

[29] The surviving editions of Wang Anshi's *Baijia shixuan* do not include any of Du Fu's poems. Even in as early as the Southern Song, the edition Chen Zhensun 陳振孫 (ca. 1183-ca. 1262) saw, which should be a complete edition, did not include Du Fu. It is suspected that the "*Baijia shixuan*" mentioned here is a typo for Wang Anshi's another anthology, *Sijia shixuan* 四家詩選 [*An Anthology of Four Masters*], which selected poems of Du Fu, Han Yu, Ouyang Xiu and Li Bai. *Sijia shixuan* will be further discussed below. For *Baijia shixuan*'s editions, see Zhang Qian 張倩, "Wang Anshi *Tang baijia shixuan* banben yuanliu kao" 王安石《唐百家詩選》版本源流考, *Dongfang congkan* 東方叢刊 4 (2009): 186-197.

之。然每一篇出，自然人知，非人所能為而為之者，為其甫也，輒能辨之。[30]

As for the place from which his words came, I do not know its ends; it is vexing that I am unable to follow him. There are already many of his poems circulated in the world. In guessing that some are still missing, I wish I could obtain his complete poems and read them. Yet when each of his poems comes out, it is naturally known by people (that it is by Du Fu). They seem to be beyond what human beings could do, but are in fact done. Since their author is Du Fu, people can then recognize them.

Here, it is proposed that the attribution of a given poem's authorship to Du Fu could be based on its exceptional words. Since Wang Anshi used to compile Du Fu's poems and this paragraph is drawn from the preface to the edition he compiled, it is indeed possible that some suspicious poems were included in his edition just because they "looked like" those poems which Du Fu, rather than anyone else, was able to compose. Meanwhile, it is also reasonable to conjecture that Wang Anshi possibly changed some of Du Fu's poetic texts in the collection he edited, just like he did for the anthology he compiled.

Although Wang Anshi's edition of Du Fu's poems entitled *Du Gongbu houji* 杜工部後集 [*Sequel Collection of Vice Director Du of the Ministry of Works*] is lost, it used to be available to readers in the Song alongside Wang Zhu's edition. Those readers would perhaps be confronted with a question: When the texts of the same poem appeared different in Wang Zhu's edition and Wang Anshi's edition, which one should be accepted? From today's perspective, neither of the two eleventh-century editions was necessarily closer to Du Fu's original version, so the most prudent way to resolve such a question would be to give preference to neither of them. Instead,

[30] Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 80.

"Du Fu's poetry" should be considered to have constituted all possible textual variants; and sometimes, when a text seems to support the conclusion that Du Fu's poetry was well crafted, it could be that it was from an editor or transcriber's hand. In other words, the general image of Du Fu as a master poet is not merely a simple fact, but the result of collective efforts made by both Du Fu and later editors or transcribers.

What poetic considerations drove editors like Wang Anshi to refine the text of Du Fu's poetry? The following discussion by Huang Tingjian provides some clues as to the answer to this question:

> 吟詩不必務多，但意盡可也。古人或四句、二句，便成一首。今人作詩，徒用三十、五十韻，子細觀之，皆虛語矣。…蓋詩之言近而指遠者，乃得詩之妙。唐人吟詩絕句云，如二十箇君子，不可著一箇小人也。[31]
>
> Poetic composition needs not to be excessive. It is fine (to stop) when the expressed meaning is exhausted. When earlier poets produced four or two couplets, a poem was completed. When the people of today compose poetry, they use thirty or fifty couplets in vain, but if one carefully read them, they are all empty words… Among poems, those speaking of what is nearby to refer to what is afar get the ingenious point of poetry. The Tang Dynasty quatrain on poetic composition puts it in this way: it is like one petty man being unable to fit in around twenty gentlemen.

The "gentleman/petty man" metaphor respectively refers to well-chosen characters and characters that seemed to be unimportant. The point is that the expressional capacity in every

[31] Ibid., 128.

character's position should be fully exploited. This is true especially for genres like the *jueju* 絕句 quatrains that have a limited length, but, in general, it is a principle applicable to any poem. For example, the line discussed above in Chen Congyi's case, 身輕一鳥過, is from a ten-couplet poem by Du Fu rather than from a *jueju* quatrain.[32] To figure out the reason why "過" came to be considered better than all the characters chosen by Chen and his fellows, we could compare them one by one. The entire line uses a bird metaphor to describe the agile demeanor of a general. If the line ends with "疾" (rapid), agility is explicitly presented. All the other three characters, "落" (land), "起" (arise), "下" (descend), implicitly demonstrate agility, because these movements are all associated with a bird. However, even without explicitly stressing these bird movements, the general's agile demeanor can be well presented as long as he is compared to a bird, because in fact human beings can never be as light and fast as flying birds. That is to say, a specific way of reading "疾," "落," "起," or "下" in reference to birds is not needed. The character "過" (pass) refers simultaneously to the movements of both the general and the bird ("過" covers the meanings of all the other possible verbs proposed by Chen Congyi and his fellows), and the entire line therefore comes to be read as "the general passes like a bird."

In this case, "過" is considered to be a better reading because it expresses more than any of the other characters. On the contrary, if changing a character did not have a good effect, then it would be disputed. Song Minqiu 宋敏求 (1019-1079) once changed Du Fu's line "White gulls are concealed by surging waves" (白鷗沒浩蕩) to "White gulls (with) waves surging" (白鷗波浩蕩) – that is to say, he changed the character "沒" to "波" due to his opinion that gulls, unable to dive, could not be concealed by waves. Su Shi, disagreeing with him, explained that waves in

[32] See Xiao Difei, *Du Fu quanji jiaozhu*, Vol. 2, 622.

front of the observer could be too high to allow him to clearly see gulls from afar. That is to say, the character "沒" could present a more vivid scene than using "波," therefore Su Shi did not accept the change of Du Fu's text that Song Minqiu proposed.[33] Noticeably, Su Shi did not emphasize that Song Minqiu was not entitled to change a text believed to be from Du Fu's hand; instead, his focus was on which way would make the line better. Song's version, as Su Shi tells us, gives the poem "an air of dullness" (神氣索然). To use Huang Tingjian's metaphor, "沒" is a "gentleman" character, but "波" is a "petty man."

In spite of their different opinions, both Su Shi and Song Minqiu wanted to find a better character for Du Fu's poetic line, and in this, their intention resembled that of Wang Anshi. Of course, "沒" and "波" look similar, much as when Wang Anshi was not satisfied with "天闕," and changed it to "天閱" rather than to some characters with an obviously different form. Textual changes seem to have been made within the methodological limitation of editing rules. Such limitations were a double-bladed sword. On one hand, one could not change texts in an unrestrained manner. On the other hand, such changes continued to be made until the concept of "the standard version of Du Fu's poetry" took form. This concept did not exist until the late eleventh century. This was more than three centuries after Du Fu's death.

Besides well-chosen characters, the thesis concerning allusion, i.e., each character appearing in Du Fu's poems had its origin in earlier texts, was also related to the consideration of the expression of poetic thoughts. Immediately following the above quoted "gentleman/petty man" metaphor, Huang Tingjian continues:

[33] See Su Shi's discussion in "Shu zhuji gaizi" 書諸集改字, in Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 100-101.

作詩句要須詳略用事精切，更無虛字也。如老杜詩字字有出處，熟讀三五十遍，尋其用意處，則所得多矣。[34]

When composing poetic lines, one should list details and omissions in a well-arranged manner, and use allusions that are precise and appropriate, so that there are no empty characters. For example, in Du Fu's poems, each character has its origin. If one reads them thirty or fifty times and thereby searches them for points on which Du had set his mind, then he would gain much.

Why was it particularly important to Song readers that each character have an origin? Extant scholarship usually attributes the reason to the fact that Song poets were very learned and inclined to demonstrate their knowledge in poetic composition.[35] In general, such an explanation is not wrong, but in Huang Tingjian's discussion here we can investigate the issue from the perspective of the internal logics of Huang's poetics. The phrase "empty character" refers to characters that could not well serve the entire line or poem; and meant that using such characters was just a waste. The overall concern of Huang Tingjian was still to fully exert the possible expressional power in the position of each character. When a word or phrase alluded to an earlier text, and if the reader recognized the allusion, what he saw through the signifier would be not only the literally signified meaning but also the alluded meaning hidden behind the text. In this way, the connotation of the given word or phrase became amplified.

Yet "each character having its origin" was not the highest level that one could in theory achieve. The most valued – and also the most difficult – level was to invent one's own words. In

[34] Ibid., 128.

[35] See, for example, Zhou Yukai 周裕鍇, *Song dai shixue tonglun* 宋代詩學通論 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2007), 133-161.

a letter discussing a friend's writings, Huang says:

> 青瑣祭文，語意甚工，但用字時有未安處。自作語最難，老杜作詩，退之作文，無一字無來處，蓋後人讀書少，故謂韓杜自作此語耳。古之能為文章者，真能陶冶萬物，雖取古人之陳言入於翰墨，如靈丹一粒，點鐵成金也。[36]
>
> "Ornamental Windows," the funeral oration you composed, has exquisitely organized language and thought, but sometimes the use of characters is not very proper. Inventing words by oneself is the most difficult achievement. In Du Fu's poetic composition and Han Yu's prose composition, each character has its origin. Later people do not read enough, so they say Han and Du invented the diction themselves. Those in the ancient times who could compose literature were indeed able to mold anything in the world (into their composition). Even if one regards earlier people's old diction as their own composition, such an act is like an elixir turning iron into gold with a touch.

To invent one's own words was too difficult for ordinary writers to achieve; what Du Fu and Han Yu did, when they alluded to earlier texts, was more practicable, and thus appreciated. Taking a pragmatic stance, Huang here focuses his attention more on how one could actually build a good composition, and the method he proposes is to organize extant diction (those already used by earlier writers in earlier texts) into one's own writings. Here, the point of using words that alluded to earlier texts was not because the single character possessed its own expressive power; instead, the character came to be placed in a network of relations to other references in the line or the poem. In this way, allusive characters came to strengthen the expressional power of the entire

[36] Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 120-121.

poem.

In both of the above discussions, the central concern is the expressed "thought" 意, rather than character usage per se. The way one used a character mattered only because badly used characters would harm the expression of poetic thought, and the key issue of studying Du Fu's skillful usage of characters was also to seek the thought expressed via these characters.

Moreover, apart from characters alluding to earlier texts, "poetic thought" itself could also be borrowed from earlier texts, while the words that expressed such thought could in turn be original:

> 山谷云：詩意無窮，而人之才有限，以有限之才，追無窮之意，雖淵明、少陵，不得工也。然不易其意，而造其語，謂之換骨法；窺入其意而形容之，謂之奪胎法。[37]
>
> Shangu said: poetic thouhgts are infinite, but the talent of human beings is limited. In pursuit of infinite thoughts with limited talent, even Yuanming and Shaoling could not achieve exquisite composition. On the other hand, (one could) create wording without changing the thought, and this is called the method of "changing the bone"; (one could) probe into the thought and describe it, and this is called the method of snatching the womb.

This paragraph is from the poet-monk Huihong's 惠洪 (1071-1128) poetry remarks, *Lengzhai yehua* 冷齋夜話 [*Night Talks in Cold Studio*]. Although it is disputed whether Huihong or Huang Tingjian firstly raised the thesis of "snatch the womb and change the bone," the fact that Huihong quoted Huang and other poets in his discussion shows that the issue was of that time's

[37] Ibid., 186.

common interests.[38] Again, even Tao Qian and Du Fu could not achieve the most ideal level – exhausting completely on oneself poetic thoughts that are worth writing. The more practical way is to repeat the poetic thought that has been written about by earlier poets, but with one's own words.[39]

Three points could be made about Huang Tingjian and his peers' opinions on the expression of poetic thought. First, it is still believed that the highest level was to invent original wording so to best express original poetic thought, but considering its difficulty, a more practical way is proposed: one could refer to earlier poetic texts. Second, both the wording and the expressed poetic thought could be borrowed from earlier texts; the originality lies in the reprocessing of the wording or the poetic thought. Third, the main purpose of using wording that alluded to earlier texts is to fully extend each character's potential ability in the expression of poetic thought.

These points indicate that, in the Northern Song, a new notion about poetry took form. While it is doubtless that poetry continued to respond to external inspirations, to some extent it was also considered to be a textual artifact, which was made of earlier texts. A poem, or part of it, could have little to do with what the author actually saw, felt, or thought; instead, it could be a creation out of the "raw material" stored in earlier texts. The poet worked on textual materials to

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[38] See the dispute in Zhou Yukai 周裕鍇, "Huihong yu huangu duaotai fa – yizhuang wenxueshi gong'an de chongpan" 惠洪與換骨奪胎法——一樁文學批評史公案的重判, and Mo Lifeng 莫礪鋒, "Zailun 'duotai huangu' shuo de shouchuangzhe – yu Zhou Yukai xiong shangque" 再論"奪胎換骨"說的首創者——與周裕鍇兄商榷, *Wenxue yichan* 文學遺產, 6 (2003): 81-98 and 99-109 respectively.

[39] According to the specific examples Huihong raises for the "snatch the womb" method and the "change the bone" method, these two methods are similar but not exactly the same. For detailed analysis of connotations of these two methods, see Mo Lifeng 莫礪鋒, "Huang Tingjian 'duotai huangu' bian" 黃庭堅"奪胎換骨"辨, *Zhongguo shehui kexue* 中國社會科學 5 (1983): 187-198; Zhou Yukai 周裕鍇, "'Duotai huangu' xinshi" "奪胎換骨"新釋, *Wenshi zhishi* 文史知識 9 (2000): 93-95; Wu Xiaoman 吳曉蔓, "Cong Ren Yuan *Shangu shi jizhu* kan 'duotai huangu' de neihan" 從任淵《山谷詩集注》看"奪胎換骨"的內涵, *Guangxi shehui kexue* 廣西社會科學, 5 (2011): 124-127.

produce textual products, and it was acceptable that the entire process involved nothing drawn from outside texts.

It is under the influence of such poetic consideration that Du Fu's poetry was commentated in late Northern Song. While some commentaries still focused on explaining the meaning of particular words and phrases so that the literal meaning of Du Fu's poetry could be obtained, some commentaries paid more attention to relating Du Fu's poetic text to earlier texts, and by establishing such relationships the special meaning of Du Fu's poems was interpreted. As recorded in *Tiaoxi yuiyn conghua* 苕溪漁隱叢話 [*Clumped Remarks of the Fisherman-Recluse at the Reed Creek*], Huang Tingjian commented on many allusions in Du Fu's poetry with such a concern:

> 南朝何季山居若邪溪、雲門寺，與二兄求、點並棲遁，世號三高，敕給白衣尚書祿，不受。故《山水障圖》末云："若邪溪，雲門寺，吾獨胡為在泥滓，青鞋布襪從茲使。"蓋有隱遯之興也。[40]
>
> In the Southern Dynasties, He Ji, living in the mountains of Ruoye Creek and Yunmen Temple, joined his two brothers Qiu and Dian in reclusion. They were called the "Three Noble Recluses." It was ordained that they were offered emoluments for commoner-ministers, but they did not accept. Therefore at the end of "Painting of the Screen of Mountains and Rivers" it says "The Ruoye Creek, the Yunmen Temple! Why am I alone in the mud? Wearing straw sandals and cloth socks, I shall start from here." It was likely that Du Fu intended to enter reclusion.

[40] Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 130.

Since Ruoye Creek and Yunmen Temple are both place names, the normal way to comment upon this poem would be to quote geographical materials, such as gazetteers, so as to provide basic information on these places. Huang, however, paraphrases the story of He Yin 何胤 (446-531) in *Nan shi* 南史 [*History of the Southern Dynasties*], via which these two place names are shown as an allusion to a reclusion tradition, and Du Fu is said to have intentionally used the allusion to express his "reclusive interest."

Moreover, certain wordings could possibly be related to a variety of earlier texts, and when particular interpretation came to be indicated via the establishment of intertextual relations, different relating ways would lead to different understandings. Therefore, the issue of selecting a text for an allusion became important. As the *Tiaoxi yuyin conghua* notes, sometimes Huang Tingjian explicitly mentions that he did not agree with the commentary widely circulated at that time:

> 《自京赴奉先縣詠懷》云："朱門酒食臭，路有凍死骨。"《孫子新書》云："楚莊攻宋，廚有臭肉，尊有俎肉，而三軍有饑色也。"注引《孟子》，殊非是。[41]
>
> "Five Hundred Words: My Thoughts on from the Capital to Fengxian" says: "The smell of wine and food comes out from red-gate mansions, and in the street are the bones of those who died from bitter cold." *The New Book of Master Sun* says: "When King Zhuang of the Chu attacked the Song state, there was smelly meat in his kitchen and sacrificial meat in his vessel, while soldiers in his army had hungry looks." The commentary quoting *Mencius* is quite incorrect.

[41] Ibid.

The *Mengzi* text quoted by another commentary probably refers to the instance in which Mengzi told King Hui of the Liang 梁惠王: "While you have fatty meat in the kitchen and fleshy horses in the stable, commoners have hungry looks and the wilds are filled with corpses dead of starvation – this is leading beasts to eat human beings" (庖有肥肉，廄有肥馬，民有飢色，野有餓莩，此率獸而食人也).[42] Huang Tingjian, however, proposes that Du Fu actually alluded to the case of King Zhuang of the Chu 楚莊王. It is not clear as to why Huang preferred this particular interpretation. The major difference is that the *Mengzi* text only concerned itself with general situations, while the case of King Zhuang was set against the background of war. In this sense, understanding Du Fu's line as an allusion to King Zhuang is not unreasonable. Most notably, Huang explicitly rejects the *Mengzi* text. Such an exclusive attitude denies the possibility of multiple acceptable understandings, and the interpretation of the poetic text subsequently becomes unified.

Commentators and critics in the Song, such as Huang Tingjian, or those writing poetic remarks, functioned to bridge the primary text and the reader by providing particular understanding of the text. Their efforts formed a controlling power other than that of the original text: readers were told that, at a certain point in the text, a particular issue should be understood in a particular way. As long as the reader accepted the comment, he yielded at least part of the initiative in determining the textual meaning to the commentator or critic. The tricky thing was that commentators or critics never explicitly claimed their commanding power over the understanding process. They always sounded like they were just clarifying what the author has originally meant. When commentaries to Du Fu's poems appeared in the eleventh century,

[42] Ruan Yuan 阮元, ed., *Shisan jing zhushu* 十三經註疏 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), Vol. 2, 2667b.

special characters in poems were said to have been particularly chosen by Du Fu himself, and intertextual relations came to be established as Du Fu's own allusions to earlier texts. In short, the commanding power actually possessed by Northern Song commentators and critics appeared to be at Du Fu's hand, and, in this way, Du Fu came to be constructed as a poet who was able to very skillfully choose characters for his poems and arrange meaningful allusions to earlier texts.

As analyzed above, both the well-chosen character and meaningful allusion were viewed as valuable features, because they strengthened the expressional power of the poem and increased the poem's capacity. In theory, there are two ways to achieve this effect. One is to write longer poems, such as that which Du Fu does in his extended verse.[43] In such poems, more ink can be spent on the topic that the poem deals with. The other is to use each character as efficiently as possible. With the rise of regulated verse (*lüshi* 律詩) in the Tang and Song as a genre with limited length, the value of the second way was more and more consciously realized.[44] This is not to say that only writers of regulated verse paid attention to the issue of character usage. Rather, the rise of regulated verse stimulated considerable changes in the generally-concerned issues of Northern Song poetics, and poetry's expressive power was just one of them. Aside from the issue of character usage, the construction of Du Fu as a master poet of crafted composition came to be unfolded in regard to a variety of aspects pertaining to rules and standards for poetic composition.

Rules and Standards

From today's perspective, regulated verse is a genre that has clear rules concerning parallel

[43] This issue is discussed in Chapter 3.

[44] For the development of regulated verse in Tang and Song, see Chen Jing 陳靜, *Tang Song lüshi liubian yanjiu* 唐宋律詩流變研究 (Ji'nan: Qi Lu shushe, 2009).

and prosody.[45] These rules were not invented all of a sudden by some wise poets. Instead, they took form to a large extent in a natural way vis-à-vis the notion that poetry should exist as a crafted art resulting from careful creation. In the Northern Song, such notion continued to develop, and relevant rules for composing regulated verse came to be further specified. However, stable, if not rigid, rules had not been fully developed by that time. The eleventh century mainly saw discussions on how general rules should be applied, and it was through this process that Du Fu's image as a master of such rules was constructed. The method of construction, however, often followed a tricky logic: when Du Fu's composition was found not in conformity with established rules, Du Fu was not considered to be a rule breaker. Instead, new rules were summarized as a standard, and Du Fu became a model of the new standard.

The situation was exemplified by Huihong's discussion of Du Fu's "Yibaiwu ri ye duiyue" 一百五日夜對月 [Viewing the Moon in the One Hundred and Fifth Night after the Winter Solstice], a poem as follows:

無家對寒食	Without any family to face during the Cold Food Festival,
有淚如金波	I have tears like golden waves.
斫卻月中桂	Chop off the fragrant olive in the moon,
清光應更多	There should then be more of the clear light.
仳離放紅蕊	In separation red flowers blossom,
想像嚬青蛾	In my imagination, the young lady frowns.
牛女漫愁思	The Cowherd and the Weaver-girl suffer from endless sorrow,

[45] For detailed introduction to compositional rules for regulated poetry, see Wang Li 王力, *Hanyu shilüxue* 漢語詩律學 (Shanghai: Shiji chuban jituan, 2005), 18-302.

秋期猶渡河[46]　　But on the meeting day in the autumn they can still cross the River.

Huihong comments on this poem thus:

此杜子美詩也，其法頷聯雖不拘對偶，疑非聲律，然破題引韻已的對矣，謂之偷春格，言如梅花偷春色而先開也。[47]

This is Du Zimei's poem. As for its (adherence to) poetic rules, although its second couplet is not constrained by the regulation of parallel and is suspected to be at odd with prosodic rules, its first couplet already contains a proper parallel. I call it the "standard of predicting spring," meaning it is similar to plum flowers that predict springtime colors and blossom early.

One of the basic rules of regulated verse that had been established by the Song was that the second and third couplets should be in parallel. However, as Huihong notices, the first couplet of this poem by Du Fu is in parallel while the second is not. This is a breaking of the established rules, but Huihong tries to defend it. His point seems to be that as long as there are excellent parallels, it does not matter where the poetic feature occurs. The so-called "standard of predicting spring" (*touchun ge* 偷春格) is just a term invented to describe what Du Fu does in this poem, but once it is named as a *ge* 格 (standard), it obtains some authority and is that which was supposed to be followed by others.

For Du Fu's two other poems, "Ti Sheng zhong yuanbi" 題省中院壁 [Scribing on the Wall

[46] Xiao Difei, *Du Fu quanji jiaozhu*, Vol. 2, 789-93.
[47] Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 190.

of the Department] and "Buju" 卜居 [Residing in Reclusion] as well as Yan Wu's 嚴武 (726-765) "Baling da Du er jianyi" 巴嶺答杜二見憶 [Responding at Ba Ridge to the Remembrance of Du the Second], Huihong invents the so-called "framing standard encompassing Su and Li" (*gu han Su Li ti* 骨含蘇李體):

> 前二詩杜子美作，後一詩嚴武作，皆于引韻更失粘，既失粘則不拘聲律，然其對偶特精到，謂之骨含蘇李體。[48]
>
> The first two poems are by Du Zimei; the last one is by Yan Wu. In each of them the first line rhymes and the rhythmic transition between different couplets is lost. The loss means the poem is not regulated by prosodic rules, yet its parallels are indeed exquisite. I call it the "framing standard encompassing Su and Li."

Again, Huihong clearly realizes that Du Fu's poems did not follow established rules of regulated verse, but he seemed to indicate that poems containing good parallels that also did failing to comply with prosodic rules for regulated verse could at most be considered semi-regulated. The reference to "Su and Li," i.e., Su Wu 蘇武 and Li Ling 李陵, who are usually taken as representatives of achievements in ancient-styled verse, suggests that these are regulated poems with characteristics of ancient-styled verse. The particularly coined term distinguishes Du Fu from other poets who violated rules for composing regulated verse: just like *ge* 格, *ti* 體 (pattern) also signified something recognized as a standard that was supposed to be followed. That is to say, Du Fu was not responsible for breaking established rules; rather, as Huihong claims it, he provided new rules.

[48] Ibid., 191.

In both cases here, the desire to canonize Du Fu pressured Huihong to justify his practice of breaking established prosodic rules. To be exact, such rules were still taking form in the eighth century. While Hui Hong in the eleventh century observed that Du Fu's poems did not quite follow these rules, the actual situation in Du Fu's time was just that poets did not have a very clear idea about such rules. Prosodic rules were usually not designed and enforced by a certain person with authority; rather, preference or inclination in arranging poetry's rhythm – as displayed in meter, rhyme, tone of characters, etc. – naturally develop in compositional practice, and then as more and more poets gradually acknowledged them, they became retrospectively summarized and established to guide later poets' composition.[49] Both the canonization of a certain poet and the summarization of prosodic rules were efforts to establish guidance, but the problem Huihong faced in the late eleventh century was that they turned out to be in conflict. The way to reconcile them was to modify the rules by redefining part of them – specifically, by defining new standards that were in conformity with the composition of Du Fu, the canonized poet.

Such redefinition was not always universally accepted. There were often enough divergent comments on Du Fu's poems, and sometimes the same poem would be criticized by one person but praised by another, which resulted in different evaluation of Du Fu. For example, for his poetic couplet, "Red rice remains after the parrot's pecking, on the branch of the green parasol tree, the phoenix perches into senility" (紅稻啄殘鸚鵡粒，碧梧棲老鳳凰枝), Huihong invented another term, "intricate syntax" (*cuozong jufa* 錯綜句法), to argue that Du Fu intentionally

[49] For how prosodic rules developed as seen in Tang Dynasty poetry standards, see Cai Yu 蔡瑜, *Tang shi xue tansuo* 唐詩學探索 (Taipei: Liren shuju, 1998), 1-104; for more examples of poems reflecting the developing process, see Jiang Shaoyu 蔣紹愚, *Tang shi yuyan yanjiu* 唐詩語言研究 (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1990), 1-84.

reversed word orders in these two lines for better expressional power, stating that "if the described thing is not intricate, then the composition cannot be achieved" (事不錯綜，則不成文章).[50] However, Cai Juhou 蔡居厚 (d. 1125) had a quite different perspective:

> 詩語大忌用工太過。蓋鍊句勝則意必不足；語工而意不足，則格力必弱，此自然之理也。"紅稻啄餘鸚鵡粒，碧梧棲老鳳凰枝"可謂精切，而在其集中，本非佳處，不若"暫止飛鳥將數子，頻來語燕定新巢"為天然自在。
>
> One of the great taboos for poetic language is to over-polish it. If a line is excessively refined, then its (expression of) thoughts will definitely be insufficient. Exquisitely polished language with insufficiently expressed thoughts will definitely result in weak quality and strength; this is a principle in the course of natural development. "Red rice remains after the parrot's pecking, on the branch of the green parasol tree the phoenix perches into senility" can be said well refined and precise, but, in Du Fu's collection, it is not an example demonstrating the excellence of his poetry. It is not as natural and at ease as "temporarily stopping here, the flying bird brings several of its chicks; repeatedly coming, singing swallows set their new nestle."

Arguing that over-refined couplet might negatively affect the expression of poetic thought, Cai pointed out the "red rice" couplet was not a very good one. Ironically, while Huihong and Cai Juhou expressed almost opposite opinions on the specific couplet, they share the same concern for the expression of poetic thought. Huihong's emphasis on intricacy aims to distinguish literary

[50] Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 192. The couplet in question is from "Autumn Meditation (VIII)" 秋興八首（其八）; see in Xiao Difei, *Du Fu quanji jiaozhu*, Vol. 7, 3830. The received version of the first line of the couplet is 香稻啄馀鸚鵡粒 (Fragrant rice remains after the parrot's pecking).

language from ordinary expression in daily language. Just like his highlight of parallel, the unique characteristics of poetic language, as suggested by Huihong, enable poetry to present that which daily language could hardly express.[51] Cai Juhou's negative evaluation, on the other hand, was also driven by his anxiety to maintain poetry's expressional power. His consideration is that the more unusual the poetic language was, the harder it became for the reader to understand it. Therefore, a well-refined but easily understandable "natural" language was better for the purpose of expressing poetic thoughts. Both Huihong and Cai Juhou present consistent logic in this respect. While comments on a particular poem or poetic line can hardly be completely unified, the general concern for the expression of poetic thoughts shared by Huihong and Cai Juhou reflects the general pressure on Northern Song poets to seek out better expressive language as it appeared in poetic composition.

Since the Southern Song, more and more critics came to share Huihong's opinion on the "red rice" couplet, and the fact that there were once contrary opinions like those of Cai Juhou reminds us that the construction of Du Fu as a master poet was a dynamic process of competition and selection, as well as a process in which conflicting ideas once coexisted before some of them were suppressed (if not filtered out and gradually forgotten) by others that came to be more widely accepted. As Cai Juhou remembered it, the general reverence for Du Fu and Li Bai in the eleventh and early twelfth century was quite different from attitudes in the late Tang and Five dynasties:

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[51] The modern theory of Defamiliarization can further explain this aesthetic issue. As Viktor Shklovsky puts it in "Art as Technique": "The purpose of art is to impart the sensation of things as they are perceived and not as they are known. The technique of art is to make objects 'unfamiliar,' to make forms difficult to increase the difficulty and length of perception because the process of perception is an aesthetic end in itself and must be prolonged." See *Literary Theory: An Anthology*, ed. Julie Rivkin and Michael Ryan (Malden: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 1998), 16.

唐末五代，俗流以詩自名者，多好妄立格法，取前人詩句為例，議論鋒出，甚有師子跳擲、毒龍顧尾等勢，覽之每使人拊掌不已。大抵皆宗賈島輩，謂之賈島格，而於李杜特不少假借……杜子美：“冉冉谷中寺，娟娟林外峰。欄干更上處，結締坐來重。”目為病格，以為言語突兀，聲勢蹇澀。[52]

At the end of the Tang and during the Five-dynasties, many of those vulgar-tasted people who boasted about knowing poetry were fond of ridiculously setting up standards. They took lines from earlier poets as examples, mouthed off discussions one after another, and there were even patterns of "leaping lion" or "poisonous dragon looking back to its tail." Whenever one saw them, people could not help but clap their hands. In general, they all followed Jia Dao and his peers, and referred to such standards as the "standard of Jia Dao." Meanwhile, they did not refer to Li Bai or Du Fu even a little bit… Du Fu's poem that reads "Temple in the misty valley, peak outside the graceful grove; Higher and higher the railings go, and layer after layer the structure is always there" was considered to be a problematic standard. In their opinion, its language was abrupt, and its prosodic flow came to be blocked.

The method of "regarding earlier poets' lines as examples and setting up standards" was exactly what Huihong did when he commented on Du Fu. The difference was only in that the late Tang and Five-Dynasties people regarded Jia Dao as models while Huihong turned to Du Fu. In other words, although here Cai seems to criticize the genre of *shige* 詩格 (poetry standard) in

[52] Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 171.

literary criticism, what really mattered was which model to construct and follow.[53]

A perhaps more typical case of the issues over "standards" in the Song reception of Du Fu was the discussion on the generic characteristics of poetry and prose. According to Chen Shidao, Huang Tingjian noticed that poetry and prose had invaded each other's spheres during the Tang:

> 杜之詩法，韓之文法也。詩文各有體。韓以文為詩，杜以詩為文，故不工耳。[54]
>
> Du Fu's compositional principles for poetry are like Han Yu's for prose. Both poetry and prose have their own generic features. Han Yu composed poetry in the way of composing prose, and Du Fu composed prose in the way of composing poetry, so their compositions were not exquisite.

The so-called "composing poetry in the way of composing prose" mainly meant that the traditional syntax of a typical poetic line, i.e., its rhythm of "dat-dat/dat-dat-dat" for pentasyllabic line or "dat-dat/dat-dat/dat-dat-dat" for heptasyllabic line, came to be disrupted. It also meant grammatical elements from prose, such as the use of particles, appeared in poetry. As many modern scholars have pointed out, the phenomenon can already be observed in Du Fu's poetry.[55] But Chen Shidao and his peers only mentioned Han Yu as the representative of

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[53] For an outline of the development of poetry standard, see Zhang Bowei 張伯偉, "Shige lun" 詩格論, in *Quan Tang Wu dai shige huikao* 全唐五代詩格匯考 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 2002), 1-53. For Song poets' selection of poetic models in the literary and intellectual context, see Li Gui 李貴, *Zhong Tang zhi Bei Song de dianfan xuanze yu shige yin'ge* 中唐至北宋的典範選擇與詩歌因革 (Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 2012), and Cheng Wei 成瑋, *Zhidu, sixiang yu wenxue de hudong: Bei Song qianqi shitan yanjiu* 制度，思想與文學的互動——北宋前期詩壇研究 (Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 2013).

[54] Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 147.

[55] See Xu Zong 許總, "Du Fu yiwen weishi lun" 杜甫以文為詩論, in *Du shi xue fawei* 杜詩學發微 (Nanjing: Nanjing chubanshe, 1989), 270-288, and his "Yiwen weishi: Tang Song shige

"composing poetry in the way of composing prose;" Du Fu, instead, was regarded as the representative of "composing prose in the way of composing poetry."[56] They were inclined to select a writer to represent a trend in the development of literary genres instead of analyzing specific texts in the genres in question. Du Fu and Han Yu were both assigned a genre, namely poetry and prose, to represent. Although one could be said to have invaded the other's sphere, their authority within the assigned genre was not questioned. In their discussion of poetics, the Northern Song poets seemed to have turned a blind eye to Du Fu's breaking of the traditional rules in regard to poetic syntax.

Li Fu 李復 (1052-c.a. 1128), another poet living in the late eleventh century, discussed the issue from a different perspective:

> 子美長於詩，雜文似其詩；退之好為文，詩似其文。退之詩非詩人之詩，乃文人之詩也。詩豈一端而已，故子美波瀾浩蕩，處處可到，詞氣高古，渾然不見斤鑿，此不待言而眾所知也。[57]
>
> Zimei was good at poetry, and his miscellaneous prose is like his poetry; Tuizhi liked to compose prose, and his poetry is like his prose. Tuizhi's poetry is not the poetry of poet, but the poetry of a prose writer. Does poetry really only have unified standards? Zimei's poetry is therefore like turbulent waves that can go anywhere; the impetus of its wording is lofty and antique, integrated and showing no traces of crafting. This is tacitly known by all.

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de chuangbian yu zhenghe" 以文為詩：唐宋詩格的創變與整合, *Wenxue pinglun* 文學評論, 2 (2014): 187-197. Also see the discussion of "Baidi cheng zuigao lou" 白帝城最高樓 [The Highest Pavilion in the White Emperor Fortress] in Chapter 1.

[56] For Du Fu's prose composition and its relations to poetic composition, see Xiong Lihui 熊禮匯, "Du Fu sanwen chuangzuo qingxiang lun – jianlun Du Fu yishi weiwen shuo" 杜甫散文創作傾向論——兼論杜甫以詩為文說, *Du Fu yanjiu xuekan* 杜甫研究學刊, 2 (2002): 13-25.

[57] Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 160.

Although Li Fu also realizes that Du Fu and Han Yu go beyond the conventional generic features of poetry and prose, he - unlike Huang Tingjian - tries to justify the phenomena, and his strategy is therefore to modify the conventionally accepted generic standard for poetry and prose. Emphasizing poetry should not be confined by a rigid and unitary standard (一端), he argues thusly that Han Yu's poetry was just a special type of the genre, namely "poetry by the prose writer." Du Fu comes to be understood, conversely, as a poet exemplifying the redefined genre. The point that Du Fu's poetic composition had left no traces of polish at all was intended to establish him as a flawless poetic model: it is known by all (which simply means it is believed by all) that Du Fu never needed to struggle with rules for poetic composition, as what he wrote was indeed perfect poetry. In regard to the issue of poetic composition, it was the reader's understanding of poetry's generic characteristics that should be adjusted accordingly.

Similar consideration continued in Southern Song, as Chen Shan's 陳善 (fl. 1147) remarks exemplify it:

> 韓以文為詩，杜以詩為文，世傳以為戲，然文中要自有詩，詩中要自有文，亦相生法也。文中有詩，則句語精確；詩中有文，則詞調流暢。謝玄暉曰：好詩圓美流轉如彈丸，此所謂詩中有文也……觀子美到夔州以後詩，簡易純熟，無斧鑿痕，信是如彈丸矣。[58]
>
> Han Yu composed poetry in the way of composing prose and Du Fu composed prose in the way of composing poetry: this is circulated in the world as a casual remark. Yet there should be poetry in prose and there should be prose in poetry: this is also the way of mutual

[58] Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 332.

> stimulation. When poetry is encompassed in prose, then the sentence and diction are precise; when prose is encompassed in poetry, then the tunes are fluent. Xie Xuanhui said: "Good poetry is perfectly coordinated in flowing harmony like rolling beads." This is the so-called "prose in poetry"… Reading those of Zimei's poems that were composed after he arrived in Kuizhou, I see they are at ease with fluency, and reflect no traces of crafting. They are indeed like rolling beads.

The so-called "prose in poetry" (*shi zhong you wen* 詩中有文) is actually another way to describe "composing poetry in the way of composing prose." In other words, Chen Shan, to some degree like modern scholars, already realized that Du Fu not only composed prose in the way of composing poetry, but also composed poetry in the way of composing prose. His strategy was similar to Li Fu: instead of emphasizing that Du Fu and Han Yu were both masters of their own representative genre, Chen came to be more inclined to propose the destruction of the boundary between the two genres. In this way, certain characteristics of poetry as a genre came to be redefined to fit Du Fu's image as a master poet. He is still the master whose poems show no traces of amending or polishing.

Chen's definition of "prose in poetry" in regard to the fluency and gracefulness in poetry is opposite to the usually accepted understanding of "composing poetry in the way of composing prose," i.e., the disruption of poetic genre's conventional rhythm. As a result, even though it was a grand proposal that poetry and prose should draw on each other's generic advantages, later poets or critics did not often echo such a statement. Yet the fact that poetry and prose's mutual influence on each other's generic features became an issue between the late eleventh century and the early twelfth century suggests that another wave of theoretical and retrospective

consideration of extant genres emerged.

While the origin of *shi* 詩 poetry is often traced back to the earliest period of Chinese literature, the genre continued to transform through the Tang and Song periods. Intentional efforts to regulate *shi* poetry's prosody had emerged by the fifth century, and by the eighth century (i.e., Du Fu's time) poets already had reached a general consensus on the arrangement of rhythmic patterns in a poetic line or couplet. Yet many issues, such as proper length of a poem and rules to arrange parallels, were still open to change.[59] Those which some scholars have observed today as mutual influences between regulated verse and ancient-styled verse or between *shi* poetry and song lyrics were actually traces of exploration for new possibilities of poetry's development as a genre. In other words, genres are retrospectively defined; a writer who composed a work that did not meet the recognized standards of the genre that came later, actually did not have such standards in his mind, because they had not yet taken form.

From this perspective, Du Fu and Han Yu probably did not intentionally compose poetry in the way of composing prose. Rather, their innovative composition was part of the Tang poetic community's attempt to bring variation into the established pattern which was, in some sense, too conventional to stimulate aesthetic pleasure. Some efforts toward this direction contributed to new developments in Chinese literature, such as the birth of a new genre known as song lyrics.[60]

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[59] See Guo Yang 郭揚, *Tang shi xue yinlun* 唐詩學引論 (Nanning: Guangxi renmin chubanshe, 1989), 82-144, 274-359, and 392-426; Jiang Shaoyu, *Tang shi yuyan yanjiu* , 161-236.

[60] Many line patterns in Song Dynasty song lyrics are exactly the same as or highly similar to those in Tang poetry; see the examples in Wang Weiyong 王偉勇, *Song ci yu Tang shi zhi duiying yanjiu* 宋詞與唐詩之對應研究 (Taipei: Wen shi zhe chubanshe, 2004); For a more comprehensive grasp of *shi* poetry's influence to song lyrics, see Liu Jingchen 劉京臣, *Sheng Tang Zhong Tang shi dui Song ci yingxiang yanjiu* 盛唐中唐詩對宋詞影響研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2014). Needless to say, issues other than poetry's influence, especially the development of music, also contributed to the birth of song lyrics; see discussion

Some, however, encountered hindrance, as indicated by the thesis of "composing poetry in the way of composing prose." When Huang Tingjian claimed Han Yu did it as such, he stuck to a conventional understanding of poetry's generic features. On the contrary, Li Fu and Chen Shan showed that they intended to enhance reconsideration of poetry's generic characteristics, but they had not been able to shed the framework of the thesis of "composing poetry in the way of composing prose." Therefore, the main theoretical issue in later literary criticism has been the relationship between poetry and prose as two established genres, rather than how to separately redefine each of these genres.[61]

Related to the problem of genre is the issue of the so-called "violation styles" (*aoti* 拗體) of regulated verse. As a rule, characters of level tone (*pingsheng* 平聲) and oblique tone (*zesheng* 仄聲) should be arranged at intervals in a line of regulated verse. Since the late eleventh century, however, poets began to realize that consciously breaking the rule in a skillful way could result in special effect.[62] As Hu Zi 胡仔 (1110-1170) recorded it, both Zhang Lei 張

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in Wu Xionghe 吳熊和, *Tang Song ci tonglun* 唐宋詞通論 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2003), 1-32; also see Kang-i Sun Chang, The Evolution of Chinese Tz'u Poetry: From Late T'ang to Northern Sung (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980).

[61] Another thesis of similar thought is the so-called "composing song lyrics in the way of composing poetry" 以詩為詞. See the discussion in Peng Yuping 彭玉平, "Tang Song yujing zhong de 'yi shi wei ci'" 唐宋語境中的"以詩為詞", *Fudan xuebao (Shehui kexue ban)* 復旦學報（社會科學版）, 5 (2009): 61-69; Zhige Yibing 諸葛憶兵, "'Yi shi wei ci' bian" "以詩為詞"辨, *Beijing daxue xuebao (Zhexue shehui kexue ban)* 北京大學學報（哲學社會科學版） 48, 1 (Jan., 2011): 71-79.

[62] Before the eleventh century, there were definitely poems that did not meet the standard prosodic requirements of regulated verse, but there is no evidence that people intentionally violated the requirements to achieve special expressional effects. The concept of "violation style" appeared no earlier than the eleventh century, and the concept of "compensational violation" (known as 救, i.e., using characters at odd with standard prosodic requirements with the aim to balance the vexing effect caused by another character in violation style) came out even later. See more detailed discussion in Huo Songlin 霍松林, "Jianlun jintishi gelüde zheng yu bian" 簡論近體詩格律的正與變, *Wenxue yichan* 文學遺產, 1 (2003): 104-117.

耒 (1054-1114) and Huihong believed that Huang Tingjian was the inventor of this technique.[63] Huihong summarizes Huang Tingjian's method in this way: "The method is to use oblique-tone characters in places where there should be level-tone characters, so that the poem's impetus is obtrusive and unusual" (其法於當下平字處，以仄字易之，欲其氣挺然不羣); and Zhang Lei's description of the effect is that it was "like bells echoing one another prior to the sound of metal and stone instruments, which displayed a sense beyond what normal tonalities can express" (如金石未作，鐘磬聲和，渾然有律呂外意).[64] Both Huihong and Zhang Lei took note of poetry's aesthetic values that could be enhanced with unexpected, i.e., unconventional, arrangement of level-tone or oblique-tone characters, which coincided with the theory of "Defamiliarization" in modern literary criticism.[65] On the other hand, although phenomena similar to "violation styles" also existed in Du Fu's poems, Du Fu showed no such self-consciously consideration as Huihong and Zhang Lei. Du Fu, just like his contemporaries, probably did not pay attention to prosodic issues as carefully as did Song poets. Those features which for Song poets were explicit rules were still taking form in Du Fu's era, and that which for Song poets was "rule breaking" was not necessarily the same thing to Du Fu.

Hu Zi, however, did not agree with Zhang Lei and Huihong, who took Huang Tingjian as the inventor of "violation style." Instead, he claims that the technique was invented by Du Fu:

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[63] Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 585.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Viktor Shklovsky summarizes the effect as follows: "In studying poetic speech in its phonetic and lexical structure as well as in its characteristic distribution of words and in the characteristic thought structures compounded from the words, we find everywhere the artistic trademark – that is, we find material obviously created to remove the automatism of perception; the author's purpose is to create the vision which results from that deautomatized perception. A work is created 'artistically' so that its perception is impeded and the greatest possible effect is produced through the slowness of the perception." See "Art as Technique," in *Literary Theory: An Anthology*, 19.

文潛不細考老杜詩，便謂此體自吾魯直始，非也。魯直詩本得法於杜少陵，其用老杜此體何疑。老杜自我作古，其詩體不一，在人所喜取而用之。[66]

Without carefully studying Du Fu's poetry, Wenqian said that this style started with Luzhi – this is wrong. Luzhi's poetry received its standards from Shaoling. How could there be doubt that he utilized Du Fu's style? Du Fu followed his own path in place of the ancient ways. His poetic styles have more than one appearance, and people like to take them to use.

Several examples of Du Fu's poems or poetic lines are raised here.[67] Hu's strategy is similar to the way in which Huihong discussed the various "格" he "observed" in Du Fu's poetry. Standards summarized in a later time were applied to examples found in earlier poems, and the earlier poet was given credit for the invention of such standards. In Hu's narrative, Du Fu creatively developed new poetic styles that competed with those from previous eras, and they therefore gained popularity among later poets.

To sum up, Du Fu's poetic texts provided poets in the eleventh century with a platform to consider standards that could be applied for poetic composition. By attributing the invention of such standards to Du Fu, Song poets regarded him as a master poet who they were to follow in their own time. This was also why since the mid-eleventh century they elevated Du Fu's poetry to the position beyond what intentional efforts could achieve. Huang Tingjian contends:

[66] Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 586.
[67] See ibid., 585, for Hu's similar discussion about Huihong's comments.

子美詩妙處乃在無意於文。[68]

The wonder of Zimei's poetry lies in that he did not have his mind set on literary embellishment.

The following opinions attributed to Chen Shidao about how Du Fu was different from other Tang and Song poets provided similar consideration:

詩欲其好，則不能好矣。王介甫以工，蘇子瞻以新，黃魯直以奇，而子美之詩，奇、常、工、易、新、陳，莫不好矣。[69]

If one aims to make his poetry good, then it cannot be good. Wang Jiefu aimed to make his poetry exquisite, Su Zizhan aimed at freshness, Huang Luzhi aimed at unusualness, while in Zimei's poetry, the unusual, the normal, the exquisite, the easy, the fresh, the conventional – none of these aspects are not good.

黃詩韓文有意，故有工；老杜則無工矣。然學者先黃韓；不由黃韓，而由老杜，則失之拙易矣。[70]

In Huang Tingjian's poetry and Han Yu's prose, the author's mind is set on the composition, so there is exquisiteness (that can be observed); Du Fu shows no exquisiteness. However,

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[68] Huang Tingjian, "Daya tang ji" 大雅堂記, in Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 119.
[69] Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 148.
[70] Ibid., 147. These two entries are both from *Houshan shihua* 後山詩話 [*Poetry Remarks by Houshan*], attributed to Chen Shidao. According to Guo Shaoyu 郭紹虞, while some content in the book can be confirmed to be from Chen's hand, the attribution of the entire book to Chen is problematic; see his *Song shihua kao* 宋詩話考 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), 15-20. Regardless of whether these opinions discussed here were actually by Chen, we could take them as a reflection of general consideration shared by late Northern Song poets.

> those learning poetic composition should first refer to Huang and Han. If they do not start with Huang and Han, but start with Du Fu, their composition will be defectively clumsy and simple.

Du Fu is said here to have not set his mind on literary embellishment. Meanwhile, it is also emphasized that, in effect, his poetry surpassed any achievement that could be accomplished by intentional crafting. The key point to understand this seemingly paradoxical evaluation is the argument that while beginners should not have directly referred to Du Fu to learn poetic composition, they should still have learned from Su Shi and Huang Tingjian. This is to say that learning was still necessary, and as long as the necessity of learning how to compose poetry made sense, poetry came to be considered to be the result of crafting rather than just spontaneous outpouring of what is in the writer's mind. In other words, given the stressed importance of learning poetic composition, Du Fu's poetry was also believed to be the result of crafting. The point regarding his "not having his mind set on literary embellishment" is simply that his poetry showed no traces of crafting. Here the "crafted poetry" and the "crafting process" are differentiated. People in the eleventh century were certainly unable to witness Du Fu's process of composition; all they could do was read Du Fu's poetic texts and see whether there were traces of crafting. The question is how could poetry that had been crafted show no traces of the crafting process at all?

The activity of "crafting" meant that considerable efforts were devoted to the poem during the act of composition. It could therefore be understood as a process of approaching what was acknowledged as the perfect model. If, in a certain poem, traces of crafting could be observed, it meant that the intended model has not been achieved. On the contrary, if a poem came to be

evaluated as showing no traces of crafting, it is in perfect conformity with the ideal model. Therefore, when Du Fu was praised for "not having his mind set on literary embellishment," it was not a conclusion reached through reasoning that proceeded from the reading of his poems. Rather, it is a presupposed statement that regarded Du Fu's poetry as a standard: Du Fu is believed to have crafted his poetry, but since his poetry became the standard, no traces of crafting could be observed any more. With this unsaid logic, the assertion that Du Fu had not set his mind on literary embellishment disguised the shift of the selected poetic model from late Tang poets to Du Fu, which resulted in the fact the the elevation of Du Fu came to seem like a matter of course.

The Layered Literary History and the "Tune of the Song"

When Song literati constructed Du Fu as a master poet providing standards, they also claimed to be following in Du Fu's footsteps. As mentioned above, Hu Zi claimed that Huang Tingjian followed Du Fu in adopting the "violation styles." Among the poetic standards that Huihong summarized from Du Fu's poems, the "standard of predicting spring" and "framing standard encompassing Su and Li" were said to have been applied by Huang Tingjian, and the "intricate syntax" are said to have been put into practice by Qin Guan 秦觀 (1049-1100).[71] Such a narrative of "Du Fu is inherited by us (i.e., poets of the Song)" and restructures literary history into an undisrupted, coherent scenario. This, in general, has become a standard narrative for Song literary history since the Song period. This narrative is particularly associated with the so-called Jiangxi Poetic School. As Hu Zi contends:

近時學詩者，率宗江西，然殊不知江西本亦學少陵者也。故陳無己曰：豫章之學博矣，

[71] See Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, respectively 190, 191, 192-193.

而得法於少陵，故其詩近之。[72]

Recent people learning poetic composition all follow the Jiangxi poets, but they do not know that the Jiangxi poets, in the first place, also learned from Shaoling. Therefore Chen Wuji said: "Yuzhang's learning is broad, but he received standards from Shaoling. Therefore his poetry is similar to Shaoling's."

The question is: In what sense could the group of poets labeled as "Jiangxi" be regarded as a "poetic school"? What theoretical concerns on poetics loom behind this school's claimed importance? And how did the construction of Du Fu interplay with the school's rise?

Unlike Ming and Qing literary groups or schools based on concrete social networks, the so-called "Jiangxi poets" were originally merely a list created by Lü Benzhong in the early twelfth century.[73] Although Lü himself claimed it was no more than the result of an unserious game, the list immediately went into wide circulation. Poets between the Northern and Southern Song seemed to accept Lü's outlining of the Jiangxi Poetic School's characters, though, in many cases, they did not necessarily agree with Lü about the specific names on the list. As Hu Zi recalls it, Lü Benzhong regarded Huang Tingjian as the poet most representative of poetry's accomplishment in the Song:

唐自李、杜之出，焜燿一世，後之言詩者，皆莫能及。至韓、柳、孟郊、張籍諸人，激昂奮厲，終不能與前作者並。元和以後至國朝，歌詩之作或傳者，多依效舊文，未盡所趣。惟豫章始大出而力振之，抑揚反覆，盡兼眾體，而後學者同作並和，雖體制

[72] Ibid, 585.

[73] See Hu Ming's 胡明 discussion of this issue in "Jiangxi shipai fanlun" 江西詩派泛論, in *Nan Song shiren lun* 南宋詩人論 (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1990), 1-14.

或異，要皆所傳者一，故予錄其名字，以遺來者。[74]

Since Li Bai and Du Fu emerged in the Tang, they illuminated the entire era, and none of later people talking about poetry could match them. When it came to Han Yu, Liu Zongyuan, Meng Jiao and Zhang Ji, they were all excited and stimulated, but in the end could not come abreast with their precursors. From the Yuanhe period to our dynasty, composed or circulated poems usually imitated earlier works and did not exhaust all the possibilities of interest. Only Yuzhang impressively started poetic composition and powerfully elevated poetry's level. Launched up and down and back and forth, his poetry exhausted various styles. Those later learners joined and echoed him, and although their styles were diverse, in general they passed on from the same origin. So I record their names to pass them to newcomers.

In this narrative, the history of Tang and Song poetry has only two peaks: Li Bai and Du Fu for the Tang, and Huang Tingjian for the Song. Particularly noteworthy is the comment that Huang's poetry "exhausted various styles" (盡兼眾體), which is almost the same as Yuan Zhen's evaluation that Du Fu "exhaustively mastered all styles and trends of ancient and present, and had everyone's unique expertise converge in himself" (盡得古今之體勢，而兼人人之所獨專矣). For both Du and Huang, such evaluation spoke more rhetorically of the necessity for later poets to learn from them than of the actual qualities of the poet's works: since the master poet could provide everything, it was enough to only learn from him. In this way, Lü Benzhong exclusively sets Huang as the most important Song poet in the poetic development from Tang to Song, and

[74] Fu Xuancong 傅璇琮, ed., *Huang Tingjian he Jiangxi shipai juan* 黃庭堅和江西詩派卷, Gudian wenxue yanjiu ziliao huibian 古典文學研究資料彙編 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1978), 445.

those who were grouped as "Jiangxi poets" and were said to have been learning from Huang thus became inheritor of the entire poetic tradition. In other words, the history of poetic development from Tang to Song is simplified to the genealogy from Li Bai and Du Fu to Huang Tingjian, and then finally to the "Jiangxi poets."

Yang Wanli 楊萬里 (1127-1206) provided another narrative by juxtaposing the "Du Fu – Huang Tingjian" lineage with the lineage from Li Bai to Su Shi:

> 今夫四家者流，蘇似李，黃似杜。蘇、李之詩，子列子之御風也；杜、黃之詩，靈均之乘桂舟、駕玉車也。無待者神於詩者歟？有待而未嘗有待者，聖於詩者歟？[75]
>
> As seen today, among these four poets, Su Shi is similar to Li Bai, and Huang Tingjian is similar to Du Fu. Poetry of Su and Li is like Liezi's wind riding; poetry by Du and Huang is analogous to Lingjun taking the laurel boat or driving the jade cart. Aren't those who rely on nothing in poetic composition prodigies? And aren't those who have reliance for poetic composition but never rely on anything sages?

Liezi 列子 and Qu Yuan 屈原 are metaphors for the two approaches to poetic composition: Qu Yuan in early texts usually traveled by cart or by boat, while Liezi is said to have ridden on the wind, so they respectively represent the approaches of relying on learning from literary tradition (the cart and boat) and counting on nothing but one's own talents. In the discussion following this paragraph, Yang proposed to combine the two approaches, and in this way the poetic history of the Tang and the Northern Song, represented by Li, Du, Su, and Huang, provided Yang and his peers in early Southern Song with experience that was admirable but could also potentially be

[75] Ibid., 448.

transcended. As Yang's theory of "flexible principles" (*huofa* 活法) demonstrates, he aimed to not only combine the roles of talents and learning in his person, but also transcend earlier poets of both the Tang and the Northern Song.[76] The genealogy outlined by Yang Wanli extended from "Li Du" to "Su Huang," then to his peers and himself.

In both narratives by Lü Benzhong and Yang Wanli, the poetic tradition initiated by Li Bai and Du Fu was passed to the present day by Northern Song poets represented by Su Shi, Huang Tingjian, and the Jiangxi poets. Although the difference between Su Shi and Huang Tingjian was obvious, and although in terms of poetic styles Su Shi was never related to the Jiangxi poets, they were generally altogether regarded by Southern Song literati as representatives of the late eleventh century poetry, which, in the Southern Song, was also often remembered under the reign name of "Yuanyou 元祐 (1086-1094)" as the glorious poetic past of the dynasty before the Jurchen invasion.[77] As a result, in Southern Song, Du Fu also began to be incorporated into the narrative of literary history as the precursor of what has later been known as "Song poetry" (for Southern people, the poetry of "our dynasty"). Such a narrative that featured Du Fu, his constructers in the eleventh century, and Southern Song poets came to be characterized by its

[76] For Yang Wanli's poetics, see Michael A. Fuller, *Drifting among Rivers and Lakes: Southern Song Dynasty Poetry and the Problem of Literary History* (Cambridge (Massachusetts) and London: Harvard University Press, 2013), 182-239.

[77] Given the dynamic political, social and literary activities during the Yuanyou period, the concept of "poetry of the Yuanyou" turned out to have multiple connotations. In general, it not only means poetic styles emerging during this period, but often enough particularly refers to poetry of the conservatives, who used to be labeled as the "Yuanyou gangsters" by their political rivals. This is to say, when the "poetry of the Yuanyou" was discussed in the Song discourse, it usually involved the consideration of not only aesthetic characteristics on textual level, but also poet circles. See Zeng Zaozhuang 曾棗莊, "Lun Yuanyou ti" 論元祐體, *Chengdu daxue xuebao (Shehui kexue ban)* 成都大學學報（社會科學版）, 1 (1986): 26-31. For Southern Song memory and construction of the Yuanyou poetry, see Xiao Ruifeng 蕭瑞峰 and Liu Chengguo 劉成國, "'Shi sheng Yuanyou' shuo kaobian" "詩盛元祐"說考辨, *Wenxue yichan* 文學遺產, 2 (2006): 54-64; Shen Songqin 沈松勤, "Lun 'Yuanyou xueshu' yu 'Yuanyou xushi'" 論"元祐學術"與"元祐敘事", *Zhonghua wenshi luncong* 中華文史論叢, 4 (2007): 201-238.

many-layered appearance.

To be precise, the layered reception started immediately after eminent poets of the eleventh century became "the past." An example was the issue of Wang Anshi's editing of *Sijia shixuan* 四家詩選 [*Anthology of Four Masters*].[78] The anthology is lost, but it is known that the four masters selected and sequentially arranged were Du Fu, Ouyang Xiu, Han Yu, and Li Bai. It is not a chronological sequence, so the reason to arrange them in this way has incurred considerable discussions. As Wang Gong 王鞏 (fl. late eleventh century) recorded it, his contemporaries believed that the unusual sequence indicated that in Wang Anshi's opinion Li Bai's poetry was not as good as that of Ouyang Xiu and Han Yu. Yet, when Huang Tingjian once asked Wang Anshi in person as to why he did so, Wang Anshi confirmed that there had been no special reason; he simply arranged the four poets in the same sequence he obtained their individual collections, and the sequence reflected no evaluative consideration of their poetry.[79] Meanwhile, there were other explanations. In some Northern Song opinions, Li Bai indeed was not as good as Han Yu, while Ouyang was better than Han (although he used to learn Han's style).[80] Meanwhile, in Huihong's records, Wang Anshi himself once explained that Li Bai was an immoral poet indulging in women and wine while Ouyang lacked good taste in historiography.[81] In short, different guesses circulated as for why the four poets appeared in Wang Anshi's anthology in such a sequence and Wang Anshi's own explanation existed in different versions. Within such a context, the following record by Chen Zhengmin 陳正敏 (fl. early twelfth century) particularly needs to be critically treated:

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[78] For information of the anthology, see Zhang Zhonggang 張忠綱 et al., eds., *Du ji xulu* 杜集敘錄 (Ji'nan: Qi Lu shushe, 2008), 18-19.
[79] Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 159.
[80] Ibid., 179.
[81] Ibid., 189.

或問王荊公云：編四家詩，以杜甫為第一，李白為第四，豈白之才格詞致不逮甫也？公曰：白之歌詩，豪放飄逸，人固莫及；然其格止於此而已，不知變也。至於甫，則悲懽窮泰，發斂抑揚，疾徐縱橫，無施不可。故其詩有平淡簡易者；有綿麗精確者；有嚴重威武，若三軍之帥者；有奮迅馳驟，若戛駕之馬者；有淡泊閑靜，若山谷隱士者；有風流醞藉，若貴介公子者。蓋其詩緒密而思深，觀者苟不能臻其閫奥，未易識其妙處，夫豈淺近者所能窺哉！此甫所以光掩前人，而後來無繼也。[82]

Someone asked Wang Anshi, the Duke of Jing: When compiling the four poets' poems, you placed Du Fu in the first, Li Bai the fourth. Isn't this because Li's talent level and lexical manner are not equal to Du Fu? Wang said: Li Bai's poems are heroically unrestricted and gracefully free, and are surely better than ordinary people's works; but the quality of his poetry just stops here, and he did not know how to change his style. As for Du Fu, no matter whether he was sad or happy, in straits or in fortune, no matter whether his composition is aroused or constrained, launched up or down, no matter whether his poetry proceeded fast or slow, toward this direction or that one, there is nothing he could not do. Therefore, among his poems, some are plain and simple; some are delicate and accurate; some are solemn and powerful like a marshal in army; some are swift and violent like tumbling horse; some are tranquil and peaceful like hermits in valley; some are graceful and charming like well-bred young gentleman. His poetic thinking is meticulous, his ideas profound. If his readers cannot reach the innermost essence of his poetry, it is not easy for them to realize his excellence. Is it really understandable for those who are shallow and shortsighted! This is why Du Fu's light covered his precursors and there were newcomers to follow him.

[82] Ibid., 240.

This comment on Du Fu's multiple styles is almost an encomium for Du Fu, and reflects the critic's profound understanding of Du Fu's literary achievement based on a comprehensive grasp of his poetry. As it conflicted with Wang Gong's record of Wang Anshi's explanation about arranging the four selected poets, it was not necessarily Wang Anshi that made this comment (neither was the explanation recorded by Wang Gong, though). Rather, if we consider the fact that Chen Zhengmin's book recorded this comment, and that the *Dun zhai xianlan* 遯齋閒覽 [*Leisurely Readings in the Studio of Reclusion*] mainly collects casual talks (many of which are about poetry), this comment attributed to Wang Anshi may reflect more of the general understanding of both Du Fu and Wang Anshi in the early twelfth century: Du Fu was a master poet of the Tang, and Wang Anshi, as an eminent poet of the Song, was the one living during their own time who could appreciate and follow Du Fu. This establishes a lineage from Du Fu to Wang Anshi. The only thing is that this is not necessarily the real Wang Anshi, but an image constructed as someone in the Northern Song keenly appreciative of Du Fu's talent.

While Northern Song poets like Wang Anshi or Huang Tingjian came to be more and more seen as good followers of Du Fu, the twelfth century opinion that regarded the Song as the opposite to the Tang also began to emerge. Zhang Jie 張戒 (*jinshi* 1125) was among the earliest critics who negatively evaluated Su Shi and Huang Tingjian as compared with earlier poets:

> 《國風》《離騷》固不論；自漢魏以來，詩妙於子建，成於李杜，而壞於蘇黃。余之此論，固未易為俗人言也。子瞻以議論作詩，魯直又專以補綴奇字。學者未得其所長，

而先得其所短，詩人之意掃地矣。[83]

The *Airs* and the *Encountering Sorrow* surely need not to be discussed. Since the Han and Wei, poetry became wonderful in Zijian's hands, was well established by Li Bai and Du Fu, and was harmed by Su Shi and Huang Tingjian. This thesis of mine is surely not easy to discuss with vulgar folks. Zizhan composed poetry with argumentation, and Luzhi constantly amended his poetry with unusual characters. Those who learn from them obtain their disadvantages before acquiring their advantages, and the thought of poet is discarded in dust.

One of the key ideas of Zhang Jie's *Suihan tang shihua* 歲寒堂詩話 [*Poetry Remarks of the Time-of-Cold Hall*] is that Tang poetry is superior to Song poetry, and "ancient poetry" (i.e., pre-Tang poetry) is superior to Tang poetry. While this thought was to be largely developed in the Ming, in Zhang Jie's time it was not widely accepted. However, Zhang Jie indeed joined his Southern Song peers in recognizing the characteristics of poetry as those of "our dynasty." For people in the Southern Song like Zhang Jie or Yang Wanli, "our dynasty" referred to both past and continuity. The glorious literary achievement of people like Su Shi and Huang Tingjian (perhaps also of Wang Anshi in some people's opinion) had disappeared with the fall of the Northern Song, yet the dynasty's survival in the south provided poets in the twelfth century with the sense that they had new opportunities and also obligations to continue poetic exploration. Therefore, although the Song Dynasty continued, the dynasty's poetic past was critically reviewed just like the heritage from the previous dynasty –the Tang. Zhang Jie, who gained his *jinshi* degree in Northern Song but conducted his bureaucratic career and poetic exploration

[83] Ibid., 310.

mainly in the Southern Song, was a typical existence reflecting such thoughts.

After Zhang Jie, Yan Yu 嚴羽 (fl. 13th century) further set Song poetry in opposition to Tang poetry:

> 盛唐諸人惟在興趣，羚羊掛角，無跡可求。故其妙處，透徹玲瓏，不可湊泊，如空中之音，相中之色，水中之月，鏡中之象，言有盡而意無窮。近代諸公，乃作奇特解會，遂以文字為詩，以才學為詩，以議論為詩，夫豈不工，終非古人之詩也。[84]
>
> Those High Tang poets only pay attention to spontaneous inspiration, which is like antelopes hanging their horns on trees and leaving no traces on ground. Therefore, their excellence lies in the crystal clear and delicately wrought style, which can never be jumbled. It is like sound in air, color in form, moon in water, and image in mirror: the language would come to an end while the connotation goes on unlimitedly. Poets of recent times, relying on their peculiar understanding, have based their compositions on ornate dictions, on learning, and on argumentation. Isn't such poetry exquisite? It is just not the poetry of the ancient people.

To be precise, Yan only highlighted part of the Tang and part of the Song: the High Tang, and the "recent" Song (i.e., Song poetry of the late eleventh century as represented by Su Shi and Huang Tingjian). When critics in later eras discussed the "voice of the Tang" (*Tang yin* 唐音) and the "tune of the Song" (*Song diao* 宋調), the dichotomy of Tang poetry and Song poetry was also often simplified to the competing styles of the High Tang and the eleventh century.

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[84] Yan Yu 嚴羽, *Canglang shihua jiaoshi* 滄浪詩話校釋, ed., Guo Shaoyu 郭紹虞 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1961), 23-24; also see Guo's discussion in 29-43.

When High Tang became an integral concept, the question of "which of Li Bai and Du Fu is superior" appeared to be of less importance. Yan Yu even argued that this was not the right question to ask:

> 李、杜二公，正不當優劣。太白有一二妙處，子美不能道；子美有一二妙處，太白不能作。子美不能為太白之飄逸。太白不能為子美之沉鬱。[85]
>
> As the two masters, Li Bai and Du Fu should not be forced into a high-or-low comparison. There are several excellent words in Taibai's poetry that Zimei was unable to articulate, and there are several excellent words in Zimei's poetry that Taibai was unable to articulate. Zimei was not able to conduct Taibai's gracefully free style; Taibai was unable to conduct Zimei's profoundly sublime style.

> 太白《夢遊天姥吟》《遠別離》等，子美不能道。子美《北征》《兵車行》《垂老別》等，太白不能作。論詩以李、杜為準，挾天子以令諸侯也。[86]
>
> Taibai's poems like "Song of a Dream Travel to the Heavenly Lady Mountain" and "Far Departure" are those which Zimei cannot articulate. Zimei's poems like "Journey North," "Song of Chariots" and "Departure of the Senior" are those which Taibai cannot compose. In the discussion of poetry, (one should) take Li and Du as standards, like coercing the emperor into ordering vassals.

Both Li Bai and Du Fu are established as standards (*zhun* 準), but the connotation of standard in

[85] Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 818.
[86] Ibid.

Yan Yu's discussion is different from the standard that poets in the eleventh century summarized from Du Fu's poetry. Huang Tingjian, Huihong, and other poets in late Northern Song mainly concerned themselves with summarizing specific techniques from Du Fu's poetic texts. By claiming to find standards initiated by Du Fu, poets in the eleventh century continued to explore for poetic crafts, and Du Fu appeared like a fellow poet among them. For Yan Yu, however, both Li and Du represented the High Tang, and both the High Tang poetry and poetry of the "recent poets" (i.e., the Song poetry) were past standards – standards that were different.[87] One must choose which standard to follow.

The two types of "standards" that were said to be represented by Du Fu's poetry were both received well among critics in later time. Therefore, although in the late imperial poetic discourse literary styles were often discussed by period styles, and although since the thirteenth century "Tang" and "Song" became categories into which various poetic styles fell, Du Fu's image as a master poet turned out to be beyond the "Tang/Song" dichotomy. He could be understood as both "the Tang" and "the Song."[88]

When Du Fu was recognized as a model poet beyond a single historical period, he also easily became the top poet throughout the entire history of Chinese poetry. Hu Yinglin's 胡應麟

[87] As discussed in Chapter 2, from today's perspective it is more reasonable to consider Du Fu a poet of the mid-Tang. However, this was not necessarily also Yan Yu's opinion. In the "Shiti" 詩體 [Poetic Styles] part of *Canglang shihua*, Yan Yu proposes to divide the history of Tang poetry into five phases, and after the High Tang style is the Dali 大曆 (766-779) style, of which the group poets known as ten geniuses of the Dali period 大曆十才子 are taken as the representative poets. Given the fact that Du Fu was earlier than most of them and that he is discussed together with Li Ba, it can be known that Yan Yu took him as a poet of the High Tang. See Yan Yu, *Canglang shihua jiaoshi*, 53.

[88] For the dichotomy, see Qi Zhiping 齊治平, *Tang Song shi zhizheng gaishu* 唐宋詩之爭概述 (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1984); also see Chen Guoqiu's 陳國球 discussion in *Tang shi de chuancheng: Ming dai fugu shilun yanjiu* 唐詩的傳承——明代復古詩論研究 (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1990), 33-84.

(1551-1602) commented on Du Fu's heptasyllabic regulated poem:

> 杜“風急天高”一章五十六字，如海底珊瑚，瘦勁難名，深沉莫測，而精光萬丈，力量萬鈞。通章章法、句法、字法，前無昔人，後無來學。微有說者，是杜詩，非唐詩耳。然此詩自當為古今七言律第一，不必為唐人七言律第一也。[89]
>
> Du Fu's poem of "Swift wind, heaven high," with fifty-six characters in the entire piece, is like coral at the bottom of the sea, which is inexpressibly lean and strong, fathomlessly profound, but shining in all its splendor and showing tremendous power. The entire piece's methods of character usage, sentence arrangement, and stanza organization are shared by neither his precursors nor his followers. To provide a light discussion, this is Du Fu's poem, not a poem of the Tang. Yet this poem should surely be considered the best heptasyllabic regulated poem through all ages, rather than only the best of the Tang.

Heptasyllabic regulated verse is arguably a genre which can most intensively show a poet's craft. Its development did not really start until the Tang, and continued in the Song. By Hu Yinglin's time, i.e., the sixteenth century, it had almost exhausted all possibilities of development and become an ossified genre. Every aspect of its compositional techniques – or in Hu's words, its methods of character usage, sentence arrangement, and stanza organization – had been discussed. While Hu's extolment of Du Fu almost rendered Du into a symbol of all poetic techniques, it also shows that poetry and poetics of the late imperial period was continuously in the developing track since the time when Du Fu began to be constructed as a master of poetic craft. The

[89] Wu Wenzhi 吳文治, ed., *Ming shihua quanbian* 明詩話全編 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1997), Vol. 5, 5516.

construction was mainly conducted by literati in the eleventh century, and testified to the poetic exploration by Song poets.

Meanwhile, poets in the Song not only wrote poetry. Many of those who constructed Du Fu as a poet-historian and a master of crafted poetry, such as Wang Anshi, Su Shi, and Huang Tingjian, also pursued achievements in their own bureaucratic careers, and for them poetic traditions were more than just poetic craft. Du Fu's poetry was a textual world in which they found ideal life modes for themselves as scholar-officials, or *shidafu* 士大夫. As Chapter 5 will show, sthe ideal modes they extracted from Du Fu's poems even transcended the image of Du Fu as a Confucian poet that they built up from scratch.

Chapter 5. The Confucian Poet

While Du Fu 杜甫 (712-770) is admired as a poet-historian and a master of poetic craft, it is his image as a Confucian poet that plays the key role in making him "China's greatest poet." In general, Du Fu's "Confucian" attribute refers to his commitment to the state, the emperor, and to the common people. The uniqueness of Du Fu's image, however, lies in the understanding that he was both Confucian and poetic. This distinguishes him from both ordinary poets and purely "Confucian" thinkers. Du Fu is known for presenting Confucian values through the medium of his poetry.

The more profound issue, however, emerges in the identity of poets who later evaluated Du Fu as a Confucian poet. Du Fu's poems present multiple aspects of his life and thought. Some of them may indeed reflect Confucian ethics, while some remain far afield from such a characterization. It was those who concerned themselves primarily with Confucian values that paid attention to Du Fu's poetic texts seeming to reflect such values who later constructed Du Fu's image as a Confucian poet. Meanwhile, this particular image did not prevent them from appreciating Du Fu's poems unrelated to his Confucian image. Indeed, Du Fu's later idealized image as a whole reflected a tendency to be independent from his specific poems. This, along with the constructed image of Tao Qian 陶潛 (ca. 365-427), came to represent two ideal modes of life for scholar-officials in Northern Song political culture.

To be more precise, ideal ways of conducting oneself became incarnated in the images of both Du Fu and Tao Qian, so that they appeared to be rooted in tradition. Then, as Song literati claimed to follow Tao and Du's images that were actually constructed by these literati themselves, the "tradition" was kept alive in the Song. This is to say, even though the ideal

modes of life were concerning the real contemporary life, they needed to be justified by tradition. The coherence from the past to the present, from the precursors to the contemporary "us," was desired to drive the construction of the idealized images of both Du Fu and Tao Qian. Such desire, however, already appeared in the ninth century, when Han Yu 韓愈 (768-824), Bai Juyi 白居易 (772-846) and Yuan Zhen 元稹 (779-831) initially began to evaluate Du Fu's literary achievements in comparison with his life.

Tradition and Reality

Han Yu, Bai Juyi and Yuan Zhen all evaluated Du Fu's poetry in comparison with Li Bai, albeit with different emphasis. In general, Han stressed Du Fu and Li Bai's inheritance of tradition, while Bai and Yuan paid more attention to Du Fu's innovative emphasis on reality as a subject for poetic musing.

Han Yu discussed Li Bai and Du Fu together in several poems or essays: "Tiao Zhang Ji" 調張籍 [Teasing Zhang Ji], "Zuiliu Dongye" 醉留東野 [Getting Drunk, Urging Dongye to Stay], "Song Meng Dongye xu" 送孟東野序 [Remarks to See Meng Dongye off], "Jianshi" 薦士 [Recommending a Scholar], and "Shigu ge"石鼓歌 [Song of Stone Drums].[1] These works all more or less juxtaposed Li Bai and Du Fu as poets, and were initially composed for his friends, Zhang Ji 張籍 (ca. 767-ca. 830) or Meng Jiao 孟郊 (751-814).

"Tiao Zhangji" is a work famous for its opening section, which extols Li Bai and Du Fu as two top poets. As soon as we read the whole poem, however, it is clear that the poem is intended particularly for Zhang Ji. The admiration for Li Bai and Du Fu is distinctly not the focal point. It

[1] Hua Wenxuan 華文軒, ed., *Du Fu juan* 杜甫卷, *Gudian wenxue yanjiu ziliao huibian* 古典文學研究資料彙編 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1964), 8-11.

instead regards Zhang as one who shared the same literary taste and ambition with Han Yu himself. After a brief extolment of "Li (Bai)" and "Du (Fu)," Han Yu goes on to provide a narrative about literary history in which he and Zhang Ji join both Li Bai and Du Fu as elements of an established tradition.

In "Zuiliu Dongye," Han Yu again juxtaposes Li Bai and Du Fu. Dongye is Meng Jiao's courtesy name, and just like "Tiao Zhang Ji," "Zuiliu Dongye" does not discuss any specific qualities of Li Bai and Du Fu's poetry. Instead, it centers on the fact that Li Bai and Du Fu were friends, but could not always stay together. That an actual friendship existed between Li and Du is a historical conundrum, yet Han Yu makes it sound like such a connection was known by everyone.[2] Han Yu then immediately turns to Meng Jiao from Li Bai and Du Fu by stating that he and Meng were also unable to meet each other frequently. Han Yu goes to recall various frustrations that Meng Jiao had encountered in his career, but nevertheless emphasizes that he still admired Meng Jiao very much and values their friendship.[3]

Allusions to Han Yu's friendships based on the examples of Li Bai and Du Fu also obviously appear in the former's "Song Meng Dongye xu," which is famous for the phrase that

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[2] Du Fu's "Yu Li shier Bai tongxun Fan shi yinju" 與李十二白同尋范十隱居 [Visiting Fan the Tenth in Reclusion with Li Bai the Twelfth] signifies that Li Bai and Du Fu knew and met with each other. There is little evidence, however, that they were close friends. Most of the poems Du Fu wrote for Li Bai express respective admiration rather than enjoyment of close relationship, and Li Bai's surviving poems hardly show appreciation of his relationship with Du Fu. The friendship between Li Bai and Du Fu is therefore likely more of an imaginary relationship resulting from the appreciation of their poetry.

[3] "Zuiliu Dongye" was written between 798 and 799 during Meng Jiao's stay in Bianzhou 汴州 with Han Yu and Zhang Ji, and "Tiao Zhang Ji" may have been written at that time, as well. In the fall of 798, Zhang Ji came out as the first in the local examination of Bianzhou, which was held by Han Yu, while Han Yu and Meng Jiao, having received their *jinshi* degrees in 792 and 796 respectively, were waiting for assignment to official positions. In short, they all seemed to have had a bright future at that time. It was in the light of such a situation that Li Bai and Du Fu were treated as a model of friendship that Han Yu happily used as an allegory for his own friends – Meng Jiao and Zhang Ji – and himself.

reads “one cries out when being distraught” (不平則鳴). In it, Han Yu encourages Meng Jiao to keep writing and encourages him to achieve success in literature in spite of the difficult situation in which he was suffering at the time.[4] He thereupon calls upon literary history to provide other examples of those who had persevered in the face of adversity, which includes both Li Bai and Du Fu. Han Yu then presents himself and his friends, Zhang Ji and Li Ao 李翺 (774-836), as the most recent examples of the tradition of “crying out when being distraught.”

A similar theme appears again in Han Yu’s “Jian shi,” which Han Yu wrote in 806 in order to recommend Meng Jiao to Zheng Yuqing 鄭余慶 (748-820), who was an official that was, at that moment, able to offer Meng a position following his resignation in 804. Han Yu’s method for recommending Meng Jiao was to provide a review of the entirety of literary history, and then ultimately declare that Meng Jiao joined the famed poets Chen Zi’ang, Li Bai and Du Fu as one who had to wait for opportunities to succeed.

Han Yu juxtaposes Li Bai and Du Fu again in “Shigu ge.” When Zhang Ji brought Han Yu rubbings made from the writing displayed on ancient stone drums, they go on to remind Han of Li Bai and Du Fu. The poem begins by lamenting the death of Li and Du. In it, Han Yu claims that he found himself unable to write a poem as outstanding as those produced by the two earlier poets. Although Han Yu’s gesture is humble, his seemingly carefully chosen comparison reveals that he regarded himself as Li and Du’s follower.

It is crucial to recognize that Han Yu’s works mentioned above were composed originally for Han Yu’s friends, and not intended as specific commentaries centered on Li Bai and Du Fu. Li and Du were simply taken as two models deserving of elevation to the position of “classics” in the skein of literary history. In doing so, Han Yu also implicitly expressed the sense that both

[4] The position assigned to Meng Jiao in 801 was commissioner (*xianwei* 縣尉) of Liyang 溧陽, which Meng was not satisfied with. Therefore Han Yu wrote this essay to address Meng Jiao.

himself and his peers were on the cusp of joining such great figures in poetic output. Han Yu's crucial role in consolidating the juxtaposition of Li Bai and Du Fu as two unparalleled poets is undeniable, yet his emphasis on the literary enterprises of both he and his peers ultimately leads us further afield to assess the way in which tradition actually functioned as a touchstone for poets to articulate their own voices in later times.

In the history of Chinese literature, Han Yu is known for lionizing "the ancient" as a pretext to reject that which he considered to be more "recent." For Han Yu, as well as for his peers and followers, rejecting "the recent" mainly served to reject poetry produced during the Six Dynasties period. Han Yu's view of poetry shown above reflects this sentiment, and seems to have been widely shared by contemporaries that lived during the ninth century. Discussions of earlier poetry usually unfolded through analyses of the "Great Elegantiae" 大雅.

The "Great Elegantiae" is a section of the *Shijing* 詩經 [*Book of Poetry*]. As a term, however, it was also used to refer to an ideal standard worthy of emulation by later poets.[5] Du Fu's poetry figured into such a measure as early as Fan Huang's 樊晃 preface to *Du Gongbu xiaoji* 杜工部小集 [*A Minor Collection of Vice Director Du of the Ministry of Works*], in which Fan evaluated Du as "the only one in this era with writings on par with the Great Elegantiae" (君有大雅之作，當今一人而已).[6] In his poem on Du Fu's tomb in Leiyang 耒陽, Pei Yue 裴説 (d. 908) claimed that he "intended to dig into (Du Fu's) lonely tomb (to revive him), so as to restore the Great Elegantiae" (擬掘孤墳破，重教大雅生).

[5] For a historical delineation of "Great Elegantiae" and its influence in the discourse of Tang literature, see Liao Meiyu 廖美玉, "Daya de shiluo yu zhaohuan – Tang dai shiren de shengshi lunshu yu wangdao xiangxiang" 大雅的失落與召喚——唐代詩人的盛世論述與王道想象, *Nankai xuebao (zhexue shehui kexue ban)* 南開學報（哲學社會科學版）, 5 (2011): 76-88.
[6] Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 7.

Perhaps the most famous criticism that placed Du Fu in the tradition of interpretating the "Great Elegantiae," however, is contained in Huang Tingjian's 黃庭堅 (1045-1105) "Daya tang ji" 大雅堂記 [Record of the Great Elegantiae Hall]. The essay was written in 1100, which was when Huang was banished to Shu 蜀. Stating that his intent was to collect Du Fu's poems composed in the Shu region (including Kuizhou 夔州), and that he planned to inscribe all of them in steles for posterity, he received support from local literati.[7] In the end, they even built a hall to preserve the steles, which was named "Great Elegantiae Hall." In his essay on the hall itself, entitled "Daya tang ji," Huang provides a historical narrative for the period that followed Du Fu:

> 由杜子美以來，四百餘年，斯文委地，文章之士，隨世所能，傑出時輩，未有升子美之堂者，況室家之好耶！[8]
>
> In the four hundred years since Du Zimei, this culture of ours was abandoned on earth. Literary scholars exerted their abilities according to the fashion of their eras. Among outstanding people of the time, no one could ascend to Zimei's hall, not to mention reach (the excellence) of his inner chamber.

Huang claimed that the tradition of "Great Elegantiae" had been lost in the four centuries following the death of Du Fu. Such a view is in line with the usually adopted narrative concerning the "Great Elegantiae" inasmuch as Fan Huang claimed that Du Fu was the singular

[7] Inscribing Du Fu's poems in stone for later people to admire was a phenomenon that indicated the canonization of Du Fu was well underway by this time. For details of Tang and Song inscriptions of Du Fu's poetry, see Qi Hehui 祁和暉, "Tang Song Du shi keshi kaoshu" 唐宋杜詩刻石考述, *Du Fu yanjiu xuekan* 杜甫研究學刊, 3 (1994): 41-49.

[8] Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 119.

figure that followed the "Great Elegantiae" tradition in his own era. Such claims also indicate that this particular tradition was not constantly kept alive, and Li Bai's own claim is itself widely known to state that it had been "a long time since the Great Elegantiae was composed" (大雅久不作).[9] From Li Bai to Huang Tingjian, the narrative of the "Great Elegantiae" remained the same: there used to be a great tradition of the "Great Elegantiae," but it was later lost; now we should make efforts to recover it. When Fan Huang and Huang Tingjian extolled Du Fu's poetry as comparable to the "Great Elegantiae," however, it was not merely an evaluation of Du Fu. It was also a critique of the present state of literature. For Fan, the characteristics of Du Fu's works that reflected the "Great Elegantiae" justified his efforts to compile a collection of Du Fu's work. For Huang, it required him to inscribe Du Fu's poems and have them permanently preserved. Han Yu's poems and essays juxtaposing Li Bai and Du Fu as models for both he and his peers also conformed to this line of thinking, despite the fact that he did not explicitly title the tradition exemplified by Li Bai and Du Fu as the "Great Elegantiae."

None of the discussions regarding "Great Elegantiae," however, ultimately provided details as to the specific tradition to which this term referred. The matter at hand was simply that the tradition was already lost, and that a calling for its restoration was actually a process of active redefinition. As such, laments for the loss of the "Great Elegantiae," as well as claims that one figure or another was a follower of the "Great Elegantiae" tradition thereby entitled one to propose new literary and cultural values, just as Han Yu and his followers used "ancient-styled prose" as a pretext to establish new intellectual and literary proposals.

Meanwhile, it was Bai Juyi and Yuan Zhen who specifically clarified the contours of the new tradition that had been enabled by the classicization of Du Fu's poetry. The efforts of Bai

[9] Li Bai, "Gufeng" 古風 (I), in Zhan Ying 詹鍈, ed., *Li Bai quanji jiaozhu huishi jiping* 李白全集校注彙釋集評 (Tianjin: Baihua wenyi chubanshe, 1996), 20.

Juyi and Yuan Zhen, however, differed from those of Han Yu in at least two ways. First, while Han Yu merely used "Li Du" as an established term, and did not demonstrate any particular effort to discover any special characteristics of their poetry, Bai and Yuan offered explanations as to the reasons why Du Fu deserved respect. Secondly, much unlike Han Yu, who emphasized more the similarity between "Li Du" and his own group (i.e., his friends and himself), Bai and Yuan stressed novel features in their own poetry.

In his "Yu Yuanjiu shu" 與元九書 [Epistle to Yuan the Ninth], Bai Juyi elaborated upon Li Bai and Du Fu's role in a review of the literary past:

> 又詩之豪者，世稱李杜之作。才矣奇矣，人不逮矣。索其風雅比興，十無一焉。杜詩最多，可傳者千餘篇。至於貫穿今古，覼縷格律，盡工盡善，又過於李。然撮其新安吏、石濠吏、潼關吏、塞蘆子、留花門之章，朱門酒肉臭路有凍死骨之句，亦不過三四十首。杜尚如此，況不逮杜者乎？[10]
>
> Moreover, among the outstanding talents in poetry, Li Bai and Du Fu are valued throughout the world. They were indeed talented and unusual, and others cannot match them. But if one seeks out those works that have inherited (the poetic principles of) the "Airs," the "Elegantiae," and of the Comparison and the Allusive Image as they appear in the *Book of Poetry*, a mere one out of ten cannot be found. Du Fu's poems are most numerous – more than one thousand works are qualified to be passed down. In terms of stringing together present and past, meticulously interlacing the patterns of prosodic rules, and exhausting skill and finesse, Du surpasses Li. However, if one selects poems such as "The Official in Xin'an," "The Official in Shihao Village," "The Official of the Tong Pass," "Blocking Luzi

[10] Ibid., 18.

Pass," "Having the Uyghur Stay," or lines such as "From red-gate mansions smell of wine and meat comes out, in street are bones of those who died from bitter cold.," only thirty to forty examples can be found. If the situation of Du Fu's poetry is like this, how much more is it for those who do not even match Du (in poetic output)?

The epistle is well known as an essay that intensively expresses Bai Juyi and Yuan Zhen's literary views. It is one of the earliest materials that provides a list of classical works among Du Fu's poems, which represents an ideal model in Bai's opinion. "The Three Poems of Officials" series and "Blocking Luzi Pass," "Having the Uyghur Stay," as well as the couplet from "Five Hundred Words" all point to a persona deeply concerned about both commoners and the state. Poems by Du Fu not included in the "thirty to forty examples" of this kind are actually those not in conformity with this persona. In this regard, Li Bai's poetry is not appreciated as much as that of Du Fu given the fact that it exhibits even less of such a persona.

Moreover, the harsh claim that out of more than a thousand of Du Fu's inherited poems, only thirty to forty meet the standard of the tradition represented by the "Airs" and "Elegantiae," ultimately expresses contempt for the entire literary tradition. This is due to the fact that in Bai's narrative, Du Fu is already superior to all other earlier poets. The alternative to the tradition, as Bai would have it, would be that "essays should be written in accordance with their own time; poetry should be composed out of actual events" (文章合為時而著，歌詩合為事而作).[11] This is to say, Bai Juyi's strategy was almost the opposite of that of Han Yu. Both aimed at giving added weight to themselves. Han Yu, however, showed respect to tradition, of which Du Fu and Li Bai were a part, and then presented himself and his peers as its continuation. Bai Juyi, on the other

[11] Ba Zhu Jincheng 朱金城, ed., *Bai Juyi ji jianjiao* 白居易集箋校 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1988), Vol. 5, 2792.

hand, both rejected tradition and advocated a new standard with the focus on the present.

Yuan Zhen's "Yuefu guti xu" 樂府古題序 [Preface to Poems under Ancient Titles of the Music Bureau], was written in 817, i.e., two years after Bai's "Yu Yuanjiu shu," and shares sentiments similar to those of Bai. Even though the provided preface is intended for a group of poems listed under the old titles of Music Bureau poetry, Yuan used it as an opportunity to stress his appreciation of innovative ideas in poetic composition. In his review of poetic history, he stresses that the value of past poems lies in that they concerned themselves with the reality of their own eras. Moreover, close to the end of the preface, he emphasizes that many of the poems that appeared in the current series merely "used ancient titles, but lacked any ancient meanings" (雖用古題，全無古義), which, in his view, meant that they cut off their relation to tradition. In regard to Du Fu, Yuan lists some poems with appreciation:

> 近代詩人唯杜甫《悲陳陶》、《哀江頭》、《兵車》、《麗人》等，凡所歌行，率皆即事名篇，無復倚傍。予少時與友人樂天、李公垂輩，謂是爲當，遂不復擬賦古題。[12]
>
> From recent poets, there are only Du Fu's "Lamenting Chentao," "Mourning by the Riverside," "War Chariots," "Beauties," and so forth – all these songs are titled according to the actual matters, and nothing else is relied upon. In my youth, when discussing poetry with friends like Letian and Li Gongchui, we considered this the proper way, and no longer compose by imitating ancient titles.

All these poems concern specific contemporary events, and Yuan regards Du Fu – cited as the only recent poet who did not base his writings on extant themes of Music Bureau poetry – as

[12] Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 14.

a poet that shared the same view of literature espoused by Yuan Zhen and his friends, which was that tradition could be abandoned for the sake of renewed emphasis on the present.

Such an image of Du Fu is more clearly presented in Yuan Zhen's "Chou Xiaofu jianzeng shishou (qi er)" 酬孝甫見贈十首（其二） [Ten Pieces Responding to Poems Presented by Xiaofu, No. 2]:

杜甫天材頗絕倫	Du Fu's Heaven-granted talents are peerless indeed,
每尋詩卷似情親	Whenever I pursue his poetry scrolls, it is like being on intimate terms (with him).
憐渠直道當時語	I cherish how he speaks directly in the language of his time,
不著心源傍古人[13]	And expresses himself from the depths of his heart without relying on the ancient.

Yuan Zhen and Bai Juyi's tendency to reject tradition's influence reflected their early ninth century ambition to use poetry to criticize reality – a quality that literary historians have widely referred to as the "New Music Bureau Movement" 新樂府運動.[14] Some of Du Fu's poems were selected as objects of admiration inasmuch as such works produced a particular image of a poet concerned mainly with "reality" as a theme. This specific image did not match up with the entire image of Du Fu, as Bai Juyi himself clearly stated that only a small part of Du Fu's poems were to be admired. As long as such an image could be summarized from selected poems,

[13] Ibid., 13.

[14] For this "movement," see Liao Meiyun 廖美雲, *Yuan Bai xin yuefu yanjiu* 元白新樂府研究 (Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, 1989); Zhong Youmin 鍾優民, *Xin yuefu shipai yanjiui* 新樂府詩派研究 (Shenyang: Liaoning daxue chubanshe, 1997).

however, it became the "ideal" poet that Yuan and Bai at that time took as a model.[15] Bai and Yuan's literary views intensively presented in "Yu Yuanjiu shu" and "Yuefu guti xu" directed later readers to understand these selected poems by Du Fu in the way they presented him. And in the Song, these poems continued to be taken as representative works of Du Fu – a poet who concerned himself with realities of his era.[16]

Han Yu's emphasis on tradition and Yuan Zhen and Bai Juyi's rejection of tradition seem to follow opposite logics, but they actually do not conflict with each other, because Yuan and Bai focused on specific characters of Du Fu's poetry, while Han did not. Their evaluative contributions were on different levels, and became transmitted side-by-side in later eras.[17] On one hand, a claim to tradition was necessary so as to justify one's own literary activities. On the other, the pressure existed that required later figures demonstrate one's innovativeness in order to have a position in literary history. For later critics, it was not an issue of choosing a side on

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[15] In his late years, Bai Juyi released himself from the responsibilities he burdened himself with. In 834, he wrote "Xu Luo shi" 序洛詩 [Preface to Poems Written in Luoyang] in which he described his life as "having enough leisure, fully occupied by intoxicating enjoyment, without a single word about bitterness, without a single sigh caused by sorrow." 閒適有餘，酣樂不暇，苦詞無一字，憂歎無一聲。This was completely different from his earlier viewpoint that poetry should show concerns for contemporary social situation. Accordingly, he mentioned Du Fu only as someone who required sympathy, and was most notably not a model to follow.

[16] Du Fu's poetry, however, was not popular for Tang anthologists in general, and the poems that were well received in late Tang anthologies were different from those admired by Yuan Zhen, Bai Juyi and the Song poets. See Stephen Owen, "A Tang version of Du Fu: The *Tangshi leixuan* 唐詩類選," *T'ang Studies* 25 (2007): 57-90.

[17] Two sub-theses concerning Li Bai and Du Fu have developed in later literary criticism that well echo the difference between Han Yu on one side and Yuan Zhen, Bai Juyi on the other. One is the juxtaposition of Li and Du (*Li Du bingcheng* 李杜並稱), which emphasizes the greatness of both Li Bai and Du Fu as the top two poets of the Tang. The other focuses more on the differences between Li and Du, and often sought to figure out who was a better poet. It is usually summarized in the phrase "comparatively discussing Li and Du" (*Li Du youlie lun* 李杜優劣論). The comparison of Li and Du was actually based on their mutual juxtaposition due to the fact that their comparison makes sense only when the compared poets are of the same level. Although for more than a thousand years it has been severely disputed who of Li Bai and Du Fuwas a better poet, such disputes in effect all serve to confirm that only Li and Du, rather than anyone else, were the greatest poets of the Tang.

which to stand, but of having the two ways of consideration balanced and adapting them to one's own literary pursuits. Only in this way could Du Fu become a perfect model to follow.

In the eleventh century, Wang Hui's 王回 (1023-1065) comments on selected poems by Du Fu explicitly followed Bai Juyi and Yuan Zhen's readings; Meanwhile, he also emphasized on tradition, just like Han Yu.[18] An early twelfth century collection of Tang and Song materials on Du Fu, *Zhujia Lao Du shiping* 諸家老杜詩評 [*Comments to Du Fu's Poetry by Various Critics*], lists thirteen entries drawn from Wang Hui's personal collection that comment on thirteen of Du Fu's poems.[19] The late 12th century *Jiujia jizhu Du shi* 九家集註杜詩 [*Nine Collected Commentaries to Du Fu's Poetry*] by Guo Zhida 郭知達 contains all but one of these thirteen entries.[20] Guo's quotations of Wang, which usually start with "Wang Shenfu says" (王深父曰) or "the preface by Wang Shenfu says" (王深父序曰), are probably drawn directly from Wang Hui's collection, rather than from *Zhujia Lao Du shiping*, because in *Zhujia Lao Du shiping* all the thirteen entries are collectively under the title of "*Wang Shenfu ji* shisan shi" 王深父集十三事 [Thirteen Issues from the *Collection of Wang Shenfu*] and nothing is mentioned about any "preface."[21] If this was indeed the case, such a phenomenon would signify that when both the

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[18] For an introduction to Wang Hui, see Zhang Jing 張靜, "Bei Song Wang Hui xiongdi wentan jiaoyou kaoshu" 北宋王回兄弟文壇交游考述, *Hebei gongye daxue xuebao (Sheke ban)* 河北工業大學學報（社科版）3, 4 (Dec., 2011): 1-7.

[19] Zhang Zhonggang 張忠綱, ed., *Du Fu shihua jiaozhu liuzhong* 杜甫詩話校注六種 (Ji'nan: Qi Lu shushe, 2002), 13-16.

[20] Textual differences between *Zhujia Lao Du shiping* and *Jiu jia jizhu Du shi* are recorded in *Du Fu shihua jiaozhu liuzhong*, ibid. For introduction to *Zhujia Lao Du shiping*, see ibid., 1-4. For *Jiu jia jizhu Du shi*, see Zhang Zhonggang 張忠綱 et al., eds, *Du ji xulu* 杜集敘錄 (Ji'nan: Qi Lu shushe, 2008), 80-84. Wang Hui's comment missing in *Jiu jia jizhu Du shi* is for "Bei Chentao" 悲陳陶 [Lamenting Chentao]; see discussion below.

[21] Shenfu 深父 (more often written as 深甫 in Northern Song materials) was Wang Hui's courtesy name. In *Jiujia jizhu Du shi*, Wang Hui's comments to "Liu Huamen" 留花門 and "Se

Zhujia Lao Du shiping and *Jiujia jizhu Du shi* separately quoted Wang Hui's collection, they quoted nearly-identical content. This in turn leads us to conclude that in Wang Hui's original collection there were just those thirteen entries.

The particular poems that Wang Hui chose all concern political or military issues associated with the Tang state. They are: "Xin'an li" 新安吏 [The Official of Xin'an], "Tongguan li" 潼關吏 [The Official of Tong Pass], "Shihao li" 石壕吏 [The Official of Shihao Village], "Xinhun bie" 新婚別 [Departure of a Newly Married Couplet], "Chuilao bie" 垂老別 [Departure of the Senior], "Wujia bie" 無家別 [Departure of the Homeless], "Liu Huamen" 留花門 [Having the Uyghur Stay], "Se Luzi" 塞蘆子 [Blocking Luzi Pass], "Jiaren" 佳人 [The Beauty], "Bingche xing" 兵車行 [Song of Chariots], "Bei Chentao" 悲陳陶 [Lamenting Chentao], "Bei Qingban" 悲青坂 [Lamenting Qingban], "Ai wangsun" 哀王孫 [Lamenting the Princes]. This list considerably overlaps with what Yuan Zhen and Bai Juyi had evaluated previously. As discussed above, "Bingche xing" and "Bei Chentao" are mentioned in Yuan's "Yuefu guti xu," and "Xin'an li." Bai Juyi alternately focused on "Shihao li," "Tongguan li," "Liu Huamen" and "Se Luzi" in his "Yu Yuanjiu shu." These are more than half of the thirteen poems in Wang Hui's selection. Moreover, in terms of theme and topic, "Bei Qingban" resembles "Bei Chentao," while "Ai wangsun" in Wang Hui's selection is similar to "Ai jiangtou" 哀江頭 [Mourning by the Riverside] that was mentioned in Yuan Zhen's "Yuefu guti xu," and so are the "Three Poems of Departure" (i.e., "Xinhun bie," "Chuilao bie," "Wujia bie") to the "Three Poems of Officials" (i.e., "Xin'an li," "Tongguan li," "Shihao li"). That is to say, twelve of the thirteen poems selected by Wang Hui echo those whose subject matter had already been addressed in the works

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Luzi" 塞蘆子 are quoted as "the preface by Wang Shenfu says" rather than just "Wang Shenfu says."

of Bai Juyi and Yuan Zhen. The last poem in Wang Hui's selection, "Jiaren," which is open to various interpretations, is also related to political issues in Tang history.

From the perspective of a modern reader, all of the poems mentioned above fall into the category of "Du Fu's masterpieces," and modern critics are not shy of citing Yuan Zhen and Bai Juyi to justify such evaluations. Yet as some scholars have noticed, Du Fu's poems that received particular attention during the ninth and tenth centuries were quite different than those cited today.[22] Wang Hui was the first critic after Yuan Zhen and Bai Juyi who also thought highly of these poems. But what occurred during the intervening two-and-a-half centuries? There is no evidence that Wang Hui specifically cites to indicate that he had Bai and Yuan in mind when selecting these poems for discussion. The coincidence in selection does, however, reflect that Wang's concern in the eleventh century shared certain similarities with that professed by Yuan and Bai in the ninth century.

On the other hand, the difference was also obvious. While Bai Juyi and Yuan Zhen only generally explained the reasons that they appreciated these poems, Wang provided specific interpretation of each poem. Moreover, his method of interpretation resembled those comments contained in the "minor prefaces" that today precede poems in *Shijing*.[23] For example, Wang Hui commented on "Xin'an li" thus:

> 乾元二年，郭子儀等九節度之師，圍安慶緒於鄴。時不立元帥，以中官魚朝恩為觀軍容宣慰使，師遂潰於城下。諸節度各還本鎮，子儀保河陽，詔留守東都。此詩蓋哀出兵之役。夫古者遣將，有推轂分閫之命，否則棄其師於敵也。虐至於無告，如詩之所

[22] See Stephen Owen, "A Tang Version of Du Fu: The *Tangshi leixuan* 唐詩類選," *T'ang Studies* 25 (2007): 57-90.

[23] This more or less testifies to Guo Zhida's quotations of "the preface by Wang Shenfu says."

憾，其君臣豈不皆刺哉？然子儀猶寬，得罪，故卒章美焉。[24]

In the second year of the Qianyuan reign, an army led by Guo Ziyi and other eight warlords surrounded An Qingxu at Ye. At that time, no marshal was appointed, and the eunuch, Yu Chao'en, was appointed supervisor-consoler. The (Tang) army was therefore defeated outside the fortress. The warlords returned to lands they garrisoned, and Ziyi defended Heyang. He was then ordered to stay in and defend the East Capital. This poem laments the event of sending troops. In ancient times, when generals were sent out, there were orders of "pushing the cart" and "differentiating inside and outside of the threshold;" otherwise one would abandon his army to the mercy of the enemy. Soldiers were abused to the extent that they had nowhere to turn for help – as the poem regrets for; aren't the emperor and the courtiers both criticized? Yet Ziyi, despite his mercy, received punishment too. The last stanza therefore praises him.

The first half of this paragraph historically contextualizes the poem in question, and further elaborates on its theme. It does so first in a summarizing sentence, and then provides further description. It uses the entirety of the poem as an example of both "criticism" (*ci* 刺) and "praise" (*mei* 美). This format, and the "praise/criticism" 美刺 dichotomy, both follow the tradition of *Shijing* commentaries.

Wang Hui's other commentaries on Du Fu's work retain similar characteristics. He says that "Tongguan li "criticizes" (*ci* 刺) the stupid appointment of military leader, while "Bingche xing" criticizes Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (for overusing military force). He states that "Xinhun bie" is a "complaint" (*yuan* 怨) regarding the departure of a newly married woman from a husband

[24] Zhang Zhonggang, *Du Fu shihua jiaozhu liuzhong*, 13.

recruited by the Tang army, and "Liu Huamen" showed "worry" (*you* 憂) for the Tang court that had requested Uyghur military assistance to recover the capital. Finally, "Ai wangsun" "lamented" (*ai* 哀) for members of the Tang imperial household who lost shelter after the rebel army occupied the capital. In this way, Du Fu becomes a direct witness of those events that occurred both in and outside the Tang court – especially during the An Lushan Rebellion. The criticisms, worries, or laments in these poems, however, are Wang Hui's own understanding of their context provided through his commentarial notes.

However didactic in tone, Wang Hui provided a rationale for his interpretations. He usually relied on the assumption that ancient philosophers or "the ancient kings" (*xianwang* 先王) served as standards for virtuous behavior. To still take "Xin'an li" for example, according to Wang, the poem was intended to lament for the Tang army beaten by the Rebels. The reason for their failure, Wang states, was that the Tang court, unwilling to trust the generals, sent eunuchs to supervise them. Wang then goes on to cite an allusion to *Shiji* 史記 [*Records of the Grand Historian*], which reads "pushing the cart; differentiating inside and outside of the threshold" (*tuigu fenkun* 推轂分閫), to discuss the issue here. When Feng Tang 馮唐 was confronted with a Xiongnu 匈奴 invasion, Feng suggested that Emperor Wen 文帝 should grant more trusts to those fighting at frontier. To make his point, Feng cited "the ancient kings":

> 臣聞上古王者之遣將也，跪而推轂，曰閫以內者，寡人制之；閫以外者，將軍制之。軍功爵賞皆決於外，歸而奏之。此非虛言也。[25]

I hear that when ancient kings sent out generals, they knelt to push the cart, saying: "Inside

[25] Sima Qian 司馬遷, *Shiji* 史記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), Vol. 9, 2758.

the threshold I myself issue orders; outside, it is the task of you generals to do so." Military merits, peerage and awards were all determined outside (by the generals); when they returned, they reported it. These are not false words.

Although the expression "pushing the cart; differentiating inside and outside of the threshold" comes from this paragraph in *Shiji*, Wang ultimately attributes its inspiration to "the ancient kings. Wang's comments on "Xin'an li" as such emphasize its originators as "those who lived in ancient times," rather than the historical figure – Feng Tang – who quoted it. In this way, Wang's view of Du Fu's poem reflects on its conformation of principles already set down by the ancients.

Wang's commentary on other poems similarly draws on ancient philosophers or ancient kings. He quotes Confucius when discussing "Liu Huamen" and "Bei Qingban," Mencius for "Tongguan li" and "Ai wangsun," and "an ancient king" for "Xinhun bie," "Wujia bie" and "Bingche xing." For "Chuilao bie" and "Shihao li," he cites "the recruitment of those living in the left part of neighborhood" (閭左之戍), i.e., the untoward recruitment efforts put forth by Qin 秦 that finally resulted in the uprising led by Chen Sheng 陳勝 and Wu Guang 吳廣, so as to compare such an example with the situation in the Tang. In Wang Hui's interpretation, various ancient criteria both defined ideal policies and justified criticism to Tang court as such examples appeared in Du Fu's poems.

A certain regard for "ancient kings" and "ancient sages" inasmuch as one discussed realistic issues also appears in the work of Northern Song statesmen. Wang Hui's friend, Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021-1086), is key among them. His 1058 "Shang Renzong huangdi yanshishu" 上仁宗皇帝言事書 [Memorial to Emperor Renzong] made the suggestion that the Song emperor

should "follow the ancient kings" (*fa xianwang* 法先王).[26] In order to provide specific examples of methods utilized by these kings, he led the compilation of new commentaries to the *Shijing*, the *Shangshu* 尚書 [*Book of Documents*] and the *Zhou li* 周禮 [*The Rites of Zhou*]. Wang's particular understanding of the "prefaces" to poems in the *Shijing* are clearly laid out in his "Da Han Qiuren shu" 答韓求仁書 [Epistle Responding to Han Qiuren]:

> 蓋序詩者不知何人，然非達先王之法言者，不能為也。故其言約而明，肆而深。[27]
>
> It is not known who prefaced the poems (in *Shijing*). But unless it was someone who was well familiar with the ancient kings' standard remarks, such a thing could not be done. As such, the words of the prefaces are brief but clear, unrestricted yet profound.

Wang Ansi's concern with the ways in which "the ancient kings" guided the production of poetry is identical with the sentiment behind Wang Hui's commentary of Du Fu's poems. That is to say, in the ninth century, Yuan Zhen and Bai Juyi already had emphasized the importance of Du Fu's poems inasmuch as they bore witness to the real events of the Tang, and then Wang Hui built on this by further establishing the connection between Du Fu and the ancient tradition of didactic critique pioneered by the *Shijing*. In this way, he effectively combined Bai Juyi and Yuan Zhen's emphasis on realistic concerns with Han Yu's deference to tradition. Of course, the "reality" in Du Fu's era ultimately became "history" for those in the Song. A wholehearted concern for reality, however, remained the same for Song literati. For them, such a concern originated in the actions of the "ancient kings," was transmitted to Du Fu, and then came down

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[26] See the memorial in Wang Anshi, *Linchuan xiansheng wenji* 臨川先生文集 (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju Shanghai bianjisuo, 1959), 410-423.
[27] Ibid., 761.

to their own era. This was why Du Fu's poetic texts were important to them just like the *Shijing*.

In the reception theory of Hans Robert Jauss, such a concern for reality made a profound impact on the poetic "horizon of expectations" confronted by Song literati. Jauss understood literary history as an event proceeding with the "realization of literary texts" by generation after generation:

> History of literature is a process of aesthetic reception and production that takes place in the realization of literary texts on the part of the receptive reader, the reflective critic, and the author in his continuing productivity…In contrast to a political event, a literary event has no unavoidable consequences subsisting on their own that no succeeding generation can ever escape. A literary event can continue to have an effect only if those who come after it still or once again respond to it – if there are readers who again appropriate the past work or authors who want to imitate, outdo, or refute it. The coherence of literature as an event is primarily mediated in the horizon of expectations of the literary experience of contemporary and later readers, critics, and authors. Whether it is possible to comprehend and represent the history of literature in its unique historicity depends on whether this horizon of expectations can be objectified.[28]

Texts could be analogous to "raw materials" of literary history. However it is later generations of "readers, critics and authors" who, by "realizing" earlier texts, provide driving power for the progress of literary history. In the reception history of Du Fu and his poetry, Han Yu, Bai Juyi,

[28] Hans Robert Jauss, "Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory," in *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, trans. Timothy Bahti (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982), 21-22.

and Yuan Zhen in the ninth century, and Wang Hui along with others in the eleventh all "realized" a selection of Du Fu's poetic texts by carefully selecting and interpreting those that held importance for certain evaluations of their own time and of the past. They not only maintained a similar stress on tradition and concern for reality, but also regarded such stress and concern as embodying poetry's essential characteristics. In Jauss's words, they shared a similar "horizon of expectations," which arose from "a pre-understanding of the genre, from the form and themes of already familiar works, and from the opposition between poetic and practical language."[29] For Bai Juyi, Yuan Zhen, and Wang Hui, a certain concern for reality was an essential part of their initial understanding of poetry as a genre, just as poetry's cognitive function and renewed stylistic features became critical in the Song.

The particular poems highlighted by Yuan Zhen, Bai Juyi, and Wang Hui also made it possible to distill Du Fu's image as a Confucian poet that committed himself to both the state and the common people. Su Shi's 蘇軾 (1037-1101) "Wang Dingguo shiji xu" 王定國詩集敘 [Preface to the Poetic Collection of Wang Dingguo], for example, praises Du Fu for not forgetting the emperor:

> 古今詩人眾矣，而杜子美為首，豈非以其流落饑寒，終身不用，而一飯未嘗忘君也歟？[30]
>
> There have been many poets in past and present times, but Du Zimei was on top of them all. Is it not due to the fact that he – regardless of having been driven from pillar to post in hunger and cold, and never really appointed in his life – never forgot his emperor even during a meal?

[29] Ibid., 22.
[30] Kong Fanli 孔凡禮, ed., *Su Shi wenji* 蘇詩文集 (Beijing: Zhonghua), Vol. 1, 318.

A similar opinion appears in the eighth of the forty-one-note series of Su's "Yu Wang Dingguo" 與王定國 [To Wang Dingguo]:

> 杜子美在窮困之中，一飲一食，未嘗忘君，詩人以來，一人而已。[31]
>
> In impoverishment, Du Zimei, even during a drink or a meal, never forgot his emperor. Since there were poets, he was the only one that did this.

The image of Du Fu "never forgetting the emperor even during a meal or a drink" is certainly a vivid image that highlights Du Fu's loyalty to Tang sovereignty. But as a Song scholar-official, Su Shi's actual emphasis is not placed on the specific Tang emperors in the eighth century, but on the emperor broadly conceived, who, in theory, serves as an emblem for both state and commoners in a similar fashion to those "ancient kings" that appear in Wang Hui's commentaries. Only in this way did Su Shi's extolment of Du Fu cohere in a recognizable fashion to his contemporaries in the Song.

From the perspective of scholar-officials, the emperor also represented bureaucratic service. Their own political ambition that embodied their concern for the reality should be fulfilled through success in the bureaucratic system. Such ambition, however, was not the whole story. For eleventh century scholar-officials, bureaucratic service and reclusion were two ideal life modes that competed with – but also mutually sustained – each other. In general, Du Fu's constructed image as a Confucian poet represented the mode of service, but this did not occur until the mid-eleventh century. The change was particularly reflected in the discussion of the

[31] Ibid., Vol. 4, 1517.

relations between Du Fu's poetic achievements and the various hardships of his life.

Hardship and Poetry

As discussed in Chapter 2, the hardship Du Fu encountered in Shu was a distinct element of collective memory throughout the ninth and tenth centuries. This aspect of Du Fu's biography not only became transmitted to later eras, but also became intertwined with the reception of his literary achievement, as well. In general, Du Fu became regarded as a typical example of poet who notably benefited from the hardship that he suffered.

Aside from mention in the "Yu Yuanjiu shu" and "Du Li Du shiji yinti juanhou" 讀李杜詩集因題卷後 ["Reading the Poetic Collections of Li Bai and Du Fu, and Writing at the End of the Scrolls"] by Bai Juyi discussed in Chapter 2, Du Fu's hardship was also well remembered by others since the ninth century. Han Yu, for example, also mentioned in "Tiao Zhang Ji" that "only these two masters (i.e., Li Bai and Du Fu) both set their homes in desolation" (惟此兩夫子，家居率荒涼). In an collection of anecdotes attributed to Feng Zhi 馮贄 (fl. late ninth century), Du Fu is described as having received a stone from Heaven that certified him as the best writer of the Tang. Unfortunately, he later took the stone to a market, where it was polluted by the smell of green onions. This resulted in a destiny characterized by "literary achievements without high ranking" (文而不貴).[32] Although the story may sound ridiculous to certain ears, it reflects that it was not only eminent literati like Han Yu, but also the Late Tang social memory in general, that remembered Du Fu as an excellent, albeit impoverished poet.

With acknowledgement of the relation of literary achievement to the author's hard life, efforts were made to explain why this was the situation. Sun Qiao 孫樵, a ninth century essayist

[32] Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 52.

who declared himself to be follower of Han Yu, argued in a letter to his friend, Jia Xiyi 賈希逸, that a balance existed between the fate of writers capable of profound thought and their respective literary achievement:

> 文章亦然，所取者廉，其得必多；取者深，其身必窮……杜甫、李白、王江寧，皆相望於窮者也。[33]
>
> Literary composition is also as such. If one's pursuit (in composition) is meager, one's gains (in other aspects) must be many. If one's pursuit (in composition) is profound, one's personage will definitely face hardship… Du Fu, Li Bai, and Wang Jiangning (i.e., Wang Changling 王昌齡) alike all viewed each other to be in dire circumstances.

The logic behind such a statement consists of the assumption that one's literary achievements and other gains in life existed in conflict. Both Li Bai and Du Fu, among others including Confucius and Mencius, appear cited as examples of writers in situations of hardship. Sun Qiao aimed to encourage Jia Xiyi to continue writing, and as such attempted to theoretically clarify that a connection truly existed between the hardship faced by writers and their literary achievements.

Such an understanding can be traced back to Han Yu, who in "Jing Tan changhe shi xu" 荊潭唱和詩序 [Preface to Responsive Poems of Jing and Tan] claimed that "It is difficult to craft pleasant words, (but) it is easy to make good remarks when in hardship" (歡愉之辭難工，窮苦之

[33] Ibid., 29.

言易好).[34] Han Yu's reasoning is also based on the assumed conflict between literary success and other aspects in one's life:

> 是故文章之作，恒發於羈旅草野；至若王公貴人，氣滿誌得，非性能而好之，則不暇以為。[35]
>
> Literary composition thusly always originates from strange lands and rural places. Officials and noble people with sated wills and fulfilled intentions, however, do not have time for such things – unless they excel and revel in it by deign of their own natures.

This is to say that a life of hardship urges the writer to focus on literature, while noblemen or high-ranked officials are more often occupied with other issues. In this sense, a life of hardship is conceived as being a characteristic of those who lacked bureaucratic positions. Only those who had no opportunities to realize their ambition would therefore set their mind on literary composition as a goal.

Song Qi 宋祁 (998-1061) and Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072) professed similar sentiments to both Han Yu and Sun Qiao. Song Qi described the hardship faced by poets as one decreed by fate alone:

> 詩爲天地蘊，予常意藏混茫中，若有區所，人之才者，能往取之……然造物者吝之，其取之無限，則輒窮蹙其命，而怫戾所為。予略記其近者：……杜子美客巴蜀，入沅

[34] Ma Qichang 馬其昶, ed., *Han Changli wenji jiaozhu* 韓昌黎文集校注 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1986), 262.
[35] Ibid., 262-263.

湘，寒饑不自存……[36]

Poetry is accumulated by Heaven and Earth. I often guess that it is contained amid chaos–seemingly in particular places; it may be the case that talented people can go forth and seize it… Creation, however, is stingy with it: (if) one seizes it without limit, (Creation will) destine his fate to be one of hardship, and his experiences will be of a strange variety. I provide record in brief of recent people of this kind: … Du Zimei, wandering to Bashu and entering the districts of Yuan and Xiang, was unable to survive in cold and hunger…

The sentiment expressed above describes circumstances in which poetic achievement is said to be granted by Heaven. As a result, gains in poetry must also result in loss in other aspects of one's life. In such a case, Du Fu was an exemplar of such a process. The idea expressed here is similar to that of Sun Qiao. Instead of merely describing the phenomenon of hardship and poetic inspiration, however, Song Qi attributes the existence of this phenomenon to a more metaphysical set of processes.

Unlike Song Qi's perspective, Ouyang Xiu's understanding of the interlinkage between hard life and poetry was considerably more practical. He expresses this in his "Mei Shengyu shiji xu" 梅聖俞詩集序 [Preface to Mei Shengyu's Poetic Collection]:

凡士之蘊其所有，而不得施於世者，多喜自放於山巔水涯之外……蓋愈窮則愈工。然則非詩之能窮人，殆窮者而後工也。[37]

Among literati, all those who accumulate what they have but cannot apply it to the world

[36] Song Qi, "Huaihai congbian ji xu" 淮海叢編集序, in Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 65.
[37] Hong Benjian 洪本健, ed., *Ouyang Xiu shiwenji jiaojian* 歐陽修詩文集校箋 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2009), Vol. 2, 1092-93.

> frequently prefer to let themselves go among mountains and rivers… The more they face hardship, the more exquisite their poetry. Given this situation, it is not the case that poetry drives poets into hardship; it is likely instead that poets achieve greatness after facing such hardship.

In Ouyang's view, poets confronted with hardship were able to write good poetry due to the fact that they had no other opportunities to use their talents in other circumstances. This is very similar to Han Yu's own view on the subject, which is to say that such a situation was more lamentable than appreciated. In the following part of the preface, Ouyang Xiu expresses regret at the fact that Mei had not been recommended to the imperial court, and therefore not given the chance to show his poetic talents.

In reference to Du Fu in particular, Ouyang Xiu's poem titled "Tangzhong huaxiang tanti de Zimei" 堂中畫像探題得杜子美 [On Portraits in the Hall: Picking a Title and Get Zimei] again emphasized that literary achievement was a complementary aspect to a life of hardship:

風雅久寂寞	The *Airs* and the *Elegantiae* have long been lonesome,
吾思見其人	I would like to meet this person.
杜君詩之豪	With the heroic poetry of Mr. Du
來者孰比倫	Who among the newcomers can be his peer?
生為一身窮	When he was alive, his single body was in straits,
死也萬世珍	After he died, he has been cherished for ten thousand eras.
言苟可垂後	If one's words can pass to later times,

士無羞賤貧[38] The literatus need not feel shame about his impoverishment.

Generally speaking, Ouyang Xiu still only regards Du Fu as an excellent poet. He mentions nothing related to social responsibilities or thwarted political ambition. In the last couplet, however, he makes the claim that enduring words enable one to avoid "shame of the impoverishment," which indicates that some shame exists in reference to the hardship faced by poets unable to realize their potential in civil service.

Qian Zhongshu stated long ago that the relationship between hardship and literary achievement was a phenomenon that existed as a common trope from the Han dynasty forward.[39] Theoretical musing on this issue by figures like Han Yu and Ouyang Xiu, however, largely centers on the unique position of poetry in a dichotomous structure. Poetry emblematized the substitution of one's ambition for a life of wealth and honor, and represented a path away from a bureaucratic career. In the relationship between one's bureaucratic pursuit and poetic achievement, the latter became narrated as an alternative to the former, rather than an integral part of it. It was impossible to face hardship with happy confidence, but if frustration in bureaucratic career and a subsequently impoverished life was an inevitable part of life, then literary achievement could indeed serve as a possible substitute. In such consideration, Han Yu and Ouyang Xiu implicitly showed enthusiasm for social and political affairs although they avoided delegating poetry or literature to a position inferior to bureaucratic or political pursuit.

Therefore, the image of Du Fu facing hardship provided a potential model for literati like

[38] Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 69. For the background of this poem's composition, see Han Youshan 韓酉山, "Ouyang Xiu Yingzhou Juxing Tang yanji fushi kaoshu" 歐陽修潁州聚星堂燕集賦詩考述, *Jianghuai luntan* 江淮論壇, 4 (1999): 86-92.

[39] See Qian Zhongshu 錢鍾書, *Guanzhui bian* 管錐編 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), Vol. 3, 935-942.

Han Yu, Bai Juyi or Ouyang Xiu. While they were all ambitiously active in political careers, poetry was also part of their life. Such identities of poet-official require clarification of the relationship between their pursuits in these two spheres. If poetry was defined as an alternative to bureaucratic achievements, then the recognition of poetry's value actually became something akin to insurance. Frustration in political career would not result in loss of everything. At the very least, one could still pursue success in poetic composition. Although later poet-officials, especially those in the Song, seldom suffered from difficulty as much as that which is presented in Du Fu's poetry, the ability to understand poetry as an acceptable alternative to bureaucratic career ultimately placed them in a relatively healthy psychological preparation for possible failure in their career. To sum up, the emulation of a poetic likewise such as those advocated by figures like Han Yu and Ouyang Xiu was a type of reclusion. Retreating into poetry came to represent the same act as retreating into mountains.

Later generations that followed Ouyang Xiu, however, provided new understanding of Du Fu's image of a poet faced with hardship. Instead of emphasizing the tension between literary achievement and bureaucratic success, a new idea emerged that acknowledged both bureaucratic and poetic pursuits as coexisting ideals. As a model, Du Fu was admired for his achievements in both officialdom and his poetic lifestyle, instead of the latter alone.

A typical example is Wang Anshi's "Du Fu huaxiang" 杜甫畫像 [A Portrait of Du Fu], which was possibly composed in 1052.[40] After first extolling Du Fu's literary achievements, Wang turned to reflect on Du's life of hardship, as well as his concern for the emperor and the common people:

[40] Gao Keqin 高克勤, ed., *Wang Jingwengong shi jianzhu* 王荊文公詩箋注 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2010), Vol. 1, 315-317.

惜哉命之窮	How regrettable! His straitened fate:
顛倒不見收	He drifted from place to place, never sheltered.
青衫老更斥	From his low-rank post he was dismissed even in his late years,
餓走半九州	Starved, he wandered around half of the Nine States.
瘦妻僵前子仆後	His skinny wife got stiff in front, his sons fell down in behind,
攘攘盜賊森戈矛	Crowds of bandits all equipped with dagger-axes and spears.
吟哦當此時	Even in his composition at such moments
不廢朝廷憂	His concern for the court is not discarded.
常願天子聖	Constantly he wishes the Son of Heaven is a sage,
大臣各伊周	And courtiers are either Yi Yin or the Duke of Zhou.
寧令吾廬獨破受凍死	"I'd rather only let my house break and myself freeze to death,"
不忍四海寒颼颼	But cannot bear to have the whole world steeped in bitter cold.
傷屯悼屈止一身	Those whose regrets for difficulties or laments for displeasure are never beyond themselves
嗟時之人我所羞	And those sighing for their eras – I am ashamed of them.
所以見公畫	Therefore when I see the portrait of the master
再拜涕泗流	I repeatedly worship it and burst into tears.
惟公之心古亦少	Even the minds in ancient times were rarely similar to the master's,
願起公死從之游	I would like to resurrect the master and follow him as friend.

The point here is that Du Fu, in spite of his life of hardship, never forgot the emperor. Taking Du Fu as the model, Wang Anshi mainly emphasized that one should not only lament for himself, but for the entire era in which he lived. In Wang's view, a responsible scholar-official should positively act to enact change during his lifetime if the era did not rise to meet his ideal standards. In this, Du Fu was indeed such a responsible person. This is why that in the end, Wang wishes he could resurrect Du Fu and join him in undertaking his responsibilities to society as a whole. With this in mind, poetry is no longer a substitute for success in one's career. Despite frustration within officialdom, the ideal model never abandoned his concern for the real world. "Poetic reclusion" by itself was not a favorable choice.

Su Shi's thesis about Du Fu "never forgetting the emperor even during a meal or a drink" reflects a similar consideration. Impoverishment could be an excuse for not caring about the state or emperor. Yet in Su Shi's opinion, the more admirable path exemplified by Du Fu was to always commit oneself to those social responsibilities that were fulfilled through one's association with the emperor. Retreating into a life of taking enjoyment in mere poetic composition was far from a virtuous act. Instead, it was Du Fu's commitment to his present reality that made him the best of all poets in both past and present.

It suffices to say that while memories about Du Fu's hardship and an acknowledgement of its relations to Du's literary achievements remained very similar across the centuries, the appropriate method to interpret a figure like Du changed from generation to generation. Prior to the mid-eleventh century, poetic composition was, in general, understood as an alternative to bureaucratic service. Even though memories about Du Fu's life of hardship led to recognition of his literary achievements, there was no intention to establish him as a symbol of commitment to social concerns. Literati represented by Wang Anshi and Su Shi, however, no longer took poetry

as an alternative to bureaucratic career. They instead directly recognized Du Fu as a person with a great sense of social responsibility, which, in their evaluation, rendered Du Fu's literary achievements even greater.

Su Shi's thesis of Du Fu "never forgetting the emperor even during a meal or a drink" was particularly influential if only due to the fact that he summarized the issue in a very concise but powerful way. Yet, the matter remained: Which of Du Fu's poems supported such a summary? Of Du Fu's surviving poems, it is perhaps "Huaiye lengtao" 槐葉冷淘 [Cold Noodles Made from Pagoda Tree Leaves] that comes closest to a confirmation of this thesis.[41] The ten-couplet poem, dated to 767, appears to be one that reflects upon the experience of preparing and eating "lengtao," which was a kind of cold noodle made of flour mixed with grinded pagoda tree leaves. After spending the first half of the poem describing the process of preparing and tasting the food, the second half is devoted to expressing the desire to serve the emperor:

願隨金騕褭	I wish to follow the golden horse Yaoniao,
走置錦屠蘇	Running to establish your majesty's decorated house.
路遠思恐泥	The way is distant, when I think about it, I am afraid it could be blocked,
興深終不渝	But my affection will remain deep and unswerving in the end.
獻芹則小小	Presenting celery is just a small thing,
薦藻明區區	Serving water greens can bare my trivial heart.
萬里露寒殿	Ten thousand miles away, dews chill the palace,

[41] See the poem Xiao Difei 蕭滌非, ed., *Du Fu quanji jiaozhu* 杜甫全集校注 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2014), Vol. 8, 4573-78.

開冰清玉壺　　Ice is cut for the purified jade flagon.

君王納涼晚　　When the emperor enjoys the cool in the night,

此味亦時須　　There is also time when this taste is needed!

The first half of the poem about cold noodles and the second half about the emperor are not logically linked until the last couplet, in which the emperor came to Du Fu's mind. According to *Tang liu dian* 唐六典 [*Six Codes of the Tang*], this kind of cold noodles were also served in the palace.[42] The food thus reminded Du Fu of the emperor and inspired his wish to be in the service of the emperor and the state. This particular poem therefore serves to confirm Su's thesis.

In "Yeren song zhuying" 野人送朱櫻 [Local Man Sending Red Cherries] (dated to 762), the new arrival of cherries to his abode also serve to remind Du Fu of cherries he had once tasted in the capital.[43] The cherries are described in the first half of the poem, which moves Du Fu to reflect upon the cherries he had eaten prior:

憶昨賜沾門下省　　I remember, in past days, awards reached the Chancellery,

退朝擎出大明宮　　After the morning court meeting they were held out of the Palace of Great Brightness.

金盤玉箸無消息　　Messages of golden plates and jade chop-sticks are no longer heard,

此日嚐新任轉蓬　　Today, tasting these cherries in season, I am bearing a shifting fate

[42] This is recorded in *juan* 15 of *Tang liu dian* 唐六典, Yingyin Wenyuange Siku quanshu 景印文淵閣四庫全書 (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshu guan, 1986), Vol. 595, 157a.
[43] Xiao Difei, *Du Fu quanji jiaozhu*, Vol. 5, 2576-82.

like leaves in whirlwind.

The verb "award" (*ci* 賜) strongly indicates that the cherries Du Fu ate were gifted upon him by the emperor, yet unlike "Huaiye lengtao," "Yeren song zhuying" does not explicitly express Du Fu's desire to return to court life for service. Only in the last couplet does he obliquely mention that he, still not settling down, has heard nothing about the court for a long time. It could therefore be said that the emperor looms behind the poem as a whole, while, on the surface, the poem mainly recalls Du Fu's personal life in the capital.

The capital again figures as a central theme in another poem written in 767, entitled "Lichun" 立春 [Beginning of Spring].[44] It also begins with reminiscence about food:

春日春盤細生菜	On a spring day, in the spring plate, the slenderly grown vegie,
忽憶兩京梅發時	Suddenly I recall the time in the two capitals when plume blossoms flowered.
盤出高門行白玉	Plates came out from grand gates like white jade proceeding,
菜傳纖手送青絲	Dishes passed by slim hands resembled green silk transferred.
巫峽寒江那對眼	Gorge Wu, the cold river, how shall I stand them coming to my eyes!
杜陵遠客不勝悲	The guest far from Duling cannot bear the sorrow.
此身未知歸定處	Know not where this body is to return and settle,
呼兒覓紙一題詩	I call my son to look for paper for composition of a poem.

[44] Ibid., Vol. 8, 4361-67.

As the poem relates, the eating of seasonal vegetables on the Beginning of Spring day reminds Du Fu of the time he used to spend the seasons in the two capitals. Contrary to his recollection of the thriving life of that place, he is now trapped in a depressingly remote locate, and – again – still unsettled. This poem is similar to "Yeren song zhuying" inasmuch as the presence of food in his current circumstances brings to mind memories of his past life in the capital, but the emperor is notably completely absent.

"Wang Shiwu qiange hui" 王十五前閣會 [Meeting at the Front Pavilion of Wang the Fifteenth] was a poem also composed in the spring of 767. [45] In this poem about a dinner with his cousin, there is no mention of the emperor. And even familiar themes, such as recollections of his past life in the capital, or laments about his unsettled feelings do not surface:

楚岸收新雨	On the banks of Chu new rain has stopped,
春台引細風	The spring terrace attracts mild wind.
情人來石上	Affectionate people come onto the rocks,
鮮膾出江中	Fresh fish is from the river.
鄰舍煩書劄	Neighboring houses are disturbed by letters and notes (sent to me),
肩輿強老翁	The old man is forced into the sedan chair.
病身虛俊味	To my sick body the delicious taste is unavailable,
何幸飫兒童	How nice it would be if I could satiate my children (with the food here).

[45] Ibid., 4377-79.

In this poem, Du Fu mainly expresses his gratitude to Wang for being invited to the dinner. The last couplet presents Du Fu's poor situations of being old and sick, which makes the humorous tone in this couplet even more sad. But again, there is no mention of the emperor.

All these poems show that although in "Huaiye lengtao" the persona indeed speaks of his wish to return to the imperial court and serve the emperor, there are also many cases in which Du Fu's persona, when having his meals, does not think of the emperor. Su Shi, however, seemed to neglect such examples. The way he put it, "during a meal" (*yifan* 一飯) or "during a drink or during a meal" (*yiyin yishi* 一飲一食), sounds like during each of his meals Du Fu always thought of the emperor. That is to say, the emperor was never off Du Fu's mind in the everyday life. Su Shi, in this sense, successfully summarized a loyalist image from selected poems by Du Fu. With the huge popularity Su Shi enjoyed among his contemporaries and later readers, this particular image of Du Fu became easily accepted and deeply rooted in the reading of Du Fu's poetry.

Su Shi's literary reputation and his authority widely recognized in the literary world enabled him to serve in a role similar to that of an anthologist. There is a caveat, however. In anthologies, poems are selected to represent a given author according to some sort of explicit standard, and the reader's understanding of the author is therefore confined by the selection. In the case of Su Shi, however, he did not do the selection, but he did provide the standard. Later readers, with their trust in Su Shi, voluntarily – either consciously or not – applied the same standard to Du Fu that Su Shi set out in his writings. In other words, he defined "Du Fu's poems (*Du shi* 杜詩)." As Michel Foucault has pointed out, an author's name "is functional in that it serves as a means of classification;" "a name can group together a number of texts and thus differentiate them from

others."[46] Su Shi took the initiative to define the name "Du Fu." When later readers and critics talked about "*Du shi*," in many cases it does not mean all of Du Fu's poems, but only the "classical" poems, i.e., poems which portrayed a Du Fu that "did not forget the emperor even during a meal." These poems have been more often read, discussed, and extolled.

"Maowu wei qiufeng suopo ge" 茅屋為秋風所破歌 [Song of My Thatched Cottage Broken by the Autumn Wind] is a typical work that numbers among the classic "*Du shi*." [47] It is perhaps one of the best examples that endorses Su Shi's claim that Du Fu, as a poet, although faced with hardship, never forgot the emperor. After arriving in Chengdu 成都, Du Fu built a thatched cottage outside the city. One day, the thatch on the roof was blown away by wind, and as the poem tells us, Du Fu was unable to recollect the lost thatch. Worsening the situation, it rained in that night, and Du Fu and his family were exposed to cold. He describes his feelings laying in bed as follows:

布衾多年冷似鐵	The cloth quilt, used for many years, is as cold as iron,
嬌兒惡臥踏裡裂	The spoiled kids, sleeping in bad manner, have kicked the inside cloth broken.

For Du Fu, the quilt felt as cold as iron, which is a feeling most often encountered in daily life but rarely in poetic verse. Such a trope not only demonstrated the fact that Du Fu and his family had been living in dire straits for a long time, but also showed that Du Fu was so sensitive to

[46] Michel Foucault, "What Is an Author?" in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice*, ed. Donald F. Bouchard, trans. Donald F. Bouchard and Sherry Simon (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977), 123.
[47] Xiao Difei, *Du Fu quanji jiaozhu*, Vol. 4, 2345-53.

the hardship of his own situation. Yet at the end of the poem, all of a sudden, he cries out thus:

安得廣廈千萬間	How to get thousands and thousands grand mansions
大庇天下寒士俱歡顏	Sheltering poor scholars in the world, making them all rejoice,
風雨不動安如山	Unshaken in wind and rain, as steady as mountains?
嗚呼何時眼前突兀見此屋	Alas! When before my eyes will be such towering houses?
吾廬獨破受凍死亦足	(In that case,) even if my own cottage was broken and I died from coldness, I would be satisfied.

Between his lament regarding his poor living condition and his apparently selfless concern for all people in the world that shared his hardship, there is little transition. The change of topic is abrupt, and we could even say this poem is not well written. But in this way the voice crying out in concern for all people in the world becomes a core focal point for the poem, and the poem as a whole becomes a vivid self-presentation of Du Fu who, despite of his own difficult situation, never forgets others in the world.

In either Du Fu's own time or Su Shi's time, expressing care for the common people and concern for the emperor could often be taken as the same, because in theory the emperor was responsible to keep the world in good order and grant the people a good life. In this sense, the self-presentation in this poem well endorses Su Shi's recognition of Du Fu's realistic concern for the world. Meanwhile, later readings of this poem went further. The broken cottage and the rain were interpreted as metaphors for the endangered Tang dynasty and the various rebellions

occurring at that time.[48] Such political readings highlight Du Fu's bounding with the state and more directly echo Su Shi's description of Du Fu as a straitened poet never forgetting his emperor.

This image is not the same as Han Yu and Ouyang Xiu expected. Han and Ouyang regarded poetic achievement resulting from hardship as an alternative to political success. Comparatively, Wang Anshi and Su Shi placed more emphasis on Du Fu's relations to politics. Su Shi claimed in particular that while achievement in poetry was worth appreciating, a truly great poet would never give up his political pursuits no matter in what situation he found himself. This was in part because it was most likely that in Wang and Su's time, i.e., the second half of the eleventh century, there were more poems by Du Fu that were easily accessible, which enabled them to form new impression of Du Fu's persona. The more essential reason, however, was that Wang Anshi and Su Shi both likely had high expectations of how scholar-officials should properly commit themselves to the state. Although they did dispute publicly about specific policies, their commitment to the state, the commoners, and the emperor was the same. It was this commitment drove Su Shi to look for a model in history that personified it, and he found Du Fu.

Meanwhile, although poetic composition was less often taken as an alternative to active bureaucratic service, reclusion as an ideal life mode was by no means rejected. The essential change occurred in the recognized relationship between service and reclusion. For scholar-officials (*shidafu* 士大夫) in the Song, both service and reclusion were appreciated as ideal life modes, and they sustained, rather than conflicting with, each other. While Du Fu was elevated as a model poet who concerned for reality, Tao Qian's 陶潛 (ca. 365-427) persona as a recluse was also constructed in the eleventh century.

[48] Song commentators like Shi Gu 師古 and Huang He 黃鶴 provided such readings in their commentaries. See "beikao" 備考 of the poem in ibid., 2349-50.

Service and Reclusion

It has been widely acknowledged that Tao Qian's image as a recluse was much better embraced in the Song than in earlier periods.[49] While a repeatedly raised example to show Tao's enjoyment of his secluded life was "Yinjiu (qi wu)" 飲酒（其五） [Drinking Wine, No. 5] with its famous line "Picking chrysanthemums under the eastern fence, leisurely I see the southern mountain" (採菊東籬下，悠然見南山), Xiaofei Tian has insightfully pointed out that the most important character in this line that reinforces Tao's recluse image, *jian* 見, was not necessarily from Tao's original text but reflected Song tastes – and especially those of Su Shi.[50] No matter whether we take Tao as a true recluse who became especially popular in the Song, or as a persona constructed by the Song literati, "recluse" as a significant issue seems to be beyond doubt.

Further examination of Su Shi's various comments on Tao and his poetry, however, shows that Su Shi did not always phrase his impressions about Tao in the same way. This is exemplified in his comments on the eleventh poem of the "Drinking Wine" series of Tao Qian.[51] The first half of the poem laments the fact that Yan Hui 顏回 was known for his virtue, yet still ended up in a state of starvation and poverty. Therefore, Tao Qian concluded that there was no need to concern oneself too much with either spiritual or material pursuits. Rather, it was important to

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[49] See 李劍鋒, *Yuan qian Tao Yuanming jieshoushi* 元前陶淵明接受史 (Ji'nan: Qi Lu shushe, 2002), 219-322; Wendy Swartz, *Reading Tao Yuanming: Shifting Paradigms of Historical Reception (427-1900)* (Cambridge, M.A. and London: Harvard University Press, 2008), 23-94.

[50] See Tao's poem in Yuan Xingpei 袁行霈, ed., *Tao Yuanming ji jianzhu* 陶淵明集箋注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003), 247. See Xiaofei Tian's discussion in *Tao Yuanming & Manuscript Culture: The Record of a Dusty Table* (Seattle & London: University of Washington Press, 2005), 31-38.

[51] See the poem in Yuan Xingpei, *Tao Yuanming ji jianzhu*, 261.

follow one's own heart:

死去何所知	After one dies, what would remain to be known?
稱心固爲好	Following my heart is indeed good.
客養千金軀	The guest cultivated his body as precious as a thousand cash,
臨化消其寶	When it perishes such treasure will be eliminated.
裸葬何必惡	Buried naked – why this has to be disliked?
人當解意表	People should understand that which is beyond the spoken meaning.

The attitude of following one's heart is consistent with the fifth of the "Drinking Wine" series, especially with its second couplet:

問君何能爾	It is asked: "how can you achieve this?"
心遠地自偏	"As long as my mind is distant, my place also turns out to be remote."

This is to say, the happy opportunity to "pick chrysanthemums and see the southern mountain" described in the following couplet was made possible not by the actual locale in which Tao dwelled, but by his relaxed mental state. This meaning looms behind all twenty of the "Drinking Wine" poems. Su Shi also claimed that it was this kind of mental state that attracted him to appreciate the fifth poem of the series, as well. However, in a remark he made on the eleventh "Drinking Wine" poem, Su Shi simply stated the following:

正飲酒中，不知何緣記得此許多事？[52]

It was just during a drink – I do not know (on such an occasion) what caused him to remember so many things like these?

Here, Su Shi's point is that if it was the case that one truly enjoyed drinking over anything else, it would likely result that one would not even trouble oneself to muse over the correct attitude necessary for a virtuous life. This is to say, Tao's proposal for a relaxed and leisured life, as well as his will to return to a natural state (*ziran* 自然) seem to merely be claims made by the "drinking recluse" as a poetic persona.

Su Shi's above understanding of Tao Qian, however, was indeed contrary to his evaluation of Du Fu. On one hand, he accepted and extolled Du Fu's persona as a poet never forgetting the emperor even during a meal or a drink; on the other hand, Tao Qian's image as a poet not forgetting to do philosophical thinking during a drink is rejected. This was not because Su Shi had any particular favor for Du or prejudice against Tao. Rather, these seemingly conflicting attitudes indicate that Su Shi more or less realized that a gap between the poetic persona and the real poet existed. In the case of specific examples, it was up to Su Shi as to whether or not he would emphasize such a gap, or overlook it. When he praised Du Fu for his constant consideration of the emperor, or when he claimed that "see" (*jian* 見) was a better word for Tao's poem than "stare" (*wang* 望), he equated the poetic persona to the real poet. When he expressed doubt regarding Tao's philosophical discussion of life and death, Su Shi showed more

[52] "Shu Yuanming 'Yinjiu' shi hou" 書淵明飲酒詩後, in Kong Fanli, *Su Shi wenji*, Vol. 5, 2091.

inclination to highlight the gap between the poetic persona and the real poet.

The possibility to differentiate the persona in a poetic text from the real poet enabled Su Shi to regard some of Du Fu's poems as "reclusive" in nature. In these poems, Su determines that Du Fu's ruminations did not in fact reflect concern for the state, nor for commoners, but instead reflected interest in secluded landscapes and a peaceful life amid such settings. Su Shi was fond of demonstrating his appreciation of these poems, and such appreciation was often free from being conditioned by his own situation. No matter whether he encountered frustration or success, he and his peers enjoyed such poems, just like they admired Du Fu's other poems that showed social concerns.

One prime example is "Shu Zimei 'Pingji' shi" 書子美屏跡詩 [Transcribing Zimei's "Seclusion" Poem], which was probably written during Su Shi's banishment in Huangzhou 黃州 (in today's Hubei Province).[53] "Pingji" 屏跡 [Seclusion] is a group of two poems by Du Fu that depict his secluded life in Shu.[54] Su Shi transcribed them, and in a note he claimed them as his own poems:

> 夫禾麻穀麥，起於神農、后稷，今家有倉廩。不予而取輒為盜，被盜者為失主。若必從其初，則農、稷之物也。今考其詩，字字皆居士實錄，是則居士詩也，子美安得禁吾有哉！
>
> Millet, hemp, cereal, and wheat – they originated from Shennong and Houji, but are stored

[53] Zhang Zhilie 張志烈 et al., eds., *Su Shi quanji jiaozhu* 蘇軾全集校注 (Shijiazhuang: Hebei renmin chubanshe, 2010), Vol. 19, 7530-31.

[54] Xiao Difei, *Du Fu* qu*anji jiaozhu*, Vol. 5, 2532-37. The "Seclusion" series in Xiao's edition has three rather than two poems, and those that Su Shi transcribed are compiled as the second and third of the series. In some other editions, however, only these two poems are grouped together, and the first one contained in Xiao's edition is a separate poem, despite also being titled "Seclusion." See the editor's explanation in 2530.

in every household's warehouse. Taking things that are not given is stealing, and the person from whom things are stolen is the owner. If (all these grains) must be tracked to their origins, then they belong to Shennong and Houji. Now to investigate these poems: every character is factual record of the Resident (of the East Slope). Therefore they are the Resident's poems; how can Zimei prohibit me to have them?

The main point of Su Shi's statement above is that he is currently leading the same secluded life depicted in Du Fu's poems. By presenting himself and Du Fu as two recluses in dispute over ownership of the poetic text, Su Shi, in effect, demonstrates the way in which he appreciates the mode of life depicted in the text. This persona enjoying his reclusion has nothing to do with the emperor or bureaucratic service at all.

Another poem on the receiving end of Su Shi and his peers' admiration was Du Fu's "Ji Zan shangren" 寄贊上人 [To Master Zan]. Supposedly written before Du Fu went into Shu, the poem is thematically similar to "Pingji," and as such, expresses the intent to settle down and lead a peaceful life secluded from the chaotic world:

重岡北面起	Layers of hillocks rise in the north,
竟日陽光留	For the whole day sunshine stays.
茅屋買兼土	The thatched cottage is bought together with the land,
斯焉心所求	This is what my heart demands.
近聞西枝西	Recently I heard: west to the western branches
有谷杉黍稠	There is a valley with exuberant firs and millets.
亭午頗和暖	It is quite warm at noon,

石田又足收	And the barren field is also enough for harvest.
當期塞雨干	As expected the blocking rain has been dried.
宿昔齒疾瘳	The long lasting toothache is healed.
裴回虎穴上	I wander over the tiger cave,
面勢龍泓頭	The terrain overlooking the dragon pond.
柴荊具茶茗	Inside the thorn gate tea is prepared,
徑路通林丘	The outdoor path goes into the grove on hill.

The valley depicted in the poem is a peaceful place far from human habitation. The scenery resembles the life presented in Tao Qian's poems. This was why when Wang Gong 王鞏 (styled Dingguo 定國) in 1089 asked Li Gonglin 李公麟 (1049-1106) to paint these scenes for him and Su Shi to transcribe the poem, Su Shi naturally thought of Tao Qian:

> 定國求余為寫杜子美《寄贊上人》詩，且令李伯時圖其事，蓋有歸田意也……士大夫逢時遇合，至卿相如反掌，惟歸田，古今難事也，定國識之。吾若歸田，不亂鳥獸，當如淵明。定國若歸，豪氣不除，當如謝靈運也。[55]
>
> Dingguo asked me to transcribe Du Zimei's poem "To Master Zan," and asked Li Boshi to paint scenarios from the poem… He probably intends to return to his (old) land… When scholar-officials encounter favorable conditions and get along with their lord, for them, becoming high officials is as easy as turning a hand. Only returning to one's (old) land is a difficult thing in both past and present. Dingguo knows this well. If I were to return, I would

[55] Su Shi, "Ba Li Boshi 'Buju tu'" 跋李伯時卜居圖, in Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 107.

not disturb bird nor beast. I should resemble Yuanming. If Dingguo returns, his heroic character would not wane; he would instead be like Xie Lingyun.

While in the Northern Song Tao Qian was often painted as a symbol of reclusion – especially in regard to the theme of returning home, it was unusual for one of Du Fu's poems to also be painted to embody an analogous yearning for a reclusive life.[56] By writing and painting at Wang Gong's requests, both Su Shi and Li Gonglin joined Wang in recognizing Du Fu's recluse persona. For Su Shi in particular, Du Fu and Tao Qian both represented the ideal of reclusion.

"Shu Zimei 'Pingji' shi" and "Ba Li Boshi 'Buju tu'" were both written during periods of frustration in Su Shi's political career. The former was probably written during Su Shi's banishment to Huangzhou as a result of the "Crow Terrace Poetry Case," in which a false accusation was lodged against him.[57] The latter was composed in 1089, and probably immediately before Su Shi left the capital for his new position in Hangzhou 杭州.[58] He voluntarily requested a local position for himself at this time, but this was still due to frustration in his political career.[59] It appeared that Su Shi's appreciation of reclusion as a model to be

[56] For Song paintings representing Tao Qian's returning, see Susan Nelson, "What I Do Today is Right: Picturing Tao Yuanming's Return," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 28 (1998): 61-90; Elizabeth Brotherton, "Beyond the Written Word: Li Gonglin's Illustrations to Tao Yuanming's Retuning Home," *Artibus Asiae* 59, 3-4 (2000): 225-263.

[57] For the lawsuit, see Charles Hartman, "Poetry and Politics in 1079: The Crow Terrace Poetry Case of Su Shih," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 12 (Dec. 1990): 15-44; and "The Inquisition against Su Shih: His Sentence as an Example of Sung Legal Practice," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 113, 2 (1993): 228-243.

[58] For the conjecture of the date, see Zhang Zhilie, *Su Shi quanji jiaozhu*, Vol. 19, 7929.

[59] With the death of Emperor Shenzong 神宗 in the third month of 1085, the reformists lost support, and the conservatives – which included Su Shi – came back into power. The next several years, however, saw factional struggles emerge among the conservatives themselves. Harsh criticism from Cheng Yi's 程頤 (1033-1107) disciples and others finally forced Su Shi to petition in 1088 for appointment to a local position so that he could leave the capital. The appointment to Hangzhou, however, was not announced until the third month of 1089. Prior to

emulated was ultimately caused by frustration in his career. After all, reclusion had long been a natural alternative to bureaucratic service. In Su Shi's case, however, the situation was actually more complicated than this simple dichotomy. While it was true that he showed appreciation for a reclusive life when he encountered frustration in his career, the same appreciation was also pleasantly expressed when he seemed to have a bright future. An example was his "Ti 'Qiji tu' shi" 題憩寂圖詩 [Poem Scribed on the Painting of "Rest in Solitude"].[60]

On the twelfth day of the first month of 1086, Su Shi and Li Gonglin painted a work entitled "Pine and Rock" 松石圖 for Su's brother in law, Liu Zhongyuan 柳仲遠. Liu then excerpted two couplets from Du Fu's "Xi wei 'Shuangsong tu' ge (Wei Yan)" 戲為雙松圖歌（韋偃） [A Song Teasing the Painting of Twin Pines (by Wei Yan)], and asked Li Gonglin for a painting that represented the scene depicted in these couplets. Li titled his painting "Rest in Solitude." Su Shi's brother Su Zhe 蘇轍 (1039-1112) wrote a poem on the painting:

東坡自作蒼蒼石	Dongpo himself painted the grey rocks,
留取長松待伯時	The tall pines are left to Boshi.
只有兩人嫌未足	There are regrets – two people are not enough,

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this, Wang Gong was called back to the capital in 1086 when the conservatives came back into power, yet had been demoted to Yangzhou 揚州 in early 1087 because of his political criticism. About the time when Su Shi was appointed the governor of Hangzhou, Wang Gong was transferred to another local position rather than promoted. For Wang Gong as well as his relationship with Su Shi, see Li Guilu 李貴錄, "Song dai Wang Gong lüelun" 宋代王鞏略論, *Guizhou daxue xuebao (Shehui kexue ban)* 貴州大學學報（社會科學版）, 1 (2003): 77-82; Yu Shihua 喻世華 and Zhu Guangyu 朱廣宇, "Xiuqi xiangguan, rongru yugong – lun Su Shi yu Wang Gong de jiaoyi" 休戚相關，榮辱與共——論蘇軾與王鞏的交誼, *Jiangsu keji daxue xuebao (Shehui kexue ban)* 江蘇科技大學學報（社會科學版）, 2 (2013): 50-58.

[60] Zhang Zhilie, *Su Shi quanji jiaozhu*, Vol. 19, 7647-49. The two poems below that Su Shi and Su Zhe wrote on the painting are also quoted from this note.

兼收前世杜陵詩	Poems of Duling from earlier time are thus also included.

Su Shi also wrote a poem following the rhyme in Su Zhe's poem:

東坡雖是湖州派	Although Dongpo belongs to the School of Huzhou,
竹石風流各一時	The bamboo and rocks that he paints are both the best in this era.
前世畫師今姓李	The master painter of the previous life now bears the surname of Li,
不妨題作輞川詩	We may as well transcribe the Wangchuan poems.

In addition to the poems quoted above, Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅 (1045-1105) also composed two pieces for the painting that utilized the same rhyme as those composed by the Su brothers.[61] Judging from the excerpted couplets by Du Fu, which depict an Indian monk resting alone under a pine, as well as the poems by the Su brothers and Huang, it could be conjectured that the painting's theme is also retreating to reclusion.[62] While Su Zhe confirms that Du Fu's poem is taken to illustrate the painting, Su Shi himself says it is also fine to use Wang Wei's poems for the Wangchuan Villa. That is to say, in Su Shi's understanding this particular poem by Du Fu shares similar characteristics with Wang's poem on his secluded life.

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[61] Huang Tingjian, "Ciyun Zizhan Ziyou ti 'Qiji tu' ershou" 次韻子瞻子由題憩寂圖二首, in Liu Lin 劉琳 et al., eds., *Huang Tingjian quanji* 黃庭堅全集 (Chengdu: Sichuan daxue chubanshe, 2001), Vol. 2, 22.

[62] The text of Du Fu's poem is: "On the roots of the pine the Indian monk rests in solitude, / His grey eyebrows and hoary head touch nothing. / His right shoulder exposed, his feet bare, / Pine cones from the tree fall before the monk" (松根胡僧憩寂寞，龐眉皓首無處著。偏袒右肩露雙腳，葉裏松子僧前落). See Xiao Difei, *Du Fu quanji jiaozhu*, Vol. 4, 2008-13.

This event of painting and poetic composition occurred in the first month of 1086. Emperor Shenzong, the supporter of the reformists, died in the third month of the previous year. Due to the fact that the new emperor was too young, the empress dowager, who supported the conservatives, came into power as Regent. The sixth month of that year thus saw both Su Shi and Su Zhe summoned back to the court from their banishment. Their trips took half a year, and the event of the painting probably occurred when Su Zhe, following Su Shi's travel route, had just arrived in the capital in the first month of 1086.[63] In other words, it was a hopeful moment when the Su brothers, as well as their conservative friends, were granted another huge opportunity to fulfill their political ambition. Yet at such a moment, Su Shi and his friends enjoyed presenting the theme of reclusion in their paintings and poems. For them, the appreciation of reclusion as an enjoyable mode of life was completely compatible with their forthcoming service at the core of the state's power system, and Du Fu provided them with proper poetic lines to embody the reclusion ideal.

Throughout the vicissitudes of Su Shi's political career, either in banishment or on the crest of success, he was able to constantly appreciate reclusion as an enjoyable life mode. To appreciate reclusion, he did not have to reject bureaucratic service – just like in his eyes the marginalized life in dire straits did not prevent Du Fu from keeping his commitment to the emperor. In Su Shi's expectation for both Du Fu and himself, service and reclusion as two ideal life modes were opposite of each other, but not in conflict, and to him, one's specific situation in reality should not have affected his appreciation of both of these modes.

Su Shi's opinion on the relationship between service and reclusion represented a new type

[63] For Su Shi and Su Zhe's activities between the sixth month of 1085 to the first month of 1086, see Kong Fanli 孔凡禮, *San Su nianpu* 三蘇年譜 (Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 2004), Vol. 2, 1594-1650 and Vol. 3, 1651-58.

of attitude held by scholar-officials in the eleventh century in regard to their career. They were more eager than earlier bureaucrats to actively participating in the state's administrative affairs, and were also more inclined to uphold principles rather than to yield to the emperor or their political rivals. As Yu Yingshi 余英時 has pointed out, the commonly held ideal of the eleventh century scholar-officials was to gain the emperor's support and put "the right way" (known as the *Dao* 道) in which they believed into practice.[64]

The problem that repeatedly vexed scholar-officials was a constant lack of agreement as to what was "the right way" in specific political situations. Factional struggles thus occurred, and those who were temporarily suppressed were either banished or forced to retreat to reclusion.[65] The losers in such contentions looked forward to coming back into power, but such a hope was by no means only for the sake of their own personal interests. Rather, such redemptions represented new opportunities to put into practice what they thought was right. Such parties, in these sorts of cases, would rather stay removed from court than change their own belief to cater to the needs of those in power. In spite of the temporary frustration, however, they would not completely abandon the responsibilities to which they had committed themselves. Accordingly, reclusion was neither a reluctantly accepted situation nor a permanent solution. It was considered a temporary break, a break during which one could enjoy a relatively free life and pursue other issues while waiting for opportunities to restore power in the future. Su Shi, for example,

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[64] See Yu Yingshi 余英時, *Zhu Xi de lishi shijie: Song dai shidafu zhengzhi wenhua de yanjiu* 朱熹的歷史世界——宋代士大夫政治文化的研究 (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2004), 3-250.

[65] For factional struggles in Northern Song, see Luo Jiaxiang 羅家祥, *Pengdang zhizheng yu Bei Song zhengzhi* 朋黨之爭與北宋政治 (Wuhan: Huazhong shifan daxue chubanshe, 2002); Ari Daniel Levine, *Divided by a Common Language: Factional Conflict in Late Northern Song China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008). For literature's relation to factional struggles, see Xiao Qingwei 蕭慶偉, *Bei Song xinjiu dangzheng yu wenxue* 北宋新舊黨爭與文學 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2001); Shen Songqin 沈松勤, *Bei Song wenren yu dangzheng* 北宋文人與黨爭 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2004).

completed his commentaries to the *Book of Changes* and *Analects* during his stay in Huangzhou, and another commentary to the *Book of Documents* was completed when he was banished to Hainan 海南. Another typical example was that of Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019-1086), who disagreed with Wang Anshi's reformative policies and petitioned for retreat from the capital in 1070. During the next year, he moved to Luoyang 洛陽, where, in 1073, he built a garden for reclusion named the "Garden of Solitude Pleasure" (Du le yuan 獨樂園), and dwelled there for ten years.[66] It was in this garden that he completed his final revision of the *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑒 [*Comprehensive Mirror in Aid of Governance*].

Sima Guang's garden is an ideal case through which we can understand the Song scholar-officials' general consideration of reclusion. As its moniker indicates, reclusion was a pleasure. Given the preferential treatment for officials in Song dynasty, they generally did not need to worry much about their life even in banishment, and there were other literary and scholarly achievements they could pursue. Meanwhile, Sima Guang's stress on "being in solitude" was more significant. The concept of reclusion per se is already indicative of "being in solitude." When Sima Guang highlighted such a theme in the name of his garden, however, it was not a redundant repetition. Rather, by placing emphasis on the fact that it was indeed a pleasure to be alone, Sima Guang showed that attempting to return to power at any cost would not be his choice. For Sima and many other Northern Song scholar-officials, bureaucratic service was not merely a means of making a living. It was, first of all, a stage to realize one's political ideals. Unless the actors on such a stage were content to retreat from it, it would be difficult for them to sacrifice the realistic benefit in officialdom for the sake of their beliefs. In this sense, their ideals would be

[66] See the discussion in Robert Harrist, Jr., "Site Names and Their Meanings in the Garden of Solitary Enjoyment," *Journal of Garden History* 13, 4 (1993): 199-212.

abandoned when the environment was no longer capable of fulfilling their ideals. This is to say, an appreciation of reclusion was in effect a guarantee for responsible service.

This was why, on one hand, Su Shi's "Wang Dingguo shiji xu" and "Yu Wang Dingguo" mentioned Du Fu so as to encourage Wang Gong to keep his commitment to the emperor, but on the other hand, during another wave of frustration in their political career in 1089, Su shared Wang's appreciation of reclusion in inscribing Du Fu's "To Master Zan" for him. This was also why, in the first month of 1086, just before Su Shi and Su Zhe were getting back to the court, they still engaged in painted scenes for one of Du Fu's poems so as best to embody the spirit of reclusion through poetic composition.

In short, Du Fu's poems provided Su Shi with a chorus of multiple voices that echoed his own, specifically Song concerns. Often enough, Su Shi only focused on a specific voice in a given poetic text when speaking of either commitment to the emperor or the pleasure of reclusion. In this sense, he cared little about the unified image of Du Fu, if such an image had ever occurred to him. It is more or less imprecise to simply say Su Shi single-handedly crafted the received image of Du Fu as a Confucian poet who "never forgot the emperor – even during a meal." Su Shi provided this image as a summation, but it was actually those who followed him that fully embraced this image and reinforced it as one of the major aspects of Du Fu's image in collective memory.

As a literary star of his time, Su Shi's opinions on Du Fu were widely circulated and known among other literati. For example, Chen Shidao 陳師道 (1053-1101), one of the "Six Scholars from Su's Gate" (*Su men liu junzi* 蘇門六君子), recalled Su Shi's comment that Du Fu's poetry, Han Yu's prose and Huang Tingjian's calligraphy all epitomized the possible achievements of the

given genre.[67] Sun Di 孫覿 (1081-1169), who won recognition from Su Shi in his childhood, claimed that he was quite aware of the content of Su Shi's letter to Wang Gong during his stay in Huangzhou.[68] Shao Bo 邵博 (d. 1158) also recorded that Su Shi in his calligraphy would only transcribe the works of five poets: Tao Qian, Du Fu, Li Bai, Han Yu and Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (773-819).[69] As Uchiyama Seiya 内山精也 has pointed out, the new media environment in the Song resulted in new cultural phenomena, such as development of literati networks, faster and wider circulation of literary works, poetry's new interlock with politics, and the potential for the far-reaching receptions of contemporary leading writers.[70] In such an era, what mattered was not only the way in which Su Shi remembered Du Fu, but also how Su Shi's remembrance of Du Fu echoed into the following eras. This "layered" reception was itself a mercurial phenomenon even in Su Shi's own time, as poets in the late eleventh century and thereafter seemed to concretely recall Su Shi's praise of Du Fu as a loyal Confucian poet always mindful of the emperor. It was often forgotten, however, that Su Shi had also actively provided echoes leading back to Du Fu's image as a poet recluse.

One of the reasons was that the image of Du Fu keeping his emperor in mind "even during a meal" was too vivid to be forgotten. The fundamental force driving people to iconize Du Fu as a poet who kept a consistent and unified appearance, however, was the strong desire to embody ideal modes of life. Such embodiment functioned differently from specific expression of the ideal. While specific expression often focused more on elaborating the way in which the civil

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[67] Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 147, 148.
[68] See "Shu Zhang Bangji cang Dongpo hua kumu" 書張邦基藏東坡畫枯木, in ibid., 261.
[69] Ibid., 248.
[70] See Uchiyama Seiya's discussion of the circulation of Su Shi's poetry, particularly its relations to the Crow Terrace Poetry Case, in *Chuanmei yu zhenxiang: Su Shi jiqi zhouwei shidafu de wenxue* 傳媒與真相——蘇軾及其周圍士大夫的文學, trans. Zhu Gang 朱剛 and Yixi Lamu 益西拉姆 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2005), 140-292.

service was admirable or reclusion was enjoyable, the embodiment just asserted and reinforcingly confirmed the existence of such ideals. As Du Fu was constructed as a poet with consistent and unified appearance, it no longer mattered as to how his poetry presented multiple voices in the vicissitudes of his tumultuous life; instead, the point was that the ideal represented by Du Fu became manifest in "our time." In terms of effects exerted on Song literati's attitude toward the "service/reclusion" issue, Du Fu's particular poems were not as important as the ideal he symbolized. While Du Fu's poems indeed addressed issues of both service and reclusion, later generations preferred to regard Du Fu as a model of civil service, and Tao Qian as a representative of the reclusive mode.

To some degree, the constructed images of Du Fu and Tao Qian as the embodiment of ideals of service and reclusion were analogous to those eleventh-century paintings and calligraphy that served to visualize Du Fu's poetic themes. By providing an actual visualization for Du Fu's poetic couplet, Li Gonglin's painting "Rest in Solitude" elided other parts of the poem while simultaneously highlighting the theme of reclusion. Su Shi's transcription of Du Fu's "Seclusion" poems not only reproduced the text, but also demonstrated that "seclusion" indeed mattered in his own life. Both painting and calligraphy, with their material forms, gave tangible existence to the embodiment of certain ideals that had crystallized in the Northern Song. Similarly, Du Fu and Tao Qian, who were respectively constructed as typical models of different life ideals, also embodied these ideals. They were deemed by the constructors as precursors that could be followed, if not fellow poets living in the contemporary era.

Conclusion

So far, I have discussed multiple aspects of Du Fu's received image across the scope of this dissertation. These aspects, however, often intertwine together, and a single aspect is intented to remind readers of the others. Pan Chun 潘淳 once recorded Huang Tingjian's 黃庭堅 (1045-1105) comments on Du Fu thus:

> 老杜雖在流落顛沛，未嘗一日不在本朝，故善陳時事，句律精深超古，作者忠義之氣感發而然。[1]
>
> Although Du Fu wandered about in miserable straits, there was not a single day when his mind was not with the Dynasty; therefore, his poetry is good at presenting contemporary events, and the prosody of his poetic lines, refined and profound, exceeds those of ancient poets. (In his poetry,) the author's loyal and virtuous spirit responds to inspirations in the way as it is.

Here the Confucian poet always concerning for the state and the emperor, the poet-historian recoding contemporary history, and the master of poetic craft are all melted together. By using the conjunction "therefore" (*gu* 故), Huang Tingjian seems to indicate Du Fu's loyalist agenda resulted in his historiographical and poetic achievements. The logic here is not clearly elaborated upon, but we could conjecture what Huang Tingjian means: With his deep affection for Tang state, Du Fu more actively took part in witnessing and poetically recording what was happening across the empire, which became "history" later; and this great campaign also granted Du Fu the

[1] Hua Wenxuan, *Du Fu juan*, 168.

opportunity to find the most excellent poetic way to express his "loyal and virtuous spirit."

The phenomenon described by Huang is analogous to what Robert K. Merton has observed as the "Mathew Effect" in science.[2] This term was coined to describe the phenomenon that, when producing similar work, eminent scientists are more likely to get credit than those who are comparatively not so famous. In Du Fu's case, achievement in one aspect of his life is believed to have led to achievements in other aspects, and in the end, all credits attributed to Du Fu reinforced one another. In actuality, Du Fu was not the only one providing historical information or showing Confucian values in his poetry, and other poets certainly had their own innovative achievements in terms of poetic craft. But only Du Fu came to be admired as the top model in all of these aspects. In this way, he doubtlessly became one of the most eminent Chinese poets, or in William Hung's words, the greatest poet of China.

Du Fu's case provides us with an opportunity to review a variety of theoretical issues concerning eminent writers, the literary canon, and literary history. The recognition of Du Fu as the greatest poet of China is often also related to the thesis that Tang dynasty was the climax in the history of Chinese poetry. Du Fu is said to have stood at the top of the highest peak of Chinese poetry and from this perch, cast influence on later poets. Such perspectives are similar to Harold Bloom's views on Shakespeare expressed in the terms of his famous theory on the anxiety of influence. According to Bloom, the history of poetry is the history of poets resisting influence from earlier poets via misreading of earlier poems; eminent poets in history had a strong will to do so and they were thereby called "strong poets," while minor poets were "weak poets" who did not have such strong will. In his own words:

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[2] Robert K. Merton, "The Matthew Effect in Science," *Science, New Series* 159, 3810 (1968): 56-63; "The Matthew Effect in Science, II: Cumulative Advantage and the Symbolism of Intellectual Property," *Isis* 79, 4 (1988): 606–623.

> Poetic Influence – when it involves two strong, authentic poets, – always proceeds by a misreading of the prior poet, an act of creative correction that is actually and necessarily a misinterpretation. The history of fruitful poetic influence, which is to say the main tradition of Western poetry since the Renaissance, is a history of anxiety and self-saving caricature, of distortion, of perverse, willful revisionism without which modern poetry as such could not exist.[3]

Shakespeare as the greatest poet of the English language, however, is excluded from his discussion of the anxiety of influence. This, among other reasons, is due to the consideration that "Shakespeare belongs to the giant age before the flood, before the anxiety of influence became central to poetic consciousness."[4] Bloom's narrative is analogous to the thesis that Du Fu, living in the giant poetic age of the Tang, turned out to be a poet whose influence caused anxiety for later poets, rather than a poet who received influence from earlier poets and felt anxious about such influence. In fact, there is scholarship that attempts to apply Bloom's theory to the analysis of Du Fu and Song poets.[5] There have also been particular efforts to re-narrate the history of Song poetry in the light of Bloom's theory. Instead of stressing the influence Song poets received from earlier poets, the history of Song poetry is reversely viewed as a process of resisting earlier poetry's impact – especially by those who turned out to be eminent poets of the

[3] Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry*, 2nd ed. (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 30.
[4] Ibid., 11.
[5] Stuart H. Sargent, "Can Latecomers Get There First? Sung Poets and T'ang Poetry," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 4, 2 (1982): 165-198.

Song.[6]

Bloom's theory on the anxiety of influence falls into the category of psychoanalytic criticism, and it faces the same methodological dilemma that psychoanalyst critics are often confronted with: the target of analysis is the writer, while the object that is really there for analysis is just literary texts. To engage in psychoanalytic criticism, one must assume that the literary text always reflects the author's mind, even though such reflection is often enough distorted and unconscious. This is of course not completely wrong; the problem is that the leap from literary text to author is often too large, and the critic's (Bloom, or literary historians applying Bloom's theory to cases in the history of Chinese literature) interpretation of it often seems arbitrary and doubtful. Meanwhile, when literary history is viewed as a process of resisting earlier influence, a process seemingly reverse to the traditionally-conceived process of later writers accepting influence exerted by earlier writers, the problem remains that literary history is simply seen as a game in which authors, having complete control of what they write, play a key role.

This dissertation, through the case study of Du Fu, has proposed another model for literary history. As long as there are still literary writing and reading activities, and as long as the notion of authorship continues to exist, we will continuously need to organize our narrative of the literary past with names of various writers. For those only a limited number of whose works have survived, such as poets who only have several poems collected in the *Quan Tang shi* 全唐詩 [*The Complete Poetry of the Tang*], a name may be sufficient. For those known to have written much, we want to know more about them. In these cases, a name is not merely a name; it refers to the general image of a poet, to a poet's persona. Du Fu as an eminent poet was not

[6] Chen Zhaoyin 陳昭吟, "Song dai shiren zhi 'yingxiang de jiaolü' yanjiu" 宋代詩人之「影響的焦慮」研究 (Ph.D. diss., National Sun-Yat-sen University, 2007), 482-494.

pre-destined or existed *a priori* in literary history, and poets after him neither naturally accepted nor implicitly resisted his influence. Rather, it is the persona of Du Fu constructed by poets after him – mainly those in the Song – that has taken a significant position in the history of Chinese literature. That is to say, literary history is not a linear process constituted by canonical literary works and their authors, nor a process threaded with "influence." Instead, authors are constructed and remembered by readers of generation after generation, and the development of literature is a continual feedback loop, in which the constructed images of authors gradually take form as their literary works accumulate meaning through asymmetric layering.

Viewed in retrospect, the development of poetry in the Song demonstrated both continuity and discontinuity from the previous period. Major genres of *shi* poetry, including both regulated verse and ancient-styled verse, continued to be composed, and a variety of issues concerning poetic craft raised in the late medieval period came to be further elaborated upon. Meanwhile, with the identity of poets transforming into educated elites naturally bounded to the state, with the rise of other poetic sub-genres such as song lyrics, and with new methods of poetic circulation resulting from the development of printing technology, updated notions took form about poetry's compositional manners, about its functions and its relations to other fields of human knowledge, and about poet's various modes of spiritual pursuit. In this sense, although there has never been a new name to replace the name of "*shi*" 詩, *shi* poetry as a genre was renewed in the Song.

The construction of Du Fu's persona discussed in this dissertation was conditioned by the poetic culture in the Song. From a broader perspective, it was an organic part of the Song poetic culture. Du Fu left his poetic texts to later generations, and by constructing Du Fu's image from his poetic texts, Song poets proposed possible ways to understand poetry and poets, including

themselves. For the period from Song to Qing, and to a considerable extent even for the twentieth century, Du Fu – admired as the greatest poet of China – has been an embodiment of the connotations of *shi* poetry and poets. Such connotations came to be tentatively raised as certain possibilities when the construction of Du Fu in the Song was still in the process of becoming, but the embrace of Du Fu's constructed image testified to the acceptance of these connotations as standard. From there, the history of Chinese poetry entered a new phase.

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