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Recollection without Tranquility: Du Fu, the Imperial Gardens and the State

INTRODUCTION

The famous dictum of Su Shi 蘇軾 (1036–1101) that Du Fu 杜甫 (712–770) "never for the space of a single meal forgot his sovereign" encapsulates a theme that has long been considered central to his poetry.[1] Through very different periods in dynastic history and into the modern era, Du Fu's loyalty to the Tang has provided one reason for his colossal reputation. For centuries, it has conveyed a sense that his priorities were exemplary, and the rare critics who dissented even slightly from this consensus have themselves been criticised.[2] Behind this foregrounding of Du Fu's dedication to state service stretch longer literary and cultural perspectives, relating to the centrality of the dynas-

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1 Quoted by Eva Shan Chou, *Reconsidering Du Fu: Literary Greatness and Cultural Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1995), p. 23. My debt to Professor Chou's analysis of Du Fu's political outlook will be apparent from the following pages.

2 Hu Shi 胡適 (1891–1962) had criticized Du Fu's use of regulated verse and had read some of his verse as light-hearted and colloquial. The onslaught of criticism against Hu in the 1950s and 1960s included accusation of failure to attribute due seriousness to Du Fu's antimilitarism, seen as an aspect of his patriotic love of the people. See for example, Chen Jueren 陳玨人, "Zai chi Hu Shi dui aiguo shiren Du Fu de wumie" 再斥胡適對愛國詩人杜甫的誣衊, *Wenxue yichan* 文學遺產 58 (*Guangming ribao* 光明日報, June 12, 1955), p. 3. See also the criticism of Guo Moruo 郭沫若 for his attack imputing Du Fu's sympathy for the people, in Wing-Ming Chan, "*Li Po and Tu Fu* by Kuo Mo-jo – A Reexamination," *Chinese Literature, Essays, Articles and Reviews* (January 1982), pp. 75–90. Hu Shi's assertion that Du Fu was not "a Confucian teacher who pulled a long face all day and spoke only of loyalty to the sovereign and love of

tic state in the medieval and early modern literary world. This article, rather than assessing the strength or consistency of Du Fu's loyalty or attempting a fresh critical analysis of this aspect of his work, sharpens the focus on one aspect of his attitude to the state. It analyzes in detail his use of a small number of images from nature, as recognizable to the modern as to the ancient world, which were represented in court rites or court institutions that Du Fu knew. It shows the different ways in which, long after in 758 he left the capital, he manipulated these images to express both his criticism of and his commitment to the dynasty.

For the simple and often repeated tag that Du Fu was a loyalist or a patriot is highly reductive. His loyalty was a complex matter: a man of Du Fu's commitment to art, range of social engagement and powers of recall had copious means to craft his attitudes. His early exclusion from the political center, followed by his inability to hold office as a "close servant"[3] of the emperor for more than the brief period from early summer 757 until mid-758, shaped his perspective on service to the dynasty. But it was later, when, as he put it, he was "drifting in the south and west between heaven and earth," that he expressed his outlook most eloquently. As he moved first, in late 759, from the Guanzhong 關中 area to Qinzhou 秦州 in the far northwest and then to Chengdu 成都 and places in the Sichuan 四川 basin, to go on, in 766, to Kuizhou 夔州 on the Yangtze, and finally from early 768 through the Yangze gorges to Jiangling 江陵 and then even further south to beyond the Dongting 洞庭 Lake, he kept a continuous verse record of his feelings. His attitude combined commitment with a sense of rejection, the "gaze to the north" with more immediate and humbler activities. He monitored his receding memories of the capital and of his state service and contrasted them ironically with the reports of destruction in the north and with his experience of illness, ageing and flight in the far southwest.

The medieval dynastic state that so dominated Du Fu's mental and literary landscape, moreover, was itself a complex entity. The emperor, the supreme ruler, who embodied the state, had in effect two

country" (*Baihua wenxue shi* 白話文學史 [Shanghai: Xinyue shudian, 1928] 14, p. 345) and Hu's identification of a lighter tone in much of Du Fu's verse does however point indirectly to a challenging issue, namely the extent to which Du Fu uses irony or sarcasm, or indeed a lighter tone. In the following pages, an ironic reading of a number of Du Fu's lines is suggested; see below at nn. 32, 119, 207, 214, and, where it is tentatively suggested that Du Fu's use of "not knowing" or "secrecy" may indicate a level of irony or dissatisfaction with the matter not known or kept secret.

[3] *Jiu jia ji zhu Du shi* 九家集注杜詩 (Beijing: Harvard-Yenching, 1940; hereafter *JJJZDS*) 12, p. 164B, "Wang zai" 往在; Lin Jizhong 林繼中, ed., *Du shih Zhao Cigong xianhou jie ji jiao* 杜詩趙次公先後解輯校 (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji chubanshe, 1994; hereafter *Du shih ZCG*), p. 928, dates to spring of 767.

roles, "two bodies," and Du Fu focussed more on one than on the other. These were not the "two bodies" that marked the Western European medieval concepts of kingship: the legal and political body, sanctioned by God, permanent and immortal, and the natural and physical body, mortal and subject to normal frailties.[4] But there were enough similarities for "the king's two bodies," adapted to the medieval Chinese context, to make the metaphor useful in exploring Du Fu's attitude to the emperor and to the state.

The first "body" or role was that of the immortal sovereign. It was improper in seventh- and early-eighth-century China to anticipate the death of the living emperor.[5] His birthday, as Du Fu himself recorded, was established by statute in 729, during Du's youth, as "the Festival of a Thousand Autumns."[6] Dynastic perpetuity was celebrated in a tradition of rhetoric that placed the emperor pivotally at the center of the cosmic process, the physical, human and animal worlds and the world of trees, fruit, plants and flowers. This tradition had its recurrent ritual celebrations and its climactic non-recurrent rites, both prescribed in fine detail in the dynastic ritual code.[7] Through these, the Tang sovereign, by addressing the annual cycle of seasons and the historical past, affirmed his right to rule. The dynasty also had its central ritual precincts, through which symbolically the emperor asserted his control of human and natural space. The emperor was represented as morally perfect, a sage, and his court, in Du Fu's as in general usage, as the "sagely court." He should live, as Du Fu himself suggested, through "ten thousand springs."[8] When a sovereign died, the heir-apparent, already confirmed in the dying sovereign's last testament, succeeded immediately, "before the coffin." Dead emperors were honoured in an elaborate imperial cult that Du Fu himself hoped would, like their final resting places, "be for ever."

The Tang sovereigns, however, also had their "second bodies": they were individuals; they had their passions, their crises of authority;

4 Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1957), pp. 1–22.

5 *Tang hui yao* 唐會要 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1955; hereafter *THY*) 37, p. 670.

6 *JJJZDS* 35, p. 549A–B, "Qianqiu jie you gan" 千秋節有感二首; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 1418, dates to summer or autumn of 769. *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975; hereafter *XTS*) 22, p. 477. For the history of the "Qianqiu jie," see also *THY* 29, pp. 542–3; *Ce fu yuan gui gui* 冊府元龜 (reduced size rpt. of Ming edn.; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960) 2, pp. 6b–9b.

7 For Tang ritual codes, see David McMullen, "Bureaucrats and Cosmology: The Ritual Code of T'ang China," in David Cannadine and Simon Price, eds., *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1987), pp. 181–236.

8 *JJJZDS* 28, p. 427A–B, "Cheng wen Hebei zhu dao jiedu ru chao xi kouhao jueju shi'er shou, wu" 承聞河北諸道節度入朝歡喜口號絕句十二首, 五; the final line reads, "The sage emperor's long life should exceed ten thousand springs"; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 908, assigns to 767.

they aged as other men; they feared death. They lived in large palace communities that embodied the highest standards of luxury; they spent resources, took political decisions, lavished patronage on religious figures of their own choice, and had favorites. They varied enormously in their performances. Most behaved in irregular ways, violating norms long advocated beyond the palace, by the scholarly elite, of which Du Fu was a member. None the less, the sovereign's common humanity was hedged about with taboos and conventions, guarded as if secret. The living emperor as a human being interacting at a human and affective level with his court and his officials beyond it was only rarely represented in the verse tradition. The exception, it will be argued, that Tang verse allowed was the emperor's grief at loss of romantic love. In verse since Han times, the theme of an emperor's loss of a consort's love had been an acceptable one.

Du Fu knew the history of the Tang in detail. He mentioned in his verse all the sovereigns, from Gaozu 高祖 (r. 618–626) to Daizong 代宗 (r. 762–779), the emperor who outlived him. In his view, the Tang was the rightful heir to the empire, taking it after the dereliction of the Sui 隋. The Tang empire was the creation of Gaozu and Taizong 太宗 (r. 626–649).[9] Du Fu praised the restoration of Tang power that followed the empress Wu's 武 interregnum (690–705). He represented the court of the Kaiyuan 開元 period (713–742), and indeed the world beyond the court,[10] as one of unprecedented prosperity and éclat, "a land of song and dance." He particularly venerated the emperor Xuanzong's 玄宗 (r. 712–756) and recalled his achievements as patron of music, dance, calligraphy and painting.[11] He had reason to know: as an aristocrat who boasted a distant marriage link to the imperial line and to a preeminent member of Taizong's court,[12] and whose grandfather had been a prominent literary courtier,[13] he had access to the highest social circles in the capital. He knew the emperor's nephew, Li Jin 李璡, the hard-drinking prince of Ruyang 汝陽, whom Xuanzong particu-

[9] *JJJZDS* 3, p. 50A, "Bei zheng" 北征; William Hung, *Tu Fu: China's Greatest Poet* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U.P., 1952; hereafter *Tu Fu*), p. 118, translates as Poem LXXXIX; *JJJZDS* 17, pp. 258B–59B, "Xing ci Zhaoling" 行次昭陵; *Du shih ZCG*, pp. 212, 217, assigns both poems to 8th month of 757.

[10] *JJJZDS* 8, p. 116B, "Yi xi, er 憶昔二首, 二"; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 890, assigns to early 767. *Tu Fu*, pp. 203–4, translates as Poem CCXLIII.

[11] Ou Lijuan 歐麗娟, "Tang shi li de 'Shi leyuan' zhuiyi zhong de Kaiyuan shengshi" 唐詩裡的失樂園追憶中的開元盛事, *Hanxue yanjiu* 漢學研究 17.2 (1999), pp. 217–46.

[12] *JJJZDS* 15, p. 238A–239B, "Song chong biao zhi Wang Shu ping shi shi Nanhai" 送重表姪王殊評事使南海; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 1483, assigns to 770. For Du Fu's ancestry, see also *Tu Fu*, pp. 16–19.

[13] Du Fu expressed pride in Du Shenyan 杜審言 (fl. ca. 705) in *Du gongbu ji* 杜工部集 (rpt.

larly adored and personally taught music. He also knew the prince of Ruyang's younger brother, Li Yu 李瑀 prince of Hanzhong 漢中,[14] and other imperial clansmen.[15] He had been to musical performances at the house of Li Fan 李範, prince of Qi 岐, Xuanzong's brother (d. 726), a gregarious collector of paintings and calligraphy, in Luoyang 洛陽.[16] He could claim to recognize by sight the distinctive physique of members of the imperial clan.[17]

Du Fu witnessed in his middle age an individual imperial drama involving the Tang emperor's "second body" on a grand scale. Through the dynastic events of 755–62 ran the theme of loss for the ageing emperor Xuanzong: loss of the throne; loss of the love of his beloved consort Yang Guifei 楊貴妃, murdered in 756; loss of freedom to move at will. But for literary men of this immediate period to represent the emperor's anguish at the loss of his imperial status would have been inadmissible, a form of lese majeste. Still less could Du Fu, as Shakespeare did of Richard II and at another time of dynastic crisis when an ageing sovereign was threatened by deposition, make his sovereign list his troubles and say: "You may my glories and my state depose. But not my griefs; still I am king of those."[18] Rather, it will be argued below, in treating these traumatic events in verse, Du Fu, deeply concerned as he was for Xuanzong, preferred to represent the first of the emperor's "two bodies," the eternal role of emperorship and its panoply of rites and symbols, and to adopt a monitory outlook on the second, the essential humanity of the emperor.

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of Song edn.; Taibei: Xuesheng shuju, 1971) 19, p. 15a, "Jin diao fu biao" 進鵰賦表, stating that "…the scholars of the world to this day take him as their teacher. I had the privilege of relying on the continued legacy of this your servant and my forbear."

[14] *Tu Fu*, p. 192, and idem, *Notes for Tu Fu China's Greatest Poet* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U.P., 1952), p. 90; for Li Yu 李瑀 in Sichuan, see *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1975; hereafter *JTS*) 95, pp. 3014–15. For Xuanzong's special affection for the prince of Ruyang, the eldest son of the prince of Ning, see *Taiping guang ji* 太平廣記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1961; hereafter *TPGJ*) 205, p. 1560.

[15] *JJJZDS* 15, p, 231B, "Feng zeng Li pa zhang panguan Xun" 奉贈李八丈判官曛; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 1438, assigns to late 769.

[16] *JJJZDS* 34, p. 532B, "Jiangnan feng Li Guinian" 江南逢李龜年; *JTS* 95, pp. 3016–17; *Tu Fu*, p. 273, translates as Poem CCCLXVII. David Hawkes, *A Little Primer of Tu Fu* (London: Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1967; hereafter, *Little Primer*), pp. 210–12, Poem 35.

[17] The prince of Ruyang, nephew of the emperor Xuanzong had "the eyebrows of an immortal and the whiskers and side boards of Taizong"; see *JJJZDS* 14, pp. 206B–207B, "Ba ai shi; zeng taizi taishi Juyang jun wang Jin" 贈太子太師汝陽郡; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 680, assigns to 765. Du Fu recognized a prince of the blood in commoner's clothes by the high-bridged nose shared by the imperial family; *see JJJZDS* 2, p. 44A, "Ai wang sun" 哀王孫; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 163, assigns to spring or early summer of 756; see also *Tu Fu*, pp. 101–02, translates as Poem LXIV; *Little Primer*, pp. 33–44, Poem 5.

[18] Quoted by Kantorowicz, *King's Two Bodies*, p. 37.

Du Fu's focus on the first of the emperor's "two bodies" resulted, therefore, in a characteristically indirect perspective on the apex of the Tang political world. He was reluctant to criticize the Tang emperors directly, though he was willing to disparage those close to them who led them astray.[19] That he consistently privileged the emperor is clear generally. It is explicitly confirmed by the opening couplet in the final poem of a long series he wrote in 759, "Tang Yao 唐堯 [the present emperor, Suzong 肅宗] is truly and of himself a sage; what more does this old peasant need to know?"[20] Du Fu made only two charges against Tang sovereigns: they had not always given priority to the cardinal value of restraint,[21] and some had succumbed to the lure of "martial achievements" or military adventurism.[22] His characteristic formulation of his own political ambition, to "convey his sovereign to the age of Yao and Shun 舜," ill-focused and clichéed, was sometimes used with deliberate irony.[23] A third theme in his verse, one of his great achieve-

[19] *JJJZDS* 2, pp. 24B–27A, "Li ren xing" 麗人行; assigned by *Du shih ZCG*, p.65, to the Tianbao period, when Du Fu was in Chang'an or Luoyang. See especially its admirable exposition in *Little Primer*, pp. 18–27, Poem 3; *JJJZDS* 8, pp. 115B–16B, "Yi xi er shou, yi" 憶昔二首,一, criticizing Suzong's empress Zhang 張 and either Li Fuguo 李輔國 or Xi 係 prince of Yue 越; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 890, assigns to early 767. *Tu Fu*, p. 203, translates as poem CCXLIII. See also Zhan Ying 詹鍈, "Tan Du Fu de 'Xi bing ma'" 談杜甫的洗兵馬, in *Wenxue yichan* 文學遺產 414 (*Guangming ribao* May 13, 1962), p. 4.

[20] *JJJZDS* 20, p. 322B, "Qinzhou za shi, ershi" 秦州雜詩,二十; assigned by *Du shih ZCG*, p. 308, to autumn of 759.

[21] *JJJZDS* 2, pp. 37B–39B, "Zi jing fu Fengxian xian yong huai wubai zi" 自京赴奉先縣詠懷五百字; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 99, assigns to late Tianbao. *Tu Fu*, pp. 87–89, translates as Poem LIX. Du Fu continued to urge restraint on the emperor, even when living in Kuizhou; see *JJJZDS* 28, p. 427A–B, "Cheng wen Hebei zhu dao jiedu ru chao xi kouhao jueju shi'er shou, liu" 承聞河北諸道節度入朝歡喜口號絕句十二首,六. *Du shih ZCG*, p. 908, assigns to spring of 767. Qian Qianyi 錢謙益, annot., *Qian zhu Du shi* 錢注杜詩 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1958) 15, pp. 532–33, identifies an ironic tone in this series, and ties it to the emperor's refusal to heed the advice of Chang Gun 常袞 to reject gifts from military governors, for which see *Zi zhi tong jian* 資治通鑑 (Beijing: Zonghua shuju, 1956; hereafter *ZZTJ*) 224, p. 7192.

[22] For example, in *JJJZDS* 1, pp. 9B–10B, "Bing ju xing" 兵車行, assigned by *Du shih ZCG*, p. 26, to Tianbao period; also *JJJZDS* 14, p. 219B, "Qian huai" 遣懷, assigned by *Du shih ZCG*, p. 1304, to the summer or autumn of 768.

[23] Chen Jo-shui 陳弱水, "Sixiang shi zhong de Du Fu" 思想史中的杜甫, *ZYYY* 69.1 (1998), pp. 3–5, analyses examples of Du Fu's use of this phrase, from 747–78, when he was 37 or 39 *sui*, to 769 the year before his death, when he was 58 *sui*. In his final years, however, he laid this charge on others, including two governors of the remote prefecture of Daozhou 道州, further to the south than even he penetrated. One was Pei Qiu 裴虯, for whom see *JJJZDS* 15, pp. 230A–31B, "Mu chiu wang Pei Daozhou shou zha shuaier qian xing ji di cheng Su Huan shi yu" 暮秋枉裴道州手札率爾遣興寄遞呈蘇渙侍御, assigned by *Du shih ZCG*, p. 1433, to autumn of 769; and *JJJZDS* 16, p. 248A, "Xiangjiang yancan Pei er duangong fu Daozhou" 湘江宴餞裴二端公赴道州, assigned by *Du shih ZCG* to summer or autumn of 769. Pei was a fearless monitory official; see the epitaph for his son, Pei Fu 裴復, dated 808, by Han Yu 韓愈, in Ma Tongbo 馬通伯, ed., *Han Changli wen ji jiao zhu* 韓昌黎文集校注 (Shanghai: Gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957) 6, p. 208–9 and Zhou Shaoliang 周紹良, *Tangdai muzhi hui bian* 唐代墓誌彙編 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1992), p. 1965. For the second, the very outspoken Yuan Jie 元結, see nn. 39 and 263, below. Daozhou, in hostile territory, was used as a post for

ments, was related to these general concerns, but did not involve direct criticism of the emperor. Not for the only time in literary history, a poet who was politically committed yet alienated from the political process broke literary convention to accept from "mouths of men obscure and lowly truth replete with honour," and bent to observe the "unassuming commonplace[s] of nature."[24] This concern to represent the disadvantaged was in the long term to lend enormous authority to Du Fu's poetic message. But this attitude, despite its moral intensity, had few specific, practical implications for policy, beyond the reduction of taxes, the cessation of military campaigns, a stable agriculture and the restoration of peace.[25] These concerns, together with a commitment to "make customs pure again," often with a vagueness enhanced by the Daoist tradition,[26] recur as the goal of the Confucian-orientated scholarly elite. They were standard in Tang political discourse from the start of the dynasty. At the level of direct political action, Du Fu's endorsement of them has been persuasively been characterized as unexceptional,[27] or naive.[28]

The reasons for this political caution in a man who followed political and military events very closely may be explained in two very different ways. Both the basic features of Du Fu's own situation and the verse tradition he inherited helped shape his treatment of politics. His personal position was never anything but very weak. His early years had been, like those of numbers of his contemporaries, given to searching for a political patron,[29] to find one eventually in the ill-starred Fang Guan 房琯 (697–763).[30] His early caution towards the emperor is per-

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political losers, and, particularly under the regime of Yuan Zai 元載 as chief minister from 762 until his death in 777, it is difficult not to see irony in Du Fu's remarks here.

[24] Thomas Hutchinson, ed., *The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth* (London: Oxford U.P., 1895), p. 742, "The Prelude, Book XIII, "Imagination and Taste"; p. 158, " To the [Daisy]."

[25] Chen, "Sixiang shi zhong de Du Fu," p. 10. [26] Ibid., pp. 6–8. [27] Ibid., p. 11.

[28] Chou, *Reconsidering Du Fu*, pp. 13–20, especially pp. 15–17. Lynn Struve, "Du Fu, "Song of My Cares en Route from the Capital to Fengxian," in Pauline Yu, Peter Bol, Stephen Owen, and Willard Peterson, eds., *Ways with Words: Writing about Reading Texts from Early China* (Berkeley: U. California P., 2000), pp. 163–64, characterizes Du Fu's attitude to the common people as Mencian and pre-Neo-Confucian. There is room, however, for a reconstruction of Du Fu's political views on a range of specific topics and events; for example, in a poem to his friend Gao Shi 高適 (704–65), he opposed the policy of *heqin* 和親 as applied to the Tibetans in 763; see *Tu Fu*, pp. 196–97 and *JJJZDS* 24, pp. 389B–90A, "Jing ji" 警急; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 559, assigns to 763; *Tu Fu*, p. 197, translates as Poem CCXXXII.

[29] This search is described in *JJJZDS* 1, pp. 1A–3A "Feng zeng Wei zuocheng zhang ersher yun" 奉贈韋左丞丈二十二韻; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 53, assigns to the Tianbao period; *Tu Fu*, p. 56, translates as Poem XXV. The incessant graft is also echoed by a similar couplet by Gao Shi. See Liu Kaiyang 劉開揚, *Gao shi shi ji bian nian jian zhu* 高適詩集編年箋注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), pp. 10–12, "Song Wei canjun" 送韋參軍.

[30] *Tu Fu*, p. 50–51, citing *JJJZDS* 18, pp. 277B–78B, "Linyi she di shu zhi, ku yu Huanghe

haps evident in one of his most famous poems, condemning court extravagance on the eve of the An Lushan 安祿山 rebellion. Here, he made a point of excusing the emperor for the excesses that he denounced.[31] When, in late 755, the rebellion broke out, his career had not meaningfully started. The sack of Luoyang in 755 and then Chang'an in 756 threw the civil bureaucracy into chaos. Du Fu's own hardships during the first months of the rebellion are well known. There are slight indications that Suzong's appropriation of power from the ageing emperor Xuanzong in the seventh month of 756 divided the bureaucracy, and that those who had first repaired to Xuanzong in Sichuan were later eliminated from senior posts. But Du Fu, despite the intense devotion that he continued to express to Xuanzong and despite some indirect indications that he venerated Xuanzong over Suzong,[32] was not in any exclusive sense a Xuanzong loyalist. He was perhaps again led politically by his patron. Fang Guan, though initially committed to Xuanzong, had played a role in ratifying Suzong's succession and was present in Suzong's court for the duration of Du Fu's tenure of court office.[33] The turbulent and much younger Yan Wu 嚴武 (726–765), Du Fu's second patron, had also been in Sichuan with Xuanzong, left him to join Suzong and was appointed to high office at Fang Guan's behest. He was banished to Sichuan when Fang Guan fell and maintained an uneasy relationship with Du Fu until he died in Chengdu in 765.[34]

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fanyi tifang zhi huan poling suo you, yin ji shi yong kuan qi yi" 臨邑舍弟書至苦雨黃河泛溢隄防之患簿領所憂因寄此詩用寬其意, translated as Poem XVII, does not note when Du Fu's friendship with Fang Guan began; but infers that it was in the 740s, and therefore perhaps ten years before the rebellion. *Du shih ZCG*, p. 5, dates this poem earlier, to the Kaiyuan period; cf. Hung, *Notes to Tu Fu*, pp. 36–37. *JTS* 190C, p. 5054, states that Fang Guan was friendly with Du Fu while Fang was still a commoner, that is before 724, when Fang received his first appointment. Du Fu may thus have known him since adolescence.

31 Wai-yee Li, "The Crisis of Witnessing in Du Fu's "A Song of My Thoughts when Going from the Capital to Fengxian: Five Hundred Words," in *Ways with Words*, p. 169, "Even as the poet balances and contrasts the oppressors and the oppressed, he finds room to defend the emperor and blames the injustices he is describing on evil ministers."

32 See for example the interpretation of the passage in *JJJZDS* 4, pp. 71A–73A, "Xi bing ma," describing Suzong's response to the return of Xuanzong to Chang'an, by Zhan Ying 詹鍈, "Tan Du Fu de Xi bing ma" 談杜甫的洗兵馬. See also *JJJZDS* 14, p. 205A, "Zeng zuo puye Zheng guo gong Yan gong Wu" 贈左僕射鄭國公嚴公武. *Du shih ZCG*, p. 680, dates to 765. Du Fu's ambivalence may be conveyed by the line "不知萬乘出." In "Wang zai" 往在, *JJJZDS* 12, p. 164A, he again expressed "Not knowing where the Two Emperors are settled, An old man of one hundred years privately weeps."

33 See David McMullen, *State and Scholars in T'ang China* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1988), p. 189 and n. 141 on pp. 345–47. But cf. Denis Twitchett, *The Writing of Official History under the T'ang* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1992), pp. 180–85 and notes.

34 *JJJZDS* 14, pp. 203B–6A, "Zeng zuo puye Zheng guo gong Yan gong Wu." For details of Yan Wu's relationship with Du Fu, see *Tu Fu*, passim, esp. pp. 110–14; pp. 150–51; 183–89; 204–15. See also *JTS* 117, p. 3395, biog. of Yan Wu.

In the few months from the early summer of 757 until mid-758 when, under Fang Guan's patronage, Du Fu was involved in court politics, his response to court office appears strangely uncertain, and, from the evidence, difficult to interpret. He himself mentioned that he hoped not to offend the emperor by his request for leave to return home to safeguard his family.[35] He said of himself that "Though lacking the demeanor of a remonstrator, I am still fearful that my lord may have left things undone."[36] But there was little indication that he submitted significant numbers of critical and direct policy memorials,[37] like those of his older friend Su Yuanming 蘇源明 (d. 762),[38] or his contemporary Yuan Jie 元結 (719–772).[39] Nor did he resemble his

[35] *JJJZDS* 3, p. 46, "Shu huai" 述懷; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 188, assigns to 757; *Tu Fu*, p. 108, p. 111, translates as Poem LXXVIII.

[36] *JJJZDS* 3, p. 47B, "Bei zheng" 北征; assigned by *Du shih ZCG* to 8th month of 757; *Tu Fu*, p. 115–18, translates as Poem LXXXIX. An unnamed commentator sees this as a reference to his remonstrating against the dismissal of Fang Guan. Du Fu much later expressed sympathy for a remote imperial clansman whose "documents in his literary box were piled with remonstrations"; but who was "blocked from rushing to the palace gates'"; see *JJJZDS* 15, p. 232A, "Feng zeng Li pa zhang panguan Xun" 奉贈李八丈判官曛. *Du shih ZCG*, p. 1438, assigns to late 769.

[37] This view goes against that of William Hung and David Hawkes, who infer that Du Fu was very busy writing memorials at this time. William Hung's evidence is the final couplet of a poem by Du Fu's friend Cen Shen 岑參 (715–69) (which itself adapts a line from Wang Wei, a mutual friend, a line that Du Fu was himself to adapt): "Our sacred court may be without mishandled business; but I feel that my memorials of remonstration are too few." See *Cen Shen ji jiao zhu* 3, pp. 199–200, "Ji zuo sheng Du shiyi" 寄左省杜拾遺, dated to 758; see Chen Tiemin 陳鐵民, annot., *Wang Wei ji jiao zhu* 王維集校注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997) 1, p. 27, "Song Qiwu Qian luodi huan xiang" 送綦毋潛落第還鄉, dated to about 721; *JJJZDS* 24, p. 384A, "Ke ting" 客亭, assigned by *Du shih ZCG*, p. 571, to early 763, for similar lines. The commentary interprets this as a hint that Cen Shen was not being heeded by the government. *Tu Fu*, p.124 considers it "obviously a hint that it would be better [for Du Fu] to remonstrate less frequently." Similarly, *Tu Fu*, p. 124, assumes that Du Fu's mention of burning a draft or drafts, in *JJJZDS* 19, p. 311A, "晚出左掖," means that he was constantly writing memorials. Du Fu's poem "Chun su zuo sheng" 春宿左省, *JJJZDS* 19, pp. 310A–11B, does mention a memorial for presentation the next morning. Against this must be the fact that Du Fu claimed that he was achieving little in post; see *JJJZDS* 19, p. 310A–B, "Ti sheng zhong yuan bi" 題省中壁; here he claimed that "This scholar late in his decline was in error given the pass of access; Withdrawing to take his meal, he hesitates and is troubled; He has not contributed a single word towards repairing the emperor's robes of office; Yet he vaunts a sense of shame that he is emulating a return gift of gold to his sovereign." Nor did Du Fu later recall any memorials by subject or title, in the way in which, over years, he recalled his *fu* submitted in 751; see *JJJZDS* 19, p. 293A, "Feng liu zeng Jixian yuan Cui Yu er xueshi" 奉留贈集賢院崔于二學士; assigned by *Du shih ZCG*, p. 57, to the Tianbao period; *JJJZDS* 9. p. 134B, "Mo xiang yi xing" 莫相疑行, assigned by *Du shih ZCG*, p. 622, to 764: *JJJZDS* 20, p. 171A, "Zhuang you" 壯遊, assigned by *Du shih ZCG*, p. 1190, to winter of 767.

[38] *Cefu yuan gui* 552, pp. 2b–4b, "Xianti di yi" 獻替第一; *XTS* 202, pp. 5772–73; Du Fu himself praised Su Yuanming's courageous memorials; see *JJJZDS* 14, p. 211B, "Gu mishu shaojian Wugong Su gong Yuanming" 故秘書少監武英功蘇公源明; assigned by *Du shih ZCG*, p. 710, to 765.

[39] Sun Wang 孫望, ed., *Yuan Cishan ji* 元次山集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960) 6, pp. 92–96, "Shi yi san pian" 時議三篇, dated to 759.

junior contemporary Dugu Ji 獨孤及 (725–777),[40] like himself a friend of Jia Zhi 賈至 (718–772), of whose remonstrations as omissioner it was said that they were "upright but not sensation-seeking, indignant but not disruptive." Indeed there is some evidence that Du Fu intervened not over policies but on behalf of individuals, those to whom he was indebted.[41] To the end of his life, moreover, he expressed admiration for and confidence in those who were demonstrably outspoken, in a way that perhaps suggests his own diffidence.[42] His ejection from the political center, following the final banishment of his patron Fang Guan,[43] was the single most important political event of his middle life. But, again, he made it clear that he did not hold the emperor responsible, stating that his "transfer" from a post "in close attendance," was surely hardly the emperor's own wish.[44] After his expulsion from the court, he continued to be loyal to Fang Guan, and then to Yan Wu, himself a protégé of Fang Guan. But he was ambivalent about service to Yan Wu at local level.[45] Yet if there is little to suggest that Du Fu was ever on the cutting edge of active politics,[46] there is ample evidence to sug-

[40] See *Wen yuan ying hua* 文苑英華 (reduced size rpt. of Song and Ming edns.; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1966; hereafter *WYYH*) 924, p. 6b, "Changzhou cishi Dugu Ji shenbei" 常州刺史獨孤及神碑, by Cui Youfu 崔祐甫 (721–80). The case of Dugu Ji confirms that writings of omissioners were not transmitted. For Dugu Ji's friendship with Jia Zhi, see David L. McMullen, "Li Chou, a Forgotten Agnostic of the Late-Eighth Century," *AM* 3d ser. 8.2 (1995), pp. 70–72.

[41] In *JJJZDS* 6, pp. 89A–90A, "Liangdang xian Wu shi shiyu jianshang zhai" 兩當縣吳十侍御江上宅, Du Fu apologized to Wu Yu 吳郁 for not having intervened at court to rescue him from banishment. Qian, *Qian zhu Du shi* 3, pp. 98–99; *Tu Fu*, p. 154, pp. 156–57, translates as Poem CLI. In his sacrificial prayer at Fang Guan's graveside, Du Fu stated that his memorial for Fang was ineffective; see *Du gongbu ji* 20, p. 7b, "Ji gu xiangguo Qinghe Fang gong wen" 祭故相國清河房公文.

[42] See above, n. 21.

[43] *JTS* 109B, p. 5054; *XTS* 201, p. 5737, mention Du Fu's memorial defending Fang Guan, but do not give a text. *Tu Fu*, p. 109, and *Notes for Tu Fu*, p.65, indicates that there is confusion in the dating of the *JTS* account. *XTS* 201, p. 5737, contains the text of a memorial that William Hung identifies as one Du Fu submitted to express contrition for his intervention, while still praising Fang Guan. Despite any contrition, his defence of Fang Guan at this point led indirectly to his banishment when Fang Guan fell a year later.

[44] *JJJZDS* 19, p. 315, "Zhide er zai Fu zi Jing Jinguang men chu dao gui Fengxiang…" 至德二載甫自京光門出道歸鳳翔 …; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 261, dates to sixth month of 758; *Little Primer*, p. 60, Poem 9. *Tu Fu*, p. 131, translates as Poem CVII; Wang Wei made a similar remark; see Chen, *Wang Wei ji jiao zhu*, 1, pp. 37–38, "Chu chu Jizhou bie chengzhong gu ren" 初出濟州別城中故人, dated to 721.

[45] Li Rulun 李汝倫, *Du shi lun gao* 杜詩論稿 (Guangdong: Guangdong jenmin chubanshe, 1983), pp. 87–88; cf. *Tu Fu*, pp. 208–10.

[46] An example of his hope that a general moral improvement might result in peace comes at the conclusion of his poems "Shang chun wu shou 傷春五首," dated by *Du shih ZCG*, p. 599, to 764; see *JJJZDS* 28, p. 425B: "If prince and minister were again to maintain their virtue, then it would still be enough to witness peace in our time." See also above, note 23, on the vague and clichéed phrase "conveying the sovereign to the age of Yao and Shun."

gest that, alongside his concern for frugality and compassion and his evident caution, he was fervently ambitious to gain, or after 758 regain, his place in the ranks of court officials.

The verse tradition that Du Fu inherited was, moreover, even at its most personal, permeated by politics at precisely the level that he himself found sympathetic. In one guise or another the issue of access to political power and promotion within the official hierarchy, the "plea for preferment,"[47] dominated it. The tradition also found increasing space for Du Fu's three main political concerns, his anti-militarism, his concern for frugality in imperial conduct and his sympathy for the victims of maladministration. It has been said that "The Tang poet owns no sovereign inner state of grace to counterbalance the dictates of empire. For him, the personal is the political."[48] This was supremely true of Du Fu, for, "Having politicized everything and personalized politics, [he] placed all subjects on a continuum and made them all possible."[49] In Du Fu's verse, the "personalization of politics" meant his treatment, through a wide range of verse techniques, some original to him, of his political concerns. It was, in part at least, his failure to make political headway over any of these that drove him to a compensatory search, for identity as a major poet and rootless and retired scholar in the west and southwest.[50]

Du Fu, called the "panegyricist of the [Tang] imperial order,"[51] thus felt a personal devotion to the emperor. But, rather than engage in active politics or criticize imperial conduct directly, he preferred to treat the first of the king's "two bodies" and the rites and symbols, many drawn from the natural world but also well established in the verse tradition, that surrounded it. In his verse, he therefore politicised, in the limited sense suggested above, the emperor's "first body." This politicization extended to the plants and trees, fruit and flowers and the gardens associated with imperial rule. He did this, again, within a traditional outlook. This outlook, being largely denied in the face of

47 Stephen Owen, "Deadwood: The Barren Tree from Yu Hsin to Han Yu," *Chinese Literature, Essays, Articles, Reviews* (January 1979), p. 174, "The plea for preferment was the most important part of the literary repertoire of the aspiring official…."

48 David R. McCraw, *Du Fu's Laments from the South* (Honolulu: U. Hawaii P., 1992), p. 154.

49 Chou, *Reconsidering Du Fu*, p. 70.

50 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 U.P., 1986), pp. 88–101, contains insights relating to Du Fu's love of self mockery, his exploration of the imagery of solitariness against a wide landscape and his final commitment to a southern journey.

51 Stephen Owen, *The Great Age of Chinese Poetry: The High T'ang* (New Haven and London: Yale U.P., 1981), p. 184.

autocratic imperial power the freedom to comment openly on specific political issues, had always invested greatly in an extensive range of natural symbols. For Du Fu, manipulation of these symbols was a significant part of his art.

Du Fu therefore represented nature in the imperial gardens, particularly certain flowers, fruit and plants, as a facet of eternal emperorship. In turn, his treatment was underpinned by the holistic world view that was his intellectual and literary heritage. As it affected the place of trees and plants at the very center of the Chinese polity, this ideology was based on the medieval Chinese view of the whole cosmic process. The literary elite saw the natural world, and its flowers and fruit, as elements in a comprehensive cosmology. This linked the human social and the natural worlds in a series of detailed correlations. For, just as in Europe "the natural world was redolent with human analogy and symbolic meaning and sensitive to man's behaviour,"[52] so the Chinese natural world was bound closely to the human order. The emperor's palaces and his gardens, therefore, notionally, like the emperor himself at the center of the universe, were at the apex of the natural and the social worlds. A tradition had developed since the Han dynasty that the imperial garden should hold a comprehensive collection of plants and trees, including both native and exotic species. This tradition was lent force by the institutional practice of sending in tribute to the imperial center, for flowers and fruit were included as tribute items. In fact, of the fruit and flowers on which this essay focuses, only the ubiquitous chrysanthemum was not listed or suggested as a form of tribute.[53] Tribute, moreover, was ritualized and related to the emperor's "first body."

A tradition of idealizing both the tribute system and the imperial gardens was also highly developed in certain literary contexts.[54] The trees and plants submitted to the gardens should blossom and fruit ahead of those in the world at large. Even southern species, outside their normal range in the colder north, should flourish there. So too the administrative hierarchy, their human analogue, the emperor's servants

[52] Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England 1500–1800* (London: Allen Lane, 1983), p. 89.

[53] For cherries, see below, n. 160. For oranges, see below, passim; for special lotus roots from Suzhou 蘇州, see *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (2d imprint of reduced sized facs. of Song edn.; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992; hereafter *TPYL*) 975, p. 7a, quoting *Tang shi* 唐史; also *Tang guo shi bu* 唐國史補 (CSJC edn.), p. 64; *TPGJ* 409, p. 3323.

[54] Perhaps because they usurped a bureaucratic privilege, strong opposition was recorded against eunuchs being sent on imperial commission to to collect rare bamboos, or even birds, for the imperial gardens; see *ZZTJ* 203, p. 6411; 211, p. 6716.

in the imperial city, should be selected from and should in turn recruit the most morally suitable men from throughout the empire to its service. As Du Fu himself suggested, men of worth also formed tribute to the emperor.[55] The imperial gardens, through the court for the supervision of agriculture, also supplied offerings both to the imperial ancestral temple and mausolea and to the court in formal assembly. Thus they were symbolically and in practice both the destination for all species and the source of fruit and vegetables for offerings in the dynastic cult and for the officials in their role as imperial servants.[56]

In the verse tradition, the seventh- and early eighth-century extension of Tang control over much of the known world had resulted in renewed emphasis on this centralizing theme in treatment of trees, flowers and fruit. This trend had already become evident in the first decades of the dynasty. It is conspicuous that Taizong, surely because he intended to impose his authority on the court literary world and its lexicon of symbols, composed verses on all the flowers, fruit and plants that had a role in the court rituals which Du Fu was to mention. Verse writers of the late-seventh and eighth centuries, in turn, developed a distinctive court style that emphasized the cosmic and timeless role of the emperor and his benign effect on the natural world within the palace complexes. They suggested that trees should be moved to the imperial gardens.[57] Or they wrote at length on plants and trees that flourished better in the administrative city, at the center of the polity, than in their places of origin.[58] Court poets of the late-seventh and early-eighth centuries, when Du Fu's grandfather had been a prominent literary courtier, produced a substantial body of verse, much of it written in the presence of the emperor and "on command."[59] In this, the natural world in the palace precincts provided a significant theme.

[55] *JJJZDS* 11, pp. 156b–157b, "Ji Han jianyi Zhu" [寄]韓諫議注; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 1020, assigns to 767; *Little Primer*, pp, 165–73, Poem 26.

[56] *Da Tang liu dian* 大唐六典, (edn. of 1724; ed. Hiroike Senkurō 廣池千九郎 and Uchida Tomō 內田智雄, *Da Tō rikuten* [Tokyo: Hiroike gakuen jigyōbu, 1973]) 19, pp. 10b, 15b. For a lisiting of exotic trees sent to the imperial gardens in the year 647, see *THY* 100, p. 1796–97, *Ce fu yuan gui* 970, pp. 11b–12b.

[57] E.g. *Quan Tang shi* 全唐詩 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960; hereafter, *QTShi*) 60, pp. 718–719, "Tao" 桃 and "Ju" 橘, poems by Li Jiao.

[58] For example the *fu* on the chrysanthemum in the garden of the vice-president of the Chancellery at Luoyang by Yang Jiong 楊炯; see "Ting ju fu, bing xu" 庭菊賦並序 in *Lu Zhaolin ji, Yang Jiong ji* 盧照鄰集楊炯集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), pp. 12–14; and especially the *fu* on the lotus in the Xi yu 西玉 pond at the forbidden precincts in Luoyang by Song Zhiwen 宋之問, "Qiu lian fu you xu" 秋蓮賦有序; see *Song Zhiwen ji* 宋之問集 (SBCK edn.) 1, pp. 1a–3a.

[59] Stephen Owen, *The Poetry of the Early T'ang* (New Haven and London: Yale U.P., 1972), part four: "The Court Poets of Empress Wu and Chung-tsung, 680–710"; idem, "The Formation of the Tang Estate Poem," *HJAS* 55 (June 1995), pp. 39–59; Jia Jinhua, "A Study of the

Du Fu lived after medieval court verse had passed its zenith, never enjoyed the sustained proximity to the emperor at times of leisure that might have resulted in verse of this kind, and only occasionally echoed its hyperbolic style.[60] Yet he indicated at several points in his career that, both at imperial and at local levels, he had full control of the grand imperial view of the cosmological process.[61] He considered that the origins of the tribute system tribute were canonical and there is no suggestion that he wished to do away with it.[62] But he also clearly thought that the system was open to grave abuse, and his treatment of it, sometimes by direct criticism, sometimes ironically, sometimes by pointed silence, points to his poetic originality.

Like other writers of his time, therefore, he represented the court precincts of both the pre-rebellion and the post-rebellion period, its gardens and lakes, as a place where trees and flowers prospered.[63] But

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Jinglong wen guan ji," *MS* 47 (1999), pp. 209–36.

60 See below, n. 241, for examples of final lines in typical court verse. In *JJJZDS* 28, p. 427A–B, "Cheng wen Hebei zhu dao jiedu ru chao xi kouhao jueju shi'er shou, wu" 承聞河北諸道節度入朝歡喜口號絕句十二首, 五, his final line, "The Sage emperor's long life should exceed ten thousand springs," though written at Kuizhou in 767, echoes those of the court poets of Zhongzong's reign. See also Owen, "Deadwood," p. 179.

61 Just as his contemporaries Cen Shen and Yan Zhenqing did, he maintained that good local administration, especially as it involved the lawsuits, had a beneficial effect on local climatic conditions. He advised his patron Yan Wu that he should, by resolving all but capital criminal cases, empty the gaols in his jurisdiction and so end a persistent drought. He cited early Tang history: "Formerly in the Zhenguan 貞觀 period, there was a year of great drought. But the emperor Wen Huang 文皇 in person presided over the two metropolitan counties of Chang'an and Wanxian 萬縣 and fertile rains ...flowed forth in quantity..."; see *Du gong bu ji* 19, pp. 21a–22a, "Shuo han" 說旱; *Tu Fu*, p. 184. His account of the special place of Mount Hua 華for Xuanzong and for the dynasty is another indication of his use of correlative cosmology; see *Du gong bu ji* 19, p 12b, "Feng Xi yue fu, bing xu" 封西嶽賦並序.

62 Du Fu saw its implementation as an index of dynastic recovery in *JJJZDS* 32, p. 509A, "You gan wu shou, san" 有感五首, 三, assigned by *Du shih ZCG*, p. 562, to 763. He was indirectly critical of it in "Xi ping ma" 洗兵馬, *JJJZDS* 4, p. 72; assigned by *Du shih ZCG*, p. 230, to late 757; *Tu Fu*, p. 127 translates as Poem XCIX. Zhan Ying, "Tan Du Fu de 'Xi bing ma,'" interpets this passage as an indirect and ironic attack on the sorcerer Wang Yu 王璵, who had the ear of Suzong. Interestingly, both Su Yuanming and Yuan Jie, both within Du Fu's circle, condemned this figure; see above, n. 38, for Su Yuanming, and *Yuan Cishan ji* 7, pp. 105–6, "Zuo Huangzhou biao" 左黃州表 , dated to 761; and *JTS* 130, pp. 3617–18, for Yuan Jie. Du Fu was critical of the tribute system in other poems, e.g *JJJZDS* 2, p. 38, "Zi Jing fu Fengxian yong huai wubai zi"; *Tu Fu*, p. 88; and *JJJZDS* 12, p. 172–73, "Zu yu bu de gui Nangxi gan lin" 阻雨不得歸瀼西甘林, dated by *Du shih ZCG*, p. 999, to autumn of 767. See also below, note 207.

63 *JJJZDS* 2, p. 43A–B, "Ai jiang tou" 哀江頭, assigned by *Du shih ZCG*, p. 177, to spring or summer of 757; *JJJZDS* 19, p. 307A–B, "Zichen dian tui chao kouhao" 紫辰殿退朝口號, assigned to spring or early summer of 758 by *Du shih ZCG*, p.236; *JJJZDS* 20, p. 336A, "Ji Yuezhou Jia sima liu zhang, Bazhou Yan pa shijun, liang gelao wushi yun" 寄岳州賈司馬光六丈巴州嚴八使君兩閣老五十韻; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 287, assigns to autumn of 759; *Tu Fu*, pp. 150–52, translates as Poem CXL; *JJJZDS* 30, p. 461A–B, "Su xi" 宿昔, dated by *Du shih ZCG*, p. 985, to autumn of 767.

more significant for this analysis is his treatment in the light of his exile of a number of the flowers and fruit that had a place in the ritual life of this court world. Du Fu recalled some five or so of the imperial court rites in the annual cycle, those that he had been able as a "close official" to witness during his year of court service.[64] Some of these were restricted to the court itself; others were grand imperial versions of rites that were generally observed in society. Among them were the Winter Solstice,[65] the La 臘 rite in the Daming 大明 Palace, when the emperor gave his officials gifts of lip salve and face medicine,[66] and the emperor's birthday, the Festival of Ten thousand Autumns, on the fifth day of the eighth month.[67] On these occasions in the times of peace, the emperor led his literary courtiers in feasting and verse composition. Though Du Fu went through this annual cycle at court probably only once, and then under Suzong rather than Xuanzong, the emperor to whom he felt the greatest commitment, the impression that it made on him was permanent and profound.

Some, though not all, of these annual court rites involved symbols from the natural world that had been long established and had multiple associations in the literary tradition. Du Fu mentioned drinking wine flavored with cypress sprigs, symbolic of longevity, on the first day of the first month, very possibly in a court context.[68] He also referred

64 Progammatic accounts of the annual ritual calendar were available in a number of sources. Perhaps most relevant to the verse tradition were those in the literary prompt books *Yi wen lei ju* 藝文類聚 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965) 4, pp. 58–84, "Suishi, zhong" 歲時,中; and *Chu xue ji* 初學記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962) 4, pp. 63–86, "Sui shi bu" 歲時部. At the more popular level, *shuyi* 書儀 manuals also contained accounts for festivals; see Zhou Yiliang 周一良 and Zhao Heping 趙和平, *Tang Wu dai shuyi yanjiu* 唐五代書儀研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1995).

65 *JJJZDS* 32, p. 515A, "Dong zhi" 冬至, assigned by *Du shih ZCG*, pp. 1181–82, to winter of 767. The poem makes an implicit connection between this day and Du Fu's memory of the Zichen palace. *JJJZDS* 19, pp. 316A–317B, "Zhi ri qian xing feng ji liang yuan yi bu er shou" 至日遣興奉寄兩院遺補二首; assigned by *Du shih ZCG*, p. 266, to second half of 758.

66 *JJJZDS* 19, p. 307A, "La ri" 臘日, assigned by *Du shih ZCG*, p. 234, to late 757.

67 *JJJZDS* 35, p. 549A–B, "Qian chiu jie you gan er shou," assigned by *Du shih ZCG*, p. 1418, to 769, summer or autumn.

68 Cypress sprig flavored wine was distributed to officials on the first day of the first month in the Liang 梁 dynasty court; see Yu Xin 庾信 (513–81), quoted in commentary in *JJJZDS* 33, p. 519B, and in the Sui 隋 dynasty court; see *WYYH* 172, p. 1b, poem by Xiao Que 蕭愨, and under Zhongzong in the year 710; see *WYYH* 172, pp. 2a–b, poems entitled "Yuan ri en ci bo ye ying zhi" 元日恩賜柏葉應制, by Zhao Yanzhao 趙彥昭, Li Yi 李乂 and Wu Pingyi 武平一. See also Jia, "Jinglong wenguan ji," p. 222. The fact that in the poem by Xiao Que cited above the cypress sprigs came from mount Hua, the sacred peak with special affinity to Xuanzong, might have made their use in court ritual in his reign more likely. Du Fu referred twice to the drinking of cypress flavored wine at the new year; see *JJJZDS* 33, p. 519B, "Yuan ri shi Zongwu" 元日示宗武; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 1138, assigns to spring of 768; and *JJJZDS* 33, p. 521A–B, "Ren ri liang shou" 人日兩首; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 1245, assigns to spring of 768. In *JJJZDS* 33, pp. 519A–B, "Tai sui ri" 太歲日, assigned by *Du shih ZCG*, p. 1237, to spring of 768, he describes having seen the emperor in person at court, that day, stating that "The glo-

to the cherry, offered in the imperial ancestral temple and distributed to the officials in the fourth month, and to the chrysanthemum in the court version of the widely observed Double Ninth Festival, both grown in the imperial gardens. Other flowers and trees, again already established literary symbols, went on, in some cases in Du Fu's life-time, to acquire further associations, as a result of specific episodes in the court. For Du Fu, the tangerine, standing originally for individual integrity in the provincial scholar, and then providing a test of the emperor's frugality, was the important example of these. The annual court rituals that involved another flower, the lotus, and the particular association it came to have with Xuanzong's beloved consort Yang Guifei, gave it a place that contrasts particularly with the cherry. The associations that grew round the lotus and Yang Guifei were to enable the Tang literary community eventually to come close to gaining access to the humanity of the emperor, his "second body," and so, as it were, to start to "count his griefs." That Du Fu appears to have treated the lotus of the court, one of the grandest of Tang floral symbols, with caution may, it is argued, shed light both on his attitude to the emperor and on an aspect of his character as a poet.

Thus Du Fu, whose verse was marked by "a deepening sense of an inner symbolic order in the world," gave to familiar flowers and fruit, trees and plants, symbolic values that consistently expressed his overall system of values.[69] His exploration of the meaning of these fruit and flowers in their court setting took place mainly, though not exclusively, during his years away from the capital. The contrast between his court experience and his provincial travels, expressed through his unrelenting commitment to poetry as an art, forms an insistent theme in all his later writing. It set up a range of tensions, between the prosperity and splendour of the pre-rebellion court that he had witnessed and the deprivations and insecurity of his own situation when he wrote; between

ry and lustre vied with the sun and moon; the gifts conferred surpassed gold and silver. Melancholy that the ranks of court are no more; I am a restless neighbor to the tiger's cave." In *JJJZDS* 20, p. 336A, *Tu Fu*, p. 151, he again mentions being at court on new year day of 758. Though the evidence is not conclusive, it is therefore possible that Du Fu drank wine with cypress sprigs in it, symbolic of longevity, at court on that occasion, as a gift from the emperor. But Du Fu did not invoke this ceremony to criticize the court; rather he reserved the cypress tree in its entirety for a more monumental symbolic role, representing in one case very possibly the state itself, and in a second himself. See the two poems at *JJJZDS* 7, p. 112B, "Bing bo" 病柏, *Du shih ZCG*, p.883, dating to early 767 and *JJJZDS* 7, p.108A, "Gu bo xing" 古柏行, *Du shih ZCG*, p. 767, dating to spring of 766. Also, inter alia, for the tradition of the "barren tree" in medieval verse including Du Fu's, see Owen, "Deadwood," p. 174. For the "Bing bo" poem, see Owen, *Great Age*, pp. 210–11; for the "Gu bo xing," see *Little Primer*, Poem 24, pp. 156–64. *Tu Fu*, p. 226, translates as Poem CCLXXVI.

[69] Owen, *Great Age*, p. 201.

the ideal of permanence for the emperor's grand ritual program, his "first body," and the dynasty's failure, in the crises of the post-rebellion years, to fulfil the rites that surrounded it. His self-imposed commitment to remember the period of dynastic success was in tension with his declining health and powers of recall. His representation of social perspectives beyond the elite to which he belonged enabled him to comment ironically on a courtly past that he identified as extravagant to the point of cruelty and irresponsibility. Ultimately, all these factors, underpinned by his sense of moral engagement and his poetic powers, enabled Du Fu to create in his verse a new relationship between the exiled scholar and the polity, and the individual, the state and the wider world.

DU FU'S KNOWLEDGE OF THE IMPERIAL PRECINCTS AND THEIR GARDENS

From the remote reaches of the upper Yangtze, Du looked back at the capital and its precincts and saw them as single entity, in space, "the land of song and dance,"[70] or in time, "the events of Kaiyuan."[71] But both the symbolic and the actual center of the Tang polity were made up of a number of distinct precincts and activities. These differed in their functions and their solemnity, and Du Fu's treatment of them in verse differed accordingly. The dynastic altars and the imperial ancestral temple, closely identified with the first of the emperor's "two bodies," were the most important to him; they and their ritual program stood, as did no other precincts, for the immortality of the dynasty itself. But he also mentioned the palace buildings and administrative premises of the state which were surrounded by lakes, gardens, trees and plants. Certain leisure gardens, where he witnessed the imperial retinue on excursion, came nearest to providing glimpses in his verse of the emperor's "second body," his less formal role.

The Religious Precincts and the Dynastic Cult

In identifying closely with the imperial ancestral cult, Du Fu was typical of the scholarly or literary element within the official elite. The cult had two main locations, first the mausolea of deceased Tang emperors sited round the mountainous hinterland of Chang'an 長安, and secondly the imperial ancestral temple itself, at the southern edge

[70] *JJJZDS* 32, p. 468B, "Qiu xing ba shou, liu" 秋興八首, 六, assigned by *Du shih ZCG*, 1138, to autumn of 767.

[71] *JJJZDS* 30, p. 462A, "Lili" 歷歷, assigned by *Du shih ZCG*, p. 988, to autumn of 767.

of the administrative city. Since both these sites stood, for the scholarly elite, for the dynasty itself; they were treated with great formal reverence. In public writing, it was required by dynastic regulations 式 to leave a two character space before referring to them.[72] For the elite, their regular maintenance and provisioning, in some cases with offerings from the imperial gardens, was a sacred duty and a crucial political matter. They were the setting for elaborate, precisely drafted rituals, derived from the Confucian canon and among the grandest in the imperial ritual program. These rites were interpreted and redrafted for the dynasty by the scholar community of which Du Fu was a member.[73] Their directives, apart from those for imperial funerals, were also written into successive ritual codes, themselves highly prestigious productions.[74] The dynastic cult also provided a point in political and scholarly life where the emperor was required to listen to his scholars, and the scholars had an unwritten right to address the emperor. The initiatives by Yan Zhenqing 顏真卿 (709–784), one of the commission that investigated Du Fu's defense of his patron Fang Guan in 757,[75] to uphold the rituals are typical of a political commitment to the ritual program that Du Fu also expressed, characteristically, in verse.

The importance of the dynastic cult to Du Fu is clear from his writing over a long period. He placed the provisioning of the state rituals high among the functions of government. In 751, he submitted three *fu* 賦 to the Imperial Hope Chest, in which he described three main ritual precincts, the imperial ancestral temple, the southern suburban altar and the temple to Laozi 老子, claimed as the remote progenitor of the Tang imperial line. Du Fu's intention behind these three *fu* was to display his talent and procure an appointment to a literary office. He therefore paraded his mastery of the vocabulary and imagery of

72 See *Da Tang liu dian* 4, pp. 15a–b; also Zhou and Zhao, *Tang Wu dai shuyi yanjiu*, pp. 173–74, and p. 184, transcription of Dunhuang ms S. 6537, Zheng Yuqing's 鄭餘慶 "Da Tang xinding jixiong shuyi" 大唐新定吉凶書儀.

73 McMullen, "Bureaucrats and Cosmology," pp. 181–236.

74 David McMullen, "The Death Rites of Tang Daizong," in Joseph P. McDermott, ed., *State and Court Ritual in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1999), pp. 159–65.

75 In 757, Yan attempted to ensure that the emperor Suzong observed appropriate rituals on recovering the mausoleum, and, following the Tibetan incursions; in 766, he tried to ensure that the emperor Daizong visited the imperial mausolea. His participation in judging Du Fu's defense of Fang Guan is mentioned in *JTS* 92, p. 2961 and *XTS* 122, p. 4352, biographies of Wei Zhi 韋陟; see *Tu Fu*, p. 109 and *Notes to Tu Fu*, p. 66. There is no other evidence of contact between Yan Zhenqing and Du Fu, though they had friends or acquaintances in common, including Du Fu's great nephew Du Ji 杜濟; see *JJJZDS* 1, p. 19B, "Shi zong sun Ji" 示從孫濟; assigned by *Du shih Z CG*, p. 117, to Tianbao period; *Yan Lu gong wen ji* 顏魯公文集 (SBBY edn.), "Du Ji shen dao bei" 杜濟神道碑; and Cen Zhongmian 岑仲勉, "Tang ji zhi yi" 唐集質疑, in *Tang ren hangdi lu* 唐人行第錄 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), p. 373.

the state cults and their history and canonical origins.[76] Intended for the emperor Xuanzong himself, they differed in their intended readership from most of his works.[77] But in other, less formal, compositions Du Fu treated the dynastic cult using similar diction and vocabulary. He also stressed its importance in other contexts. For example, in the first of the five examination questions he set at Huazhou 華州, after his ejection from the court in 758, he implied that only basic military and financial supplies to the state were more important than provisioning the cult.[78]

There are numerous other instances of his foregrounding the dynastic cult. In 757, writing in response to the recovery of the capitals, he stated that "the strategy of the sevenfold temple is as before, and the whole world has reverted to its pristine state." He thus linked the dynasty's military campaigns for recovery with the dynastic temple, where dynastic ritual required that they be reported.[79] In 757, he praised Zhaoling 昭陵, Taizong's great mausoleum to the west of Chang'an,[80] when he passed beneath it. But even before the rebellion, he had composed a long description of the mausoleum of Ruizong 睿宗, Xuanzong's father, at Qiaoling 橋陵, in Fengxian 奉先 county.[81] His poem depicted its natural setting, and then praised the filial piety of Xuanzong, his son and the reigning emperor, whose sacred duty it was to maintain the cult for his deceased father: "Envoys from the palace come fast by day and night; because the emperor's heart is not at ease. It is not merely that he feels compassion over offering full sacrifices; it is also that he seeks for what is beyond form. He imparts reverence to government through

[76] *Tu Fu*, pp. 67–68. Du Fu recalled the response of the emperor in later poems; see note 37 above.

[77] Paul Kroll, "The Significance of the fu in the History of T'ang Poetry," *T'ang Studies* 18–19 (2000–01), p. 92.

[78] *Du gong bu ji* 20, p. 1b, "Qianyuan yuan nian Huazhou shi jinshi ce wen wu shou, yi" 乾元元年華州試進士策問五首,一; *Tu Fu*, pp. 132–33.

[79] *JJJZDS* 19, p. 301A, "Shou jingsan shou, yi" 收京三首,一; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 228, assigns to 757, autumn; *Tu Fu*, p. 120, Poem XC, translates the second in the series.

[80] *JJJZDS* 17, pp. 258B–259B, "Xing ci Zhaoling" 行次昭陵; *Du shih ZCG* 4, p. 217; *JJJZDS* 17, pp. 269B–270A, "Chong jing Zhaoling" 重經昭陵, *Du shih ZCG*, p. 219, assigns both to the eighth month of 757.

[81] *JJJZDS* 2, pp. 32–35, "Qiaoling shi sanshi yun, yin cheng xian nei zhu guan" 橋陵詩三十韻因呈縣內諸官; assigned by *Du shih ZCG*, p. 104, to the Tianbao period. The imperial visit to Qiaoling, with a full retinue, in late 729 is documented in *Cefu yuan gui* 30, p. 10A, and 84, p. 14b, and confirmed in *JTS* 8, p. 194, and Zhou and Zhao, *Tangdai muzhi huibian* 2, p. 1605, "Tang gu tongyidaifu shou Taizi zhanshi, shangzhu guo Yuan fujun muzhi ming bingxu" 唐故通議大夫守太子詹事上柱國源府君墓誌銘並序, by the historian Liu Fang 柳芳. A line in Du Fu's poem stated, referring to the county in which the mausoleum stood, that , "Finally it is upgraded as a red county." The upgrading of Fengxian to the first grade in the seven grade system is recorded, with the elaborate provisioning of the mausoleum that Du Fu also describes in his poem, in *JTS* 8, p. 194.

the principle of filial piety; his spirit is concentrated on promoting the *Canon of the Dao*." Du Fu indirectly mentioned an emotional visit that Xuanzong made to Qiaoling in 729. The emperor had then upgraded the status of the county to a "red county," the highest administrative grade, and provided lavishly for the upkeep of the mausoleum and its cult, requiring daily offerings to the spirit of his father, the only imperial ancestor thus provided for. Du Fu thus represented the reigning emperor as a perfect exemplar of filial piety. He described the supreme human being fulfilling through his "first body" the central moral value that Xuanzong himself had in 722 promoted throughout the empire, by his own commentary on the *Canon of Filial Piety*.[82]

In this poem for a group of local officials, Du Fu's language paid homage to the Confucian ritual canon, the ultimate authority for the dynasty's ritual program. At the same time his poem shared phrasing with his three *fu* for the emperor in 751.[83] Even when addressing less exalted recipients, therefore, his verse style in treating the state cults was liturgical in tone, like that of his monumental *fu*.[84] Other references to the imperial mausolea indicate how important Du Fu considered them. He commended his friend, the prince of Ruyang, the emperor's nephew and great favorite, for his modesty in opposing the title that Xuanzong proposed for the mausoleum of his father, Xuanzong's brother, Li Xian 李憲, the prince of Ning 寧, canonized as Rang huangdi 讓皇帝, who had died in late 741, on the grounds that it implied imperial status.[85] His attitude to Xuanzong's own mausoleum was especially poignant: in his later years, he visualized it as a deserted place where, "Among the pines

82 *JTS* 8, p. 183.

83 The second line of the poem echoes a line from the liturgical hymn to the temple of Laozi; see *QTShi* 14, p. 135 "百靈朝太上," where Du Fu has "茲山朝百靈." The use of the phrase "神凝" in l. 22 may be intended as an echo of its use in imperial ancestral liturgy: see e.g. *QTShi* 13, p. 124, "Xiang Taimiao yue zhang" 享太廟樂章; *QTShi* 12, p. 109, "Ji fang qu yue zhang 祭方丘樂章." Similarly, "備享" may echo the usage of *QTShi* 12, p. 117, "Xiang Xiancan yue zhang" 享先蠶樂章.

84 The phrases in common are: i) 惟王心不寧 from "Qiaoling shi" and 將旰食而匪寧 from "You shi yu Nanjiao." Zhao suggests that the first of two phrases is based on *Mao shi* 262, "Jiang Han" 江漢 verse 2, "王心載寧," and 227, "Shu miao 黍苗" verse 5; although 191, "Jie Nan shan 節南山," verse 9, "我王不寧" is equally possible; and ii) "尚謂求無形" from "Qiaoling shi" and "天子蒼然視於無形" from "You shi yu Nanjiao." These phrases are based on *Li ji*, I, p. 6a, "Qu li 曲禮," "聽於無聲視於無形"; James Legge *The Li Ki I-X* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1885), p. 69, translates, "He should be (as if he were) hearing (his parents) when there is no voice from them, and as seeing them when they are not actually there." For the provision of daily offerings at Qiaoling, see *Da Tang liu dian* 14, p. 29a.

85 *JJJZDS* 17, pp. 268a–269b, "Zeng tejin Ruyang wang ershi'er yun" 贈特進汝陽王二十二韻; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 89, dates to Tianbao period; *Du Fu*, p. 60, translates as Poem XXVII. The background to the funeral rites of Li Xian 李憲, Li Jin's father, are given in *JTS* 95, pp. 3012–14. The implication is that Du Fu wished to uphold the supreme position of the emperor's own cult above that of his brothers.

and cypresses the fine steeds have all vanished and the birds call to the wind,"[86] and where "The trees are already an arm span in girth."[87]

The destruction wrought on the imperial religious precincts by the An Lushan rebels provided Du Fu with a focus for a general sense of desolation. He taxed Han dynasty sources in his representation of the terror inflicted on palace women and members of the imperial family, the looting and plundering of the imperial mausolea and ancestral temple, the murder of their personnel and burning of their buildings and sacred ritual utensils.[88] He recorded "deep melancholy that the imperial spirit tablets had one by one become dust in the mournful wind."[89] But recovery came, and he had been present in 757, he later recalled, when the emperor performed a three day rite of contrition at the imperial ancestral temple in Chang'an, the same ritual that Yan Zhenqing had attempted to redraft.[90] In his final tribute to his second patron Yan Wu, he described how "On the restored temple, the red and green are bright."[91] For him, the spirits of the deceased members of the imperial line still lived on in the mausolea: "The gardens and mausolea certainly have their spirits, and the schedule of sweeping and sprinkling should not lapse."[92] When in 762, Yan Wu left Shu 蜀 to take up appointment as a commissioner for bridges and roads preparing the mausoleum rites for Xuanzong and Suzong, Du Fu wrote a poem in which he suggested the momentous nature of his duties: "Sleepless, you will hold the tallies of the Han."[93] In his final tribute, he called Yan Wu "a gemmed vessel [for the ancestral temple]."[94] Into his Kuizhou period, when re-

[86] *JJJZDS* 8, p. 118B, "Wei Feng lushi zhai guan Cao jiangjun Ba hua ma tu" 韋諷錄事宅觀曹將軍霸畫馬圖; assigned by *Du shih ZCG*, p. 552, to early 763. *Little Primer*, pp. 145–55, Poem 24.

[87] *JJJZDS* p. 192B, "Guan Gongsun daniang dizi wu jian qi xing" 觀公孫大娘弟子舞劍器行; assigned by *Du shih ZCG*, p. 1179, to the winter of 767. *Tu Fu*, p. 21, p. 251–52, translates as Poem CCCXXX. *Little Primer*, Poem 31. The translation of *gong* 拱 here follows the canonical reference in *Zuo zhuan zhu shu* 17, p. 11b, "Erh mu zhi mu mu ke gong yi" 爾墓之木可拱矣. Legge, *The Ch'un Ts'ew, With the Tso Chuen*, p. 221. Cf. *Little Primer*, pp. 188–99, Poem 31, at p. 197, and Owen, *Great Age*, p. 222.

[89] *JJJZDS* 19, pp. 302B–305A, "Feng song Guo zhongcheng jian taipu qing chong Longyou jiedushi sanshi yun" 奉送郭中丞兼太僕卿充隴右節度使三十韻; assigned by *Du shih ZCG* to 757. The murder of high palace ladies is also mentioned in *JJJZDS* 12, p. 164, "Wang zai" 往在. *Du shih ZCG*, pp. 928–33, assigns to early 767.

[89] *JJJZDS* 12, pp. 164A–65B, "Wang zai."

[90] *JJJZDS* 20, p. 336A; *Tu Fu*, p. 151.

[91] *JJJZDS* 14, p. 205A, "Zeng zuo puye Zheng guo gong Yan gong Wu."

[92] *JJJZDS* 3, p. 50A, "Bei zheng" 北征; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 212, assigns to 8th month of 757; *Tu Fu*, p. 115–18, translates as Poem LXXXIX.

[93] *JJJZDS* 24, p. 380A–B, "Jiu ri feng ji Yan Dafu" 九日奉寄嚴大夫, following the Zhao commentary; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 513, assigns to autumn 761. Cf. *JTS* 117, p. 3395; *XTS* 129, p. 4484, biographies of Yan Wu: *Tu Fu*, p. 186.

[94] *JJJZDS* 14, p. 204A, "Zeng zuo puye Zheng guo gong Yan gong wu."

turn to the north was a remote possibility, he continued to mention the destruction of the ancestral temple, the burning of the spirit tablets in it and the desecration wrought by the Tibetans in 763.[95]

The Shang yuan 上苑 *and the Three Gardens*

Du Fu also represented the imperial gardens at the capital. The terms Jinyuan 禁苑 or Shangyuan 上苑, by which they were generally known in Tang times, probably referred fairly loosely to the extensive parks to the north of the main palace complex as well as the enclosed palace gardens. These terms were closely associated with the emperor himself. In official correspondence, for example, under the regulations of the dynasty, it was again mandatory to leave a two character honorific space before writing either term.[96] Probably the number of middle and low-ranking officials who saw these gardens was very small; there was no counterpart to the Mughal tradition whereby one third of royal gardens was reserved for the public.[97] But the verse writer Wang Wei 王維 (701–761), a friend of Du Fu, rebuked for arrogance a young man who was privileged to shoot pheasants there, but who would not deign to speak with commoners.[98] In the ninth century, Li Shen 李紳 recorded being allowed to "enter the imperial gardens to view the flowers."[99] The sound of bells from this area, moreover, drifted south across the main administrative city, and was recalled in verse, for example by Wang Wei.[100] Here, probably, were grown the fruit and flowers, the cherries and chrysanthemums, that were essential to the court rites that Du Fu was to refer to. A garden to the immediate north of the main administrative complex and adjoining this extensive space, probably enclosed, was known as the West Inner Garden (Xi nei yuan 西內苑), one of the Three Gardens in the imperial palace complexes.

The Daming 大明 Palace, an extension to the northeast of the rectilinear grid that comprised Chang'an, became the domicile of the court and the emperor under Gaozong. This area contained the East

[95] *JJJZDS* 12, pp. 164A–B, "Wang zai"; see also *ZZTJ* 223, p. 7152, and especially p. 7155, memorial of Liu Kang 柳伉 mentioning Tibetan destruction of the mausolea.

[96] See Zhou and Zhao, *Tang Wu dai shuyi yanjiu*, pp. 173–74, and p. 184, transcripton "Da Tang xinding jixiong shuyi" 大唐新定吉凶書儀. The "new regulations" may have post-dated Du Fu's career.

[97] Jack Goody, *The Culture of Flowers* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1993), pp. 110–11.

[98] *Wang Wei ji jiao zhu* 1, pp. 47–49, "Yu yan er shou" 寓言二首, dated to mid-Kaiyuan.

[99] *QTShi* 481, p. 5461, "Yi chun ri Qu jiang yan hou xu zhi Furong yuan" 憶春日曲江宴後許至芙蓉園, by Li Shen 李紳.

[100] *Wang Wei ji jiao zhu* 3, p. 277, "Dai Chu Guangxi bu zhi" 待儲光羲不至, dated to about 747–48.

Inner Garden (Dong nei yuan 東內苑), another enclosed space. It also had the Taiye 太液 Pond, famous for its lotuses and its association with Yang Guifei.

The Xingqing 興慶 Palace, southeast of the main palace complex, occupied a complete ward of the city. It had a lake, the "Dragon Pond" (Long chi 龍池), that had started to appear miraculously in the reign of the empress Wu. This area, known as the South Inner Garden (Nan nei yuan 南內苑), making up the third of the Three Inner Gardens (San nei yuan 三內苑), had been important for court excursions under Zhongzong 中宗. It was closely associated with Xuanzong, because he had lived there before becoming heir-apparent, and because a dragon predicting his emperorship was said to have appeared in the lake.[101] Du Fu recalled this lake as late as 767 at Kuizhou.[102] In 726 and 728, the emperor Xuanzong had greatly expanded its buildings, even using them to conduct government until the rebellion. Du Fu used Xuanzong's ascent of the Hua'e 花萼 Tower in this complex as an image to suggest the spendor of his reign.[103] This was the setting in which some of the music of the emperor's "Pear Garden Troupe" was played. Du Fu referred to "Songs from the South Garden of Kaiyuan times."[104] In two poems assigned to his late exile, in 769, he also recalled the banquet that the emperor gave beneath this tower on his birthday, the "Festival of a Thousand Autumns."[105] By the mid-eighth century, both the peonies and the lotuses of this garden were to be celebrated for their association with Yang Guifei. Du Fu obliquely alluded to this association and the revels of the court, but suggested significantly that "Within the palace their delights are secret; little known by those beyond."[106] It was here that Xuanzong, deposed by his son, was secluded after the court returned to Chang'an following the An Lushan rebellion. Here he became known as the Adept of the South Garden (Nan yuan zhen

[101] Victor Cunrui Xiong, *Sui-Tang Chang'an: A Study in the Urban History of Medieval China* (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, 2000), pp. 102–03. Du Fu appears to refer to this dragon in *JJJZDS* 30, p. 461, "Su xi." However, the commentaries differ in interpreting which pond is indicated.

[102] *JJJZDS* 30, p. 461A, "Dong fang" 洞房; *Du shih ZCG* p. 984, assigns to the autumn of 767.

[103] Xiong, *Sui-Tang Chang'an*, pp. 99–101; *JJJZDS* 30, p. 463B, "Li shan" 驪山; assigned by *Du shih ZCG* to autumn of 767; also *JJJZDS* 30, p. 468, "Qiu xing ba shou, liu" 秋興八首,六. *JTS* 95, p. 3011; cf *QTShi* 3, p. 39, "You Xingqing gong zuo, bing xu" 遊興慶宮作,並序, poem by Xuanzong.

[104] *JJJZDS* 29, p. 437, "Qiu ri Kuizhou yong huai, ji Zheng jian, Li binke yi bai yunqiu" 秋日夔州詠懷寄鄭監李賓客一白韻; assigned by *Du shih ZCG*, p. 1036, to the autumn of 767.

[105] *JJJZDS* 35, p. 549, "Qian qiu jie you gan er shou" 千秋節有感二首.

[106] *JJJZDS* 30, p. 461, "Su xi," final couplet.

ren 南苑真人). This was the setting which Du Fu described as desolate and silent after the emperor's death.[107]

Other Palaces

There were other palaces: Du Fu recalled the complex at Lishan 驪山, about 35 kilometers east of Chang'an, on the north-facing slopes of Mount Li, depicting the pageantry of court life there. From the mid-seventh century on, Lishan had been a favored resort for the court. Here, hot springs and ponds created particularly favorable conditions for fruit and flowers. The court for the supervision of agriculture had the responsibility for growing and forwarding for offering in the imperial ancestral temple the fruit that ripened earlier here. "The ether of the earth was warm and fertile, and plants were notably early. Plants and trees did not wither through the winter, and vegetables and fruit, when it came to spring, ripened ahead of time, more than in other hotspring locations."[108] It was said that here melons were ready by the second month.[109] There is a suggestion, too, that lotus flowers opened in winter.[110] A lotus carved in stone, the gift of An Lu-shan, emerged from the warm water. The court visited this complex, renamed the Huaqing華清 Palace in 747,[111] regularly in the winter months, as Du Fu himself noted.[112] At Lishan, the sumptuousness of Xuanzong's court is said to have reached a climax. Here, Du Fu implied in an account in which details are deliberately transposed, An Lushan secured his place as an imperial favorite, and Yang Guifei infatuated the emperor.[113] Du Fu in 766, looking at a painting of horses by Cao Ba曹霸, recalled a scene of pageantry at Lishan. He described how he remembered the imperial hunt, in connection with paintings of hunting falcons "in spirit, company for princes." But the court also came to Lishan in the summer. A famous incident in court history, in which lychees were rushed from

107 See *JJJZDS* 30, p. 463B, "Lishan."

108 *Da Tang liu dian* 19, pp. 23a–24a.

109 *QTShi* 301, pp. 3425–26, Wang Jian 王建, "Gong qian zao chun" 宮前早春. Forcing vegetables out of season was known in ancient Rome; but of course it had no cosmological implications. See Goody, *Culture of Flowers*, p. 64.

110 *QTShi* 298, p. 3375, "Wenquan gong xing" 溫泉宮行, poem by Wang Jian 王建; *QTShi* 30, p. 3403, "Huaqing gong gan jiu" 華清宮感舊, poem by Wang Jian. Also *Hanyu da ci dian* 漢語大辭典 (Shanghai: Hanyu Da Cidian chubanshe, 1989) 4, p. 504, defining Yu lian as "white lotus" and citing *QTShi* 524, p. 6004, "Huaqing gong," by Du Mu: "When the white lotus opened its stamens the warm springs were fragrant."

111 *ZZTJ* 215, p. 6877. For the stone lotus, see *TPGJ* 236, p. 1818, quoting *Ming huang za lu* 明皇雜錄.

112 *JJJZDS* 2, pp. 30A–31B, "Feng tong Guo jishi Tangzhong Ling jiu zuo" 奉同郭給事湯東靈湫作. *Du shih ZCG*, p.262, assigns to 758. *Tu Fu*, pp. 83–84, translates in part and argues for the earlier date of 754.

113 See preceding n.

the south for Yang Guifei, by tradition took place here.[114] Du Fu represented Yang Guifei's craving for lychees, but as instance of excessive consumption, rather than a symbol of romance, as it was later seen.[115] Du Fu also saw the Huaqing palace complex as standing for the reign as a whole. When, in the autumn of 767, he wrote a series of poems on Xuanzong's death, one was given the title "Lishan" and opened with the line "At Lishan [his] progresses for taking in the view are finally no more."[116] In another poem in this series, he anticipated the theme of melancholy and decay that later poets used for Lishan: "Lonely is the road to Lishan; in clear autumn plants and trees have yellowed."[117]

Du Fu knew other, remoter palaces: he left a description of the ruins of Yuhua 玉華 Palace in Fangzhou 坊州, Yijun 宜君 county, due north of Chang'an. This had been built by Taizong in 647. Its lavish construction, however, had elicited a strongly apologetic tone in Taizong's proclamations. Du Fu, unwilling directly to criticize Taizong for conspicuous extravagance, was evasive about who was responsible for the building.[118] "We do not know which king's palace it is, that has its ruined beams beneath the sheer cliff-face."[119] But he described it as derelict and abandoned, with only the stone horses remaining, an ironic

[114] *JTS* 9, p. 223; for a thorough discussion of lychees in the tribute system of the Tang, see Zhou Yunqiao 周雲喬, "Tōdai no reishi no shinkō ni tsuite" 唐代の荔枝の進貢について," in *Takashi Daikoku bun* 高知大國文 30, pp. 1–14; For the historical resonances that Lishan had with imperial extravagance, see David R. Knechtges, "What's in a Title? 'Expressing My Feelings on Going from the Capital to Fengxian Prefecture: Five Hundred Characters' by Du Fu," in Yu, Bol, Owen, and Peterson, eds., *Ways with Words,* pp. 157–58. Lychees were a summer fruit, and Yang Guifei was said to have preferred those from the far south to those of her native Shu; see Li Zhao 李肇, *Guo shi bu* 國史補 (Shanghai: Gudian Wenxue chubanshe, 1957) A, p. 19; *TPYL* 971, p. 8a, quoting *Tang shu* 唐書.

[115] *Du shih ZCG*, p. 1106, quoting *Tang shi yishi* 唐史遺事, "At the start of the Qianyuan 乾元 [period, i.e. 758], it chanced that Lingnan 嶺南 presented lychees. The emperor was moved, remembering the consort Yang, and unconsciously was grieved to the point of passing out."

[116] *JJJZDS* 30, p. 463B, "Lishan."

[117] *JJJZDS* 30, p. 461B–62A, "Dou ji" 鬥雞; assigned by *Du shih ZCG* to autumn of 767.

[118] *JJJZDS* 3, p. 51, "Yuhua gong" 玉華宮; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 210, assigns to 8th month of 757. *Tu Fu*, p. 114, translates as Poem LXXXV; Owen, *Great Age*, pp. 223–24. Yang Hongnian 楊鴻年, *Sui Tang gong ting jianzhu kao* 隋唐宮庭建築考 (Xian: Xaanxi jenmin chubanshe, 1992), pp. 24–25. *ZZTJ* 198, pp. 6248, 6253; *JTS* 3, p. 60; *JTS* 38, p. 1401; *Tang da zhao ling ji* 唐大詔令集 (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1959) 108, pp. 559–60: edicts dated 7th month of 647 and 2d month of 648. The palace had an ambivalent reputation. On the one hand, Taizong in his proclamations stressed its frugality of construction; on the other Taizong's consort Xu Chongrong 徐容充 (*THY* 30, p. 555; *JTS* 51, pp. 2167–69) opposed it. The *Tang hui yao* reading suggests that the palace was rebuilt (*fu xing* 復興), though the wording is not clear. *Du shih ZCG*, on the other hand, accounts for Du Fu's claim that he did not know which king built the palace by suggesting that he wished to avoid holding Taizong responsible. The palace was converted into a Buddhist monastery in 651.

[119] This is the second instance of the locution "不知" at the start of a line suggesting ironic disapproval, an interpretation that is here supported by *Du shih ZCG*, who speaks of Du Fu's "veiled meaning"; see p. 211. See above at note 32; and below at notes 207 and 214.

reminder of the golden carriages that waited on the court ladies in the time of its prosperity. He also described the Jiucheng 九成 Palace, in Linyou 麟遊 county, Fengxiang 鳳翔 metropolitan district, a former Sui construction completed in 595, again to lavish specifications. He used the Sui origins of the buildings to condemn Sui extravagance: "How profligate the emperors of the Sui, to build this, collapsing and rotted as it is today. Yet had their dynasty not perished, How could the mighty Tang have come to be?"[120]

Administrative Precincts

The administrative buildings within the Huang cheng 皇城 were surrounded by plantings of trees and flowers, and it had become a tradition to evoke these in poems written for court levees, vigils and abstinences. To describe them was, by implication, to celebrate the beneficence of imperial rule. In the brief period of his official service at Chang'an, Du Fu attended court at the Daming Palace, in the company of his fellow men of letters Jia Zhi 賈至 (718–72),[121] Cen Shen 岑參 (715–769), and Wang Wei.[122] Du Fu referred to a peach trees in the palace as given to the emperor in the Han by the Queen Mother of the West, to giant *wutong* 梧桐 trees and falling flowers,[123] to "flowery shadows on the walls of the chancellery in spring,"[124] and to the flowers and willows in the grounds.[125] His court attendance poems have been described as conventional.[126] This is an irony, because it was precisely these months of court service that years later continued to pervade his memory and provoked him to some of his most innovative verse. The

[120] *JJJZDS* 3, pp. 51B–52A, "Jiu cheng gong" 九成宮; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 208, assigns to the 8th month of 757. Yang, *Sui Tang gong ting jianzhu kao*, pp. 1–3. The palace was visited frequently by Taizong, and by Gaozong; but not by sovereigns thereafter.

[121] For Jia Zhi, see also Fu Xuancong 傅璇琮, *Tangdai shiren congkao* 唐代詩人叢考 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), pp. 171–91. Cen Shen's poem for Jia Zhi is at *Cen Shen ji jiao zhu* 3, pp. 196–98.

[122] Conveniently reprinted after Du Fu's own composition; see *JJJZDS* 19, p. 309A–B, "Feng he Jia Zhi sheren zao chao Daming gong" 奉和賈至舍人早朝大明宮; assigned by *Du shih ZCG*, p. 242, to spring or summer of 758. Cen Shen's poem for Du Fu is at *Cen Shen ji jiao zhu* 3, pp. 199–200, with full commentary, dated to the same year; see also *Tu Fu*, p. 125, Poem XCVI; *WangWei ji jiaozhu* 6, pp. 488–91, "He Jia sheren zaochao Daming gong zhi zuo" 和賈舍人早朝大明宮製作.

[123] *JJJZDS* 19, p. 310A, "Ti sheng zhong yuan bi" 題省中院壁; assigned by *Du shih ZCG*, p. 244, to spring or summer of 758. In another instance, the Queen Mother of the West is associated by commentators with Yang Guifei; see *JJJZDS* 2, pp. 30A–31B, "Feng tong Guo jishi Tangzhong Ling jiu zuo" 奉同郭給事湯東靈湫作, and note 207 below.

[124] *JJJZDS* 19, pp. 310B–11A, "Chun su zuo sheng" 春宿左省; assigned by *Du shih ZCG*, p. 245, to spring or summer of 758; *Little Primer*, pp. 56–59, Poem 8; *Tu Fu*, p. 125, Poem XCV.

[125] *JJJZDS* 19, p. 311A, "Wan chu Zuo yi" 晚出左掖; assigned by *Du shih ZCG*, p. 235, to spring or summer of 758; also preceding n.

[126] Owen, *Great Age*, p. 199.

man who, even before the rebellion of An Lushan, had described himself as "for ever cherishing the walls of the forbidden precinct," still expressed yearning to rejoin the ranks of the court as late as 767 and, finally, in 770.[127]

Leisure and Semi-public Gardens

Other gardens to which the emperor and his retinue came were in practice more open. The most famous was a large complex of lakes and islands at the far southeastern corner of the city's rectilinear grid, known collectively as the Southern Garden (Nanyuan 南苑). The well-known Qujiang 曲江, or Serpentine, was part of this complex. Here, Du Fu recorded seeing the battered and decaying lotus leaves of the autumn,[128] as well as the pristine flowers of the late summer that evoked comparison with female beauty. This was where he planned a meeting with Cen Shen for the Double Ninth, the time of chrysanthemums, called off because of heavy rain and mud.[129] Parties from the court visited this area, and Xuanzong himself is recorded as having ordered poems from his officials for a feast on the third day of the third month. Du Fu's friend Wang Wei composed a poem here at imperial command, probably in 742.[130] Du Fu witnessed a court visit on the same day of the year.[131] A ceremony conferring gifts on officials was conducted in this area. Here, too, there was the rite of "Treading the Green (Ta qing 踏青)."[132]

This site also contained a Lotus Garden (Furong yuan 芙蓉園), sometimes called the "little garden" and a complex known as the South Garden. There was also a "detached palace," and Du Fu described a court excursion to these precincts inspiring awe in onlookers. In 726, a private

127 See *JJJZDS* 19, p. 293A, "Feng liu zeng Jixian yuan Cui Yu er xueshi" 奉留贈集賢院崔于二學士; assigned by *Du shih ZCG*, p. 57, to the Tianbao period. For late references to hope of rejoining the ranks of the court, see *JJJZDS* 32, p. 504A, "Zi Nanxi jing fei qie yi ju Dongdun mao wu, si shou, si" 自瀼西荊扉且移居東屯茅屋四首,四; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 1122, assigns to late 767; and *JJJZDS* 16, p. 251A, "Ru Hengzhou" 入衡州; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 1510, dates to spring of 770.

128 *JJJZDS* 2, p. 23B, "Qujiang san zhang zhang wu ju, yi" 曲江三章章五句,一; *JJJZDS* 18, p. 291A, "Jiu ri Qujiang" 九日曲江; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 117, p. 156, assigns both to Tianbao period.

129 *JJJZDS* 1, p. 20A–B, "Jiu ri ji Cen Shen" 九日寄岑參; *Du shih ZCG* p. 84, assigns to Tianbao period.

130 *Wang Wei ji jiao zhu* 3, p. 208–10, "San yue san ri qujiang shi yan ying zhi" 三月三日曲江侍宴應制, dated to 742.

131 *JJJZDS* 2, pp. 24B–26A, "Li ren xing" 麗人行; assigned by *Du shih ZCG*, p. 65, to Tianbao period; *Tu Fu*, pp. 77–78, Poem XLVIII; *Little Primer*, pp. 18–27, Poem 3.

132 *JJJZDS* 24, p. 380A, "Jue ju" 絕句. *Du shih ZCG*, p. 537, assigns to 763, but argues this is non-specific as to place.

imperial access way along the eastern wall of the city linked the Xingqing Palace with this complex, and, in 732, this route was extended to the Daming Palace on the northern side of the city, a total length of 7,970 meters. In his celebrated "Autumn meditations" dated to 767, Du Fu recalled this private covered way as "flowing with imperial vapor."

On rising ground in a corner of the Shengping 昇平 ward, was a still more public precinct, the Leyou 樂遊 Garden. This site had been a garden in Qin times, and in the Han a palace had been built. In the period 701–704, the empress Wu's daughter, the Taiping 太平 princess, had erected a pavilion there. The site was subsequently given to the Princes Ning 寧, Shen 申 and Xue 薛, Xuanzong's brothers.[133] Later, it had become a resort for the metroplitan elite, especially for the festivals of the new moon in the first month, the third day of the third month and the Double Ninth festival. Xuanzong himself feasted his ministers here.[134] It was traditional to compose verse on these visits, and examples by Du Fu, among others, survive.[135]

Luoyang, the second Tang capital, had imperial gardens on a comparable scale. The main park, extending 17 *li* on its east side and 39 on its south side, 50 on its west and 20 on its north, had been laid out under the Sui. It contained at least 14 buildings and its main feature was a lake, in which the islands of the immortals in the eastern ocean, Penglai 蓬萊, Fangzhang 方丈 and Yingzhou 瀛洲, were represented. There were also other parks and palaces. The administrative buildings in the imperial city, like those in Chang'an, had both dry and water gardens. Du Fu knew Luoyang in his youth and from visits from his nearby estate at Gongxian 鞏縣, and he visited the city in the period before he served as an official at Chang'an and again in early 759.[136] But, although he mentions the plants and trees there and the ruin of its sacred precincts and palaces, references are scanty.[137] Chang'an and its court, the "land of song and dance," remained for him the main focus for his memories of the north.

Du Fu, thus, had extensive knowledge of the dynasty's religious precincts and of its palaces and leisure gardens. His recollection of them was detailed by his memory of some of the rituals that were enacted

133 Xu Song 徐松, comp., *Tang liang jing chengfang kao* 唐兩京城坊考 (in *Tōdai no Chōan to Rakuyō: shiryō* 唐代の長安と洛陽資料 [Kyoto: Jimbun kagaku kenkyūsho, 1956]) 3, p. 25a.

134 *QTShi* 3, p. 35. "Tong er xiang yixia qunkuan Leyou yuan yan" 同二相已下群官樂遊園宴, poem by Xuanzong.

135 *JJJZDS* 2, pp. 26A–27A, "Leyou yuan ge" 樂遊園歌; *Tu Fu*, pp. 55–56, Poem XXIV. Xiong, *Sui-Tang Chang'an*, p. 189, n. 130.

136 *Tu Fu*, pp. 31, 33–35, 135–40.

137 E.g., *JJJZDS* 8, p. 117A, "Yi xi er shou, er" 憶昔二首, 二.

there. Some of these rites, moreover, involved precisely the flowers, trees fruit and plants that the imperial gardens produced. While some of these rites were imperial versions of ceremonies that had a wide extension in Tang society, others were restricted to the court. For Du Fu, the court versions were unique and privileged, first a goal to which he aspired, and then a focus for acute nostalgia. What follows is a closer exploration of the place that the symbolically most important of these fruit and flowers, the cherry, the orange, the lotus and the chrysanthemum, had in mid-eighth century court tradition, and of how Du treated them in the verse of his later years.

THE CHERRY

The cherry provided Du Fu with a symbol that he identified closely with the emperor's "first body," the permanent ritual role of emperorship. Every mention he made of the cherry was in the context of imperial ritual or of the tribute system, and he had no other literary or symbolic use for it. The cherry was grown extensively in the Tang imperial gardens.[138] There is an anecdote in which the emperor Zhongzong "ordered the close ministers to go on horseback into the cherry orchard, and on horseback to pluck off the cherries in their mouths. Then he feasted them in the East Grape Garden."[139] Xuanzong was said to have done similarly. There were solemn reasons for growing the fruit on this scale: from early in the Tang, the cherry had had an important status in dynastic ritual, a status that derived from the Confucian canon and from Han history. It was stipulated in the programmatic "Monthly Commands" (*Yue ling* 月令) section of the *Li ji* 禮記, that "In the middle month of summer, the son of heaven should taste the delicacies of cherries; but first he should offer them to the [imperial] resting place in the temple of his ancestors." The *Han shu* 漢書 recorded that the emperor Huidi 惠帝 (r. 195–188 BC) had "gone out to a detached palace. Shusun Tong 叔孫通 said to him, 'In ancient times, in spring they tasted fruit. The cherries are now ripe, they should be presented [to the ancestral temple]. I request that your majesty go forth and take these cherries and offer them to the dynastic ancestral temple.' The emperor granted this [request]."[140]

[138] *QTShi* 58, p. 697; Li Jiao 李嶠, "Wu yue feng jiao zuo" 五月奉教作; *QTShi* 118, p. 1197, "He yong jieshu you yingtao" 和詠廨署有櫻桃, poem by Sun Ti 孫逖; *TPYL* 969, p. 716, quoting *Tang shu*.

[139] Another variant of this story is in *TPYL* 969, p. 717, quoting *Jinglong wen guan ji*; see Jia, "Jinglong wen guan ji," p. 226, citing Wang Zhongyong 往仲鏞, ed., *Tang shi ji shi* 唐實紀事 (Chengdu: Ba Shu shushe, 1989) 9, p. 208; *JTS* 7, p. 149; and *ZZTJ* 209, p. 6640.

[140] Both these sanctions head the entry for the cherry in *Yiwen lei ju* 86, p. 1479. For an

The special place of the cherry in the Tang state religion was thus justified by canonical authority and remote historical precedent. It ranked with the grains and other plant offerings that were sanctioned by the ritual canon for presentation in the dynastic shrines.[141] Early in the Tang dynasty, the cherry had been written into dynastic liturgy by the great Confucian minister Wei Zheng 魏徵 (580–634). A couplet in the hymn to be sung at the suburban offerings specified that "the early flowers of the hibiscus, and the cherry should be offered."[142] It occurred again in the text of an early Tang hymn for the "Five Suburban Sacrifices."[143] After solemn presentation to the temple, cherries in special baskets were distributed as the gift of the emperor to the assembled officials. From the start of the dynasty, the Tang had performed this distribution ceremony. By Du Fu's time, its place in the court verse tradition was secure: in poems of gratitude, in rhapsodies and in examination answers, writers praised this rite and mentioned its link with the ancestral temple. The ceremony thus enabled litterateurs to show mastery of the language of gratitude, of praise for beneficent rule and benign cosmic process. This made the cherry in effect a symbol of devotion to the emperor and the dynastic house. The imperial ritual of distributing the cherries, moreover, was idealized for the sense of hierarchy and decorum that it should embody. Thus Taizong was concerned that the correct verb should be used in a message for the Duke of Xi 鄫, the descendant of the preceding Sui dynasty, when he conferred cherries on him. Taizong, accepting the recommendation of Yu Shinan 虞世南 (558–645), a southerner, followed the precedent of the Liang 梁 court in using a neutral term for "to give." The point is that the distribution ceremony was seen as the affirmation of the political hierarchy in its ideal form, and no error in the language used should be made.[144]

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invaluable overview of the cherry in the evolving Tang verse tradition, see Ichikawa Momoko 市川桃子, "Tōshi no nagare ni okeru Chū Tō shi no ichi: ōto byōsha hyōgen ni yoru bunseki" 唐詩の流れにおける中唐詩の位置, 櫻桃描寫表現による分析, in *Meikai Daigaku Gaikoku ronshū* 明海大學外國語學部輪集 5 (1993), pp. 1–16.

141 These are listed in the dynastic ritual code. See *Da Tang Kaiyuan li* 大唐開元禮 (Hong shi tang shi jing guan congshu 洪氏堂石經館叢書 edn., published as *Dai Tō Kaigen rei*, with introduction by Ikeda On 池田溫 [Tokyo: Koten kenkyūkai, 1972]) 51, pp. 1a–2a, directives for "Introducing new [items] to the ancestral temple." The cherry, called the *yingtao* 櫻桃, is entered in the list between the *ganzi* 甘子, a type of citrus, and the plum.

142 *QTShi* 31, p. 437, "Su he" 肅和, poem by Wei Zheng 魏徵. Cherries are here called "han tao 含桃." The same text is printed at *QTShi* 11, p. 98.

143 *QTShi* 11, p. 100. Cherries are again called "han tao."

144 *TPGJ* 493, p. 4048, quoting *Guo shi* 國史; *Tang yu lin jiao zheng* 唐語林校證 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987) 1, p. 28. The story tells how the emperor Taizong: "was on the point of sending cherries to the Duke of Xi 鄫 [descendant of the Sui imperial house]. Had he used

The first Tang poem on the cherry, symbolically appropriating the cherry feast for the new dynasty, was again by Taizong himself. Responding to a precedent from the southern courts suggesting that emperors themselves compose cherry poems,[145] Taizong emphasized the antiquity of the tradition and its southern origins.[146] Taizong's poem was followed by poems of gratitude for cherries distributed at the cherry-giving feast by a succession of officials. Most, by well known writers, exemplify the imagery of deference before imperial largesse, a deference that Du Fu himself expressed in a poem on receiving analogous gifts, of lip salve and face ointment,[147] and of clothes,[148] from the emperor. An example of a poem expressing gratitude for the cherry distribution ceremony by his friend Wang Wei, probably from only a few years before the An Lushan, rebellion is perhaps nearest to a poem by Du Fu on this topic.[149] Another poem written for this occasion by a member of the same circle invokes the sense of competition between flowers and fruit that was one of the long-established tropes of flower and fruit description. This poem stated that the cherries are superior to both the oranges and the pears of tradition and that they had medicinal value.[150] In the verse tradition, a sense of competition for recognition

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the term 'to honor' [the Duke], then he would, by so doing, have elevated him. Had he used the term 'confer,' then again, in so doing, he would have humiliated him. He asked the director Yu 虞 [Shinan 世南], who said, 'Formerly Liang Wu [di] 梁武 [帝] gave them to the prince of Baling 巴陵 [a descendant of the preceding] Qi 齊 [dynasty], and referred to it as provisioning him.' [Taizong] then followed this." The Duke of Xi, as the descendant of the Sui had a special place in court ritual proceedings; for this provision, see Howard J. Wechsler, *Offerings of Jade and Silk* (New Haven: Yale U.P., 1985), pp. 136–41.

145 *QTShi* 1, p. 12, "Fu de ying tao" 賦得櫻桃. This ends, "Formerly you were fruit in the garden; now you are delicacies at our feast."

146 By referring to the imperial gardens as the Hualin 華林 Gardens, their name under the Sanguo Wu 三國吳 kingdom and the southern dynasties; *Yi wen lei ju* 86, pp. 1479–80, has a cherry poem by the Liang emperor Jianwen di.

147 *JJJZDS* 19, p. 307A, "La ri" 臘日; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 234, assigns to 757–58. *Tu Fu*, p. 121–22, translates as Poem XCI; for other documentation of this custom, see McMullen, "Li Chou," p. 66.

148 *JJJZDS* 19, p. 312B, "Duanwu ri ci yi" 端午日賜衣; *Tu Fu*, p. 131, Poem CV. The gift of clothing to high ranking central officials is dated in the commentary from 737.

149 *WYYH* 326, p. 1b; *Wang Wei ji jiao zhu* 4, p. 303–6, "Chi ci bai guan yingtao" 敕賜百官櫻桃, dated to about 752.

150 *WYYH* 326, p. 1b–2a, "Chi ci bai guan yingtao" 敕賜百官櫻桃, poem by Cui Xingzong 崔興宗. Some information on Cui as a friend of Wang Wei is provided in *Tang caizi zhuan* 唐才子傳 2, p. 4b, entry for Wang Wei. In *Tang shi jishi* 16, final entry, Cui is referred to as omissioner of the right 右補闕, seventh degree third class. He is provided with an entirely independent identification in a tomb text for his middle daughter composed in 814; see "Tang gu furen Cui shi muzhi ming" 唐故夫人崔氏墓誌銘, in Zhou Shaoliang 周紹良, ed., *Tangdai muzhi huikao* 唐代墓誌彙考 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1992) 2, p. 2000. This, however, refers to his final or highest post as judicial enquirer in the Court of Justice 大理評事, eighth degree fourth class.

between flowers or fruit is to be seen as an analogue of the competition between officials for imperial favor. But Du Fu, despite the symbolic importance he gave the cherry, was sparing in his use of this trope.

The destruction of the sacred dynastic precincts in the An Lushan rebellion changed the basis on which imperial ritual was conducted. Du Fu made powerful and original use of flower and fruit symbolism to express his sense of deprivation and hopes of recovery. In this respect, the cherries from the imperial gardens were probably more important to him than any other fruit. They suggested normative ritual, the perpetual rites that belonged to the emperor's "first body," where other court fruit, like the orange and the lychee, stood for hybris and disruption.

The dynasty may have resumed the cherry rite as early as the summer of 758, following the retaking of Chang'an in the autumn of the previous year. Writing in the autumn of 757 a series of three poems in response to the news that the two capitals had been recovered, Du Fu anticipated the ritual.[151]

On steeds sweating [with urgency] they recover the palace watchtowers;
The city in spring will see the rebels weeded out.
The reward [for the troops] will be singing "Standing alone is the pear tree";[152]
Recovery will extend to "presenting the cherries"...

The presentation of the cherries, a living rite in the eighth century, is paired with the improbable suggestion that the dynasty's victorious soldiers might sing a canonical Ode to celebrate discharge from campaign. Du Fu makes the offering of cherries stand for full recovery of dynastic power.

Du Fu's next reference to the cherry comes from later and is more complex. In the course of his stays in Chengdu and Kuizhou, he was several times presented with fruit by commoners. In Chengdu probably in 761, he commemorated the gift of red cherries from a peasant.

In western Shu the cherries grow red of their own accord.
A rustic gave me some that filled a bamboo basket.

[151] *JJJZDS* 19, p. 302A, "Shou jing san shou, san" 收京三首,三; *Du shih ZCG*, p.228, assigns to late 757; *Tu Fu*, p. 120, Poem XC, translates the second in the series.

[152] Ode 169, "Di du" 杕杜, with its message that the soldiers are coming home, though the king's business never ends, seems more likely than Ode 119, which has the same title; or Ode123, "You di zhi du" 有杕之杜; See James Legge, *The Chinese Classics Vol. IV, Part II, The She King or The Book of Poetry* (London: Oxford U.P., 1871), pp. 265–66.

After transferring them carefully[153] several times, my sadness is dispelled;
Perfectly round, these myriad small spheres, enough to amaze;
I remember how they used to be graciously conferred at the Chancellery;
After retiring from court we brought them out of the Daming Palace;
Of golden trays and chopsticks of jade we have no further news;
On this day then I taste them anew and consign myself to the vagrant's life.[154]

The ironies in this poem are self-evident. A peasant in a remote part of the empire fulfilled the function of the emperor himself, providing a clear instance of Du Fu's reversal of social perspective. The cherries were a rich red; but they had this colour "of their own accord," and Du Fu found no use for any courtly rhetoric of gratitude to the emperor for his beneficent role in the cosmic process of giving them color.[155] The peasant gave copiously: the basket was full, where by implication in the palace ceremony the portion for each official was small, the amount being scaled down probably according to rank.[156] The anomalous situation led to a bleak conclusion. There were no further reports of this ceremony from the capital; and Du Fu was forced, as he tasted the cherries, to recognize that he was likely to remain a wanderer, away from the court society to which he had aspired.

Du Fu also made the cherry ceremony central to an account of the rebellion and the recovery of the capital late in 757 and of the Tibetan sack of Chang'an that followed in 762. In this poem, the entire sequence of events, catastrophic for the Guanzhong area, is treated almost exclusively in terms of the dynastic ancestral cult. Du Fu described how the An Lushan rebels "at midnight burned the ninefold ancestral temple, and the Milky Way turned red on account of it. The tiles torn down flew for ten *li*; the curtains powdered to ashes and then nothing. Minds ashamed regretting the spirit tablets; for each one had become ashes to a mournful wind." He went on to tell how how he was in the

153 For the sense of *xie*, "to transfer," see Qian, *Qian zhu Du shi*, p. 397, citing *Li ji* 禮記, "Qu li, shang 曲禮上," p. 13a; Legge, *Li Ki*, p. 82, translates, "transfer [from one vessel to another]."

154 *JJJZDS* 22, p. 365B, "Ye ren song zhuying" 野人送朱櫻; dated by *Du shih ZCG*, pp. 443–44, to 761, when Du Fu was at Chengdu.

155 For another similar instance of "of their own accord," in which Du Fu again seems to be distancing himself from the rhetoric of cosmic correlations, see below, on the double-headed lotus, n. 226.

156 The commentary quotes Li Chuo 李綽, *Sui shi ji* 歲時記, "On the first day of the fourth month, the Inner Gardens presented cherries at the mausolea and ancestral temple, after which they were distributed as gifts from the emperor in accordance with rank."

retinue of the emperor when in 757 he performed rites of contrition at the ancestral temple. The recovery from the later Tibetan incursion had brought about a restoration of the activities of peace. For Du Fu, hope for the future is expressed in terms of the cherry ritual:

> The [strength of the] recovery matches the start of the dynasty;
> The succeeding emperor should be likened to another Taizong.
> In formal posture and hands folded, he accepts remonstrations;
> A spirit of harmony with each day pervades the world.
> Branches of the cherry growing by red [palace] entrances
> Shining secretly in their baskets of silver silk.
> May they be offered at the imperial resting place for a thousand springs,
> And for ever and for ever continue without end.[157]

The last line is close to one that occurs in one of the dynastic hymns composed probably in 742 for Xuanzong's brother Li Xian, the prince of Ning 寧, canonized Rang huangdi 讓皇帝. It was this prince's son, Xuanzong's nephew, the prince of Ruyang, for whom Du Fu had had great admiration.[158] Du Fu's line also adapted a line from an early text expressing the hope that the emperor would live, "for ever and for ever, as endlessly as the heavens themselves."[159] Here again then, Du Fu struck a liturgical note in his diction that conveys concern for dynastic shrine and its ritual texts.

Du Fu's final mention of the cherry came in a series of poems reminiscing on the court, attributed to the autumn of 767, written some five years after Xuanzong's death. In this series, which is both reflective and wry in tone, he made a rare reference to the consort Yang Guifei:

> The precious consort of the late emperor is silent now;
> The lychees have resumed [as tribute] to Chang'an,
> From the hot south they should resume with tribute of the cherry,
> [For] the jade throne is mournful, and the white dew falls.[160]

When set alongside Du Fu's other references to the cherry and the lychee, the message of this poem is surely that the lychee stood for

[157] *JJJZDS* p. 165B, "Wangzai" 往在; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 928, assigns to 767.

[158] See *QTShi* 15, pp. 141–42, "Rang huangdi miao yuezhang" 讓皇帝廟樂章; and 252, p. 2847, hymns composed by Li Shu 李舒 or Shu 紓. For Rang huang di, see *JTS* 95, pp. 3009–14.

[159] Wang Pinzhen 王聘珍, ed., *Da Dai li ji jiegu* 大戴禮記解詁 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983) 13, p. 250, "Gong fu" 公符.

[160] *JJJZDS* 30, p. 479A–B, "Jie men shi'er shou, jiu" 解悶十二首,九; *Du shih ZCG*, pp. 1105, assigns to autumn of 767. For recognition that an optative mode could characterize the concluding lines of Du Fu's poems, see Owen, *Great Age*, pp. 205 ff.

extravagance and for a fatal involvement with a consort whom, for her destructive influence, he elsewhere likened to Bao Si 褒姒 and Dan Ji 妲己, the corrupt consorts who ruined the Xia 夏 and the Shang 商 dynasties.[161] Tribute of cherries, resembling lychees in size and colour, he suggested, would restore a due sense of priority. But the suggestion is ironical because cherries, even if they could be grown in the "hot south," would fare on the long, forced journey north even worse than the harder-skinned lychees.

Taken as a highly visual image in his treatment of the imperial cult, Du Fu's cherry ritual references symbolize his profound commitment to the ideal of dynastic recovery, to frugality in the court and to continuity in the canonical ritual program. His use of the rustic's gift of cherries also enabled Du Fu to urge the social perspective that runs through his works: "men obscure and lowly" should have their voice and should be represented to those above.

THE TANGERINE

For Du Fu, the cherry grew naturally in the imperial gardens of the capital in the north and had a sacred place at the center of the dynastic cult. The tangerine in his verse was morally as highly charged as the cherry, but in a wholly different way. The tangerine, like the lychee, was grown in south China and in Sichuan, along the sheltered banks of the upper Yangze valley. It was one of three members of the citrus family that Du Fu mentions, the others being the *gan* 甘 or 柑, sweet peel tangerine (*Citrus nobilis lour.*), the *zhi* 枳, trifoliate orange (*Citrus trifoliata*) and another orange species, the *cheng* or *chen* 橙, (*Citrus aurantium*).[162] The Tang world recognized that these species were inter-related and that their names differed in north and south.[163] Of this group, it was

161 Wu Lushan 吳鷺山, *Du shi luncong* 杜詩論叢 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang wenyi chubanshe, 1983), pp. 78–80, "Lizhi" 荔枝, has some account of Du Fu's attitude to the lychee, but does not make the comparison with his treatment of the cherry. See also Zhou Yunqiao, "Tōdai ni okeru reishi no shi ni tsuite" 唐代における荔枝の詩について, in *Kyozen kyōju taikan kinen Chūgoku bungaku ronshū* 興膳教授退官記念中國文學論集 (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 2000), pp. 372–73. For Du Fu's reference to Bao Si 褒姒 and Da Ji 妲己, see *JJJZDS* 3, p. 49B, "Bei zheng"; *Tu Fu*, p. 117, translates "I know indeed that the Hsia and Yin dynasties did come to an end; but their emperors did not have the culpable women put to death." *Du shih ZCG*, p. 216, n. 24, insists that Du Fu was here praising Xuanzong for taking the initiative in ordering the death of his consort, rather than passively giving in to mutinous troops demanding her death.

162 I am grateful to Professor Paul Kroll for setting out this taxonomy. Other citrus mentions in Tang sources include the pumelo *you* 柚.

163 *TPYL* 966, p. 1b; *TPGJ* 410, p. 3333; *Quan Tang wen* 全唐文 (reduced-size facs.; Taibei: Huawen shuju, 1965) 962, p. 16b, "He gong nei ganzi jie shi biao" 賀宮內甘子結實表 memorial of ninth month of 751, congratulating the emperor on having *ganzi* fruit in the palace precincts, containing sentence, "Moreover the tangerines and pumelos in their places of cultivation have different names in north and south."

the sour peel tangerine that was important in the literary tradition and to Du Fu. Lower Shaanxi, the capital region, was beyond its tolerance. Its remoteness from the capital meant that in Chang'an it was exotic, a luxury and, even more than the cherry, a fruit of the court. Du Fu represented efforts by the court to grow the tangerine in the palace and administrative precincts as an indication of wrong priorities.

By Tang times, the sour peel tangerine was a well-established topic in belles lettres. In the early-Tang literary prompt books, the citation that opens the entry for this fruit quotes the "Tribute of Yu" from the canonical *Shang shu* 尙書, to describe it as, with the pumelo, the form of tribute from Yangzhou, the southeastern most of the traditional nine regions. The *Zhou li* 周禮 also noted that north of the Huai 淮, the orange became the *zhi*. "This is the ether of the earth causing it to be thus."[164] The idea that the true tangerine grew only in the south was powerfully reinforced by the poem "In praise of the tangerine" contained in the *Chu ci* 楚辭. This important poem of thirty-six lines has a traditional place in Chinese literary history as the first in the long tradition of rhapsodies on individual species of flower or fruit, and the first instance of substitutive imagery in a sustained statement about a political stance.[165] It meant enough to Du Fu for him to quote its title in one of his early poems. Probably in 745, he visited a hermit with Li Bai 李白 (701–762), and in a poem for the event recorded how, "Recently we have chanted 'In praise of the tangerine.'"[166]

"In praise of the tangerine" treats the tangerine both as a moral symbol and a precious fruit. The poem heaps praise on the fruit for a compound of physical and moral reasons that was to become characteristic of this kind of rhapsody. It grows in the far south, which the poet identifies as his own land. It is firmly rooted and will not move. Thus the tangerine is implicitly a symbol of the political alienation of the individual, an analogy for an upright man whose willingness to serve is conditional on an acceptable ruler being in power. It had been used in this way in the pre-Tang belles lettres. "Planting a tangerine in the dark north," for example, was, like "planting the flowering lotus on a long ridge," an image for making an inappropriate appointment.[167] The

164 *Yiwen lei ju* 86, pp.1476–79.

165 Pauline Yu, *The Reading of Imagery in the Chinese Poetic Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1987), pp. 114, 117.

166 *JJJZDS* 18, p. 277A–B, "Yu Li shi'er Bai tong xun Fan Shi yinju" 與李十二白同尋范十隱居; *Du shih ZCG*, pp. 9–10, assigns to the Kaiyuan period; *Tu Fu*, p. 38, translates as Poem XIII.

167 *Wen xuan* 文選 (SBCK edn.) 43, p. 20a, Zhao Zhi 趙至 (courtesy name Jingzhen 景真), "Yu Xi Maoqi shu" 與嵇茂齊書一首. The commentator Liu Liang 劉良, a contemporary of Du

fruit, however, had been a tribute item since the Han dynasty, which, like the Tang itself, was said to have had "tangerine officers" to ensure their despatch to the court in the north.[168]

In the seventh and early-eighth centuries, however, the Tang court had the wealth, the political power and, in the case of the tangerine, the horticultural skill to bring this southern exotic at least briefly to the north. For the tangerine prospered in the climate of Tang political success and the rhetoric that surrounded it. The fruit was thus used as recognition symbol: it was straightforwardly an exotic luxury and invited transplanting to the imperial gardens. Its pre-Tang narrative is therefore dominated by references to growing the tree or similar citrus species in the imperial gardens at Chang'an. As the court verse writer Li Jiao 李嶠 (644–713) put it in the final couplet of a poem entitled "The Tangerine":

> I would bid farewell to its corner of the River Xiang 湘,
> And flourish for ever in the Shanglin 上林 Gardens.[169]

The tangerine and the lychee figured in exile writing in the Kaiyuan period. A poem by the high ranking official Zhang Jiuling 張九齡 (673–740), whom Du Fu praised,[170] again expressed the idea that the tangerine should be taken north. Another by Meng Haoran 孟浩然 (689–740), whom Du Fu also admired, has been seen as a straightforward expression of the hope that "the good man should undergo recommendation by a good minister, and be entrusted with important tasks, for only then may he deploy his talents."[171] The dynastic ritual code of 732 confirms that the tangerine, with another citrus, the *ganzi*, was prescribed for annual presentation at the imperial ancestral temple.[172]

Fu, stated, "Oranges and pumelos are the names of trees; they grow in the southern regions; flowering lotus are the lotus. It means that these have lost their appropriate [habitats] and so are hard to bring to [full] beauty."

168 *Han shu* 漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962) 28A, p. 1603. See also Hui-Lin Li, *Nanfang ts'ao-mu chuang: A Fourth Century Flora of Southeast Asia* (Hong Kong: Chinese U.P., 1979), p. 118; p. 145 for Chinese text. "Tangerine officers" are mentioned in *XTS* 42, p. 1089, under Mianzhou 綿州, in Sichuan.

169 *QTShi* 60, pp. 718–19, "Ju" 橘, by Li Jiao. Another reference to moving tangerines, from Wuyin 巫陰 on the borders of modern Hupei and Sichuan, to the imperial gardens is in *WYYH* 326, 3b, "Jushu" 橘樹, poem by Li Yuanzao 李元操, identified as early Kaiyuan period: "Their white flowers are like scattered snow; their red fruit like hanging gold."

170 *JJJZDS* 14, pp. 214A–15A, "Gu you puye xiangguo Zhang gong Jiuling" 故右僕射相國張公九齡; *Du shih ZCG*, pp. 20–25, assigns to 765.

171 Zhao Kuifan 趙桂藩, annot., *Meng Haoran ji zhu* 孟浩然集注 (Beijing: Luyou jiaoyu chubanshe, 1991), pp. 111–12, "Ting ju" 庭橘. For Du Fu's admiration of Meng, see *JJJZDS* 30, p. 478B, "Jie men, shi'er shou liu" 解悶十二首, 六; *JJJZDS* 5, p. 84A, "Qian xing wu shou, wu" 遣興五首, 五.

172 See *Da Tang Kaiyuan li* 51, pp. 1a–2a, directives for "Introducing new [offerings] to the ancestral temple."

The next incident concerned a report dated 751 that the emperor had been successful in having *ganzi* citrus trees bear 150 fruit in the imperial gardens, no different from those sent as tribute from Jiangnan 江南 and Shu. The high ministers congratulated him, praising his rule, and using the sort of cosmological references familiar in accounts of the imperial gardens: "Your majesty's sublime spirit has made true the principles of government, and the land in all six directions is as one family. The impartial fall of rain and dew covers the world with equal good. The nature of trees and plants makes clandestine links through the ether of the earth. Thus we may have the precious fruits from beyond the River providing flower and fruit in the imperial garden."[173] The point here is that, as the *Zhou li* 周禮 had put it, the reasons the orange did not grow in the north were cosmological. But the emperor's virtue that had made possible the "secret linking of the ether of the earth," and the fruiting of citrus in the north.

A poem by Li Bai also suggests that tangerines were grown in the imperial gardens in the Tianbao 天寶 period (742–756). The third his *yuefu* 樂府 series on the delights of palace life opens with the couplet:

The tangerine has become a tree of Qin 秦;
The grape comes from the palaces of Han 漢.
Misty flowers match the setting sun;
Strings and pipes are drunk before the spring wind.[174]

After this, the verse record is silent on the tangerine until the eve of the An Lushan rebellion, though citrus continued to play a part in court life.[175] It was at this poignant juncture that Du Fu first treated the fruit in a court context. In his hands, moreover, there is an abrupt change in its status. His long poem of 755 containing his most famous couplet, "By scarlet gates the smell of wine and meat; On the road, the bones of those who starved to death," is celebrated for its indictment of court extravagance and for its sense of foreboding. It is made to stand for one of Du Fu's central moral insights, his concern for popular deprivation in the face of conspicuous consumption at court. But its most famous couplet is preceded by the lines:

173 *TPYL* 966, p. 1b; *TPGJ* 410, p. 3333; *Quan Tang wen* 962 15b–16b, "He gong nei ganzi jie shi biao."

174 Wang Qi 王琦, annot., *Li Taibai quan ji* 李太白全集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977) 4, pp 298–99. "Gongzhong xing le ci pa shou, Qi san" 宮中行樂詞八首, 其三, dated by Hiraoka Takeo 平岡武夫, *Ri Haku no sakuhin jiryō* 李白の作品資料 (Kyoto: Jimbun kagaku kenyūsho, 1958), p. 20, to 744.

175 *TPYL* 966, p. 2b, quoting *Da Tang xin yu* 大唐新語, records an anecdote in which the emperor Xuanzong, uneasy about An Lushan's loyalty, sent a eunuch to present a gift of *ganzi* to him to see whether his response would be shifty. The eunuch was bribed and returned to say that An Lushan had no intention to rebel, so that Xuanzong was reassured.

They warm their guests with coats of sable;
Sad pipes chase after pure strings.
They exhort their guests with camel hoof broth;
Frost-ripened tangerines piled on fragrant oranges.[176]

Du Fu did not state whether the citrus had been grown in the imperial gardens or been brought in as tribute. But he made the fruits a measure of a court where, in his description, tribute was exacted through flogging the populace, and ministers had neglected basic principles, misleading the sovereign, so that "Though many scholars fill the court, Good men are put in fear."

In his next treatment of the tangerine, some years after the rebellion, however, Du Fu's indictment was much stronger. He now made the citrus trees that had been grown in the palace precincts in times of peace a symbol of unwise extravagance and of lost imperial power. By so doing, he suggested the sense in which a world had gone awry. His poem "The sick tangerine trees" describes tangerines probably growing in the Kuizhou region, but bearing only puny, worm-infested and inedible fruit, even the peel of which was medically useless. Then, turning his thoughts to the north, he referred specifically to the citrus planted within the imperial precincts:

I have heard how at the Penglai 蓬萊 Palace,
They were arrayed to look as if by the Xiao 瀟 or Xiang 湘.
Yet these bore no harvest at the year's end,
And food of jade lacked their lustre.
The times when rebels are still rampant,
Should be when the sovereign reduces his delicacies.
That you are sick is the will of heaven;
I feel sad that the authorities should be blamed.[177]

Du Fu here reversed the early-eighth-century perspective on the imperial gardens. In the period of Tang success, court poets and others had suggested that the tangerine should be moved north to Chang'an. And in the case of one citrus species, the *ganzi*, at least, this had actu-

[176] *JJJZDS* 2, pp. 37B–39B. "Zi jing fu Fengxian xian yong huai wu bai zi" 自京赴奉先縣詠懷五百字; *Du shih ZCG*, pp. 99–103, assigns to the Tianbao period. *Tu Fu*, pp. 87–89, translates as Poem LIX.

[177] *JJJZDS* 8, p.114A–B, "Bing ju" 病橘; *Du shih ZCG*, p 885, assigns to early 767. The idea that citrus responded to imperial conduct is further suggested by *TPYL* 966, p.1b, quoting *Tang shu* 唐書: "The *ganzi* of Luofu 羅浮 only came into being in the Kaiyuan period. A mountain monk planted them at the Nanlou 南樓 Monastery. Thereafter they were regularly provided as tribute to the court. In the years when [Xuanzong] went [in flight] to Shu蜀, and when [Dezong德宗] went [in flight] to Fengtian 奉天, none sent fruit." For comments on the tradition of representing old or sick trees in verse, see Owen, "Barren Tree."

ally been achieved. The emperor was then extolled for having, by his exemplary rule over the whole world, transcended the very cosmic laws that had prevented the *ganzi* from growing north of the Huai. But for Du Fu, if the citrus by the Penglai 蓬萊Palace had indeed borne fruit, this was an exception, for they "had seldom graced the imperial trays." When he wrote the poem, moreover, rebels were still active and so he urged that the emperor should reduce his consumption of delicacies. It was thus the "will of heaven," that is of the cosmic forces, that the tangerines in Kuizhou should be diseased and that the emperor should be deprived of them. It was also wrong that local officials managing the tribute sent to the north should be held responsible. The deeper causes lay in the court extravagance that Du Fu consistently condemned. Significantly, Du Fu appended four further lines to this poem in which he recalled how:

I remember how the commissioners from the Southern Seas
Rushed to present the lychees,
A hundred horses perished in the hills and valleys,
And to this day the old men mourn.

Du Fu elsewhere commented wryly on the tribute in lychees from the far south. Just as he compared the lychee unfavorably to the cherry as a tribute item, so he linked the lychee with the tangerine as a symbol of the extravagance and cruelty of the pre-rebellion court, and supremely of Yang Guifei.

Du Fu's exile took him to regions where he encountered healthy tangerines in abundance. Like his friend Cen Shen, who served in Sichuan late in his career and other verse writers of the period, he often referred to them. He described hearing how at Jiangling 江陵, downstream of the Yangzi Gorges, the "white fish were like cut jade, and the red tangerines cheaper than money."[178] He also grew citrus himself in the orchards that he rented and he explored the irony of their abundance in his verse in various ways. In one case, he suggested that the citrus grown in his own garden should be sent to the capital for the emperor himself:

On a spring day on the banks of the clear river,
A thousand *ganzi* trees in a garden of two *qing* 頃.
Clouds in the blue would be ashamed before the denseness of
their leaves;
White snow would flee the lushness of their flowers.
They set fruit as the frontier commissioner comes,

[178] *JJJZDS* 29, p. 450A, "Xia ai" 峽隘; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 791, assigns to autumn of 766.

To be unpacked close to the emperor.
They may ripen later than the peach or plum;
But in the end it is they who are presented at the Gate of Gold.[179]

The commentary suggests that in the final couplet, Du Fu was identifying himself with the tangerines as a form of tribute to the emperor. If so, this is a variant of a thoroughly traditional trope: Du Fu was perpetuating from the period of Tang political success the use of the tangrine as a recognition or recommendation symbol. But he also quoted wryly to a passage in the *Shi ji* 史記 that referred to owners of a thousand tangerine trees in Shu, Han and Jiangling as equal to enfieffed lords of a thousand households: "In this country owners of a thousand tangerines, Would not seem to compare with enfieffed lords."[180] These were, however, his own fruit, from his own rented garden at Nangxi 瀼西 in Kuizhou. When he commented on the attitude of the local people, his attitude was different. Describing the oranges he grew in his orchard at Nangxi, he wrote,

In my orchard the oranges to grow and ripen,
Three inches across like yellow gold.
The feudal lords of ancient times sent in their quota,
The tribute overturned a thousand forests.
But for the people of this area they are not worth esteeming.
They are oppressed by the encroachments of overbearing officials
[Yet] a sojourner may grow them for a while,
Day and night keeping them company like a jade lute.[181]

The tangerine had become a source of resentment among the local people, because it invited rapacity by the officials responsible for sending the fruit to the capital as tribute. Here, Du Fu reverted to his theme of popular misery at the hands of a predatory tax system.

[179] *JJJZDS* 24, p. 386A, "Gan yuan" 甘園; *Du shih Z CG*, p. 908, assigns to 767. *TPYL* 966, pp. 2a–b, quotes an anecdote from the *Da Tang xinyu*, showing that the fruit were normally wrapped in paper for the journey north.

[180] *JJJZDS* 28, p. 426A, "Mu chun ti Nanxi xin ren cao wu wu shou, er" 暮春題瀼西新賃草屋五首, 二. *Du shih Z CG*, p. 903, assigns to spring of 767. See *Shi ji* 129, p. 3272, "Huo zhi" 貨殖; *Han shu* 91, p. 3686, "Huo zhi." Qian, *Qian zhu Du shi*, 14, p. 486, quotes *Shui jing zhu* 水經注, a story of Li Heng 李衡, who, quoting the *Shi ji* on his death bed, promised wealth for his family from "a thousand tree slaves," i.e., citrus trees he had planted.

[181] *JJJZDS* 12, pp. 172A–73B "Zu yu bu de gui Nangxi gan lin" 阻雨不得歸瀼西甘林. *Du shih Z CG*, p.999, assigns to autumn of 767. For the biographical background, see *Tu Fu*, pp. 231–54. For painstaking identification of the sites of Du Fu's Kuizhou period, see Jian Jinsong 簡錦松, *Du Fu Kuizhou shi xian di yanjiu* 杜甫夔州詩現地研究 (Taibei: Taiwan Xuesheng shuju, preface dated 1999).

Du Fu had used the gift of cherries from a rustic to express his nostalgia and frustration at no longer being able to witness an imperial dynastic rite that elicited his deepest commitment. In his poem on the diseased oranges, however, his message is one of admonition against inappropriate extravagance. Again, his poem relates ironically to his experience of finding tangerines in abundance in Sichuan, "cheaper than money." Again, as with the cherry, he reversed the hierarchy of values that had pervaded the literary world of the pre-rebellion period. The court had behaved irresponsibly, whether in growing citrus beyond the region of their natural tolerance, or in having them brough north to the court as tribute against a background of popular suffering. The cardinal principle of court frugality had been ignored.

THE LOTUS

No floral species was more important in Tang court life and throughout Tang culture than the lotus. Grown for consumption and for its beauty in wetlands in both south and north, it features widely in the material record. It was adapted as a motif in many contexts, from the architectural to the sartorial, from the devotional to the decorative. It had many uses, dietary and medicinal. It was, with the cherry and the tangerine, offered in the ancestral temple, but as a root and a seed.[182] Du Fu himself referred to it as a pattern in brocade, and as a style in slippers;[183] he mentioned "lotus banners,"[184] and a "lotus sword with dark gems."[185]

The enormous appeal of the lotus arose from the fact that two quite different traditions had made it their own. As a Tang writer formulated it when congratulating the emperor on a double-flowered lotus that appeared in the imperial gardens, "The flower of the lotus is praised by Confucian and Buddhist alike. The Buddhist scriptures praise it only as an illustration of [purity emerging from] the mire; the poets [of the *Odes*] only sing of it amid the waves and lakes."[186] In effect, the lotus

[182] See *Da Tang Kaiyuan li* 51, pp. 1a–2a, directives for "Introducing new [offerings] to the ancestral temple," for the introduction of *zi'ou* 子藕 and *lianzi* 蓮子. Also *Guo shi bu*, p. 64.

[183] *JJJZDS* 35, p. 549, "Qian chiu jie you gan er shou, er" 千秋節有感二首, 二. *Du shih ZCG*, p. 1420, assigns to summer or autumn of 769; he infers the reference to the slippers.

[184] *JJJZDS* 11, p. 156, "Han jianyi Zhu" 韓諫議注; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 1020, assigns to autumn of 767. *Little Primer*, pp.165–73, Poem 26.

[185] *JJJZDS* 14, p. 211B, "Gu mishu shao jian Wugong Su gong Yuanming" 故秘書少監武功蘇公源明; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 680, assigns this series to 765. The commentary, n. 18 on p. 713, traces this image to Wu Yue wang Yun 吳越王允, whose sword was praised as "Shining like the splendor of the slanting sun; like the lotus first appearing on a lake."

[186] *WYYH* 563, p. 10b, "He Xinei jialian biao" 賀西內嘉蓮表, by Zhang Zhongsu 張仲素.

was on the one hand a symbol of spiritual transcendence and in this role stood for the supreme aim of one of the world's great universal religions, pervasive in the China of Du Fu's time; on the other, punning as it did with *lian* 戀 to love, *lian* 憐 to pity or dote on, and *lian* 臉 a face, it stood for courtship and female eroticism. Traditionally, it registered cosmic conditions as much as any plant. Particularly in the south during the period of division, double-headed lotuses were reported as indications of auspicious developments in the cosmos.[187] Only occasionally were the two roles of the lotus, the religious and the erotic, combined. When they did so it was characteristically in a court context that was recorded as being indulgent or improper.[188]

By Du Fu's time, the lotus, perhaps cultivated by dedicated teams of young girls,[189] was planted extensively in the Tang imperial precincts that Du Fu represented in his verse. In seventh- and early-eighth century literature, it had been subject to the same symbolically centralizing trend as other trees, plants, fruit and flowers. It had also come to claim a place in court rituals. It figured often in the court verse of the early eighth century. The seventh century verse writer Shangguan Yi 上官儀 (d. 664) described lotuses [in the autumn] in the Shanglin 上林 Park.[190] Song Zhiwen 宋之問 (d. ca. 713) claimed in a *fu* that only protected by the palace precincts was the lotus able to live out its natural span, protected from gathering by the courting young.[191] Other verse writers made similar references. Wang Wei mentioned that the lotus grew in the Taiye Pond太液 in the Daming Palace complex. [192] It had also been planted extensively in the semi-public gardens in the southeast corner of Chang'an, where Du Fu described it in his verse. The lake in the Xingqing Palace, the Longchi Pond, associated above all with the emperor Xuanzong, was planted with lotus. Here, where the dragon had signalled Xuanzong's emperorship, a cult with offerings developed. Specially composed hymns, with each of ten verses com-

187 *Song shu* 宋書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974) 29, "Fu rui, xia 符瑞下," pp. 834–36, lists some 18 instances of two lotus flowers on one stem, for which see below at note. Typical phrases are "芙蓉二花一蒂"; "二蓮同幹"; "二蓮共幹."

188 *Nan shi* 南史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975) 5, p. 154, "Qi ben ji xia, di wu 齊本紀下,第五."

189 *QTShi* 310, p. 3505, "Song gong ren ru dao gui shan" 送宮人入道歸山, by Yu Gu 于鵠, describes a girl who "At ten years entered the Han palaces to play the flute, and looked after the watery halls and planted the lotus flowers."

190 *QTShi* 40, p. 508, "Fenghe chiu ri jimu ying zhi" 奉和秋日即目應制, by Shangguan Yi 上官儀.

191 *WYYH* 148, pp. 5a–6b, "Qiu lian fu" 秋蓮賦, by Song Zhiwen 宋之問.

192 Other court poets who mentioned these lotuses included Li Shi 李適; see *QTShi* 70, p. 777–78, "Di xing Xingqing chi, xi jing du, ying zhi" 帝幸興慶池戲競渡應制.

posed by a court litterateur, were sung, one of which described how "Day on day the lotuses grow on the summer water."[193] The fact that these hymns were copied into official accounts of dynastic ritual and the directives into the Kaiyuan ritual code of 732 is an indication of their solemnity. The hymns, moreover, were enacted by twelve dancers, who wore "lotus hats and went barefoot, while four persons holding golden lotus flowers led the dance."

The lotus figured more generally in the excursion and command verse of the courts of the late-seventh and eighth centuries, much of it written in the presence of the sovereign. Yan Chaoyin 閻朝隱 (d. ca. 713), composing on imperial command, described the lotus flowers at the Qiujiang on the third day of the third month, "The pearl filled trays of lotus leaves are clean; the jewelled shade of lotus flowers is fresh."[194] A literary courtier of the late seventh century, Cui Rong 崔融 (653–706), was able to encapulsate a deceased friend's entire court career with a couplet loosely modeled on one from the "Encountering Sorrow (Li Sao 離騷)": "In the morning you roamed in the departments in the Milky Way; In the evening you feasted at the Lotus Ponds."[195] This was a telling way of indicating that the lotus suggested the court at leisure and membership of the world's most exclusive society. In 725, the emperor set the character *lian* as one of the prescribed rhymes for verses composed for Zhang Yue's 張說 appointment to administer the newly named Jixian yuan 集賢院.[196]

The Tang court also celebrated the lotus specifically in its role as an emblem of young female beauty. Individual poems on the lotus focussed on this aspect of the flower.[197] The "lotus gathering song," probably mimed or danced, had been highly popular in the Liang court,

[193] *QTShi* 75, p. 816, "Long chi pian" 龍池篇, by Jiang Qiao 姜皎. For the cult to the dragon in the Long chi, see *THY* 22, pp. 433–44; *Da Tang jiao si lu* 大唐郊祀錄 (Shiyuan cong shu edn.; rpt. in Ikeda On 池田溫, ed., *Dai Tō Kaigen rei* [Tokyo: Koten kenkyukai, 1972]) 7, pp. 6b–9b; *Da Tang Kaiyuan li* 51, pp. 5b–8a; Robert des Rotours, "Le culte des cinq dragons sous la dynastie des T'ang (618–907)," *Melanges de sinologie offerts a Monsieur Paul Demieville* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1966), pp. 261–60; *JTS* 29 ("Yinyue zhi 音樂志"), p. 1062; *XTS* 22 ("Liyue zhi 禮樂"), p.475. For the series of hymns, see *JTS* 30, pp. 1124–26; *WYYH* 176, pp. 2b–4a; *QTShi* 12, pp. 119–21. The literary figures concerned included a roll call of celebrated court writers: Yao Chong 姚崇; Cai Fu 蔡孚; Shen Quanqi 沈佺期; Lu Huaishen 盧懷慎; Jiang Jiao 姜皎 ; Cui Riyong 崔日用; Su Ting 蘇頲 ; Li Yi 李乂; Jiang Xi 姜晞; Pei Cui 裴璀. The rituals continued until 760, and were resumed in 790 or 791.

[194] *QTShi* 69, p. 770, "San ri Qiu shui shi yan ying zhi" 三日曲水侍宴應制, by Yan Chaoyin 閻朝隱.

[195] *QTShi* 68, p. 767, "Ku Jiang zhan shi Yan" 哭蔣詹事儼, by Cui Rong 崔融.

[196] *QTShi* 98, p. 1059, "Feng he sheng zhi song Zhang Yue shang Jixian xue shi ci yan fu de lian zi" 奉和聖製送張說上集賢學士賜宴賦得蓮字 by Zhao Dongxi 趙冬曦.

[197] *QTShi* 66, p. 759, "Lian hua" 蓮花 by Guo Zhen 郭震; *QTShi* 60, p. 716, "He" 荷, by Li Jiao.

and the fashion for it continued into the Tang.[198] Taizong himself had a poem on this theme.[199] The *Jiao fang ji*教坊記, a record of music in the emperor Xuanzong's court during the Kaiyuan period, includes "Lotus Gathering" as one of its titles.[200] Its popularity in the court musical world may explain why verse writers took up and adapted the theme of gathering lotuses. The image of girls gathering lotus flowers therefore recurred in poems by a wide range of authors. Among Du Fu's contemporaries, He Zhizhang 賀知章 (659–744), the first of his "eight immortals of the wine cup," wrote a "Lotus Gathering song"[201] ; so did Wang Changling 王昌齡.[202] Meng Haoran referred to lotus gathering songs in the south;[203] so did Li Bai.[204] For Du Fu's friend Cen Shen, stranded against his wishes in the desert landscape of the far west, only the whirling and ecstatic dancing there surpassed the traditional lotus gathering song.[205] Another contemporary verse writer, Bao He 包何, suggested that since the natural world testified to the emperor's good rule, "They should set out the frames for the bells and chimes, for the musicians are going to play the 'lotus gathering tune.'" Here the originally erotic court dance is accorded the solemnity of a court ritual performance.[206]

The connection of the lotus with the court was greatly strengthened by the emperor Xuanzong's romance with Yang Guifei and her subsequent murder at Mawei 馬嵬. How early in the history of their association Yang Guifei became linked with the lotus is not clear. Her

198 Ichikawa Momoko 市川桃子, "Gafu shishū 'Sairen kyoku' no tanjō" 樂府詩集採蓮曲の誕生, *THGH* 87, pp. 57–72.

199 *QT Shi* 1, p. 12, "Cai furong 採芙蓉," by Taizong.

200 *Tang yin kui qian* 唐音葵籤 (Shanghai: Gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957), p. 111. Other song titles are also suggestive of the lotus: e.g. p. 119, "Ta jin lian 踏金蓮"; p. 118 "He ye bei 苛葉杯." Marsha Wagner, *The Lotus Boat* (New York: Columbia U.P., 1984), p. 49, observes that this text "records the titles of songs performed at Emperor Hsuan-tsung's court as a history of that aspect of elite life, yet it does not include the song texts themselves because, due to their popular origins, they were considered too crude or trivial to be worth recording." For "Ta jin lian" in *Jiao fang ji* 教坊記, see p. 13, first of "Da qu 大曲" ; for "He ye bei," see p. 10, third col.

201 *QT Shi* 112, p. 1147, "Cai lian qu" 採蓮曲, by He Zhizhang 賀知章. For He as the first of Du Fu's drinking heroes, see *JJJZDS* 2, p. 22a, "Yin zhongba xian ge" 飲中八仙歌; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 37, assigns to Tianbao period. *Tu Fu*, pp. 50–51, 85–87.

202 *QT Shi* 143, p. 1444, "Cai lian qu er shou" 採蓮曲二首, by Wang Changling 王昌齡.

203 *Meng Haojan ji zhu* 6, pp. 273–74, "Ye du Xiang shui" 夜渡湘水.

204 *Li Taibai quan ji* 21, pp. 995–96, "Qiu deng Paling wang Dongting" 秋登巴陵望洞庭湖, dated by Hiraoka, *Ri Haku no sakuhin jiryō*, "Henmoku byō 篇目表," p. 34, to 759.

205 *Cen Shen ji jiao zhu* 2, pp. 185–87, "Tian shijun meiren ru lianhua wu beixuan ge" 田使君美人如蓮花舞北旋歌 and commentary.

206 *QT Shi* 208, p. 2171, "Que xia furong" 闕下芙蓉, by Bao He 包何. As a *jinshi* of the Tian-

given name, Yuhuan 玉環, meaning "ring of jade," was, or became, another name for the lotus.[207] For the most part it is prose sources, some written in the ninth century, that fill out the story. The emperor is said to have first seen her leaning on a balustrade admiring the lotus flowers in the Taiye pond in the Daming Palace, and to have called her his "talking lotus."[208] After her murder by Xuanzong's troops, she was referred to sometimes simply as "the Lotus." Li Yi 李益, a *jinshi* of 769, in a poem on the Mawei Slope, the site of her murder, told visitors, "I charge you do not wash away the blood of the Lotus; but record for a thousand years my weeping."[209] Bai Juyi 白居易 (772–846) described the emperor returning to Chang'an as moved to tears by the lotus flowers in the Daye Pond because they reminded him of his lost love.[210] The lotus had therefore become little less than a symbol of the emperor's grief; it stood for lost love and it enabled verse writers, resuming the ancient theme of an emperor yearning for his lost consort, to treat an aspect of the emperor's "second body," representing his feelings as a human being.

Du Fu's use of the lotus contrasts ironically with his representation of the cherry; his approach to it in both its symbolic roles appears surprisingly cautious. He clearly admired the pristine lotus for its elegance

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bao period, Bao He was likely to have been a younger contemporary of Du Fu.

207 See *Han yu da ci dian* 4, p. 516, citing "Bi hong er shi" 比紅兒詩, by the late-Tang poet Luo Qiu 羅虯. It is just possible that Du Fu's reference to "not knowing which country will present a [another] white [jade] ring" in "Xi bing ma" may be an ironic reference to Yang Guifei, particularly since the ring was traditionally presented to the emperor by the Queen Mother of the West, whom commentators have identified in Du Fu's verse with Yang Guifei. See also above, notes 1 and 33, and below, note 214; also *JJJZDS* 2, pp. 30A–31B, "Feng tong Guo jishi Tangzhong Ling jiu zuo" 奉同郭給事湯東靈湫作, and esp. Qian Qianyi, annot., *Qian zhu Du shi* 1, p. 30, commentary on this poem, which *Du shih ZCG*, p. 262, assigns to 758. *Tu Fu*, pp. 83–84, translates in part and argues for 754.

208 *Kaiyuan Tianbao yi shi* 開元天寶遺事 (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji chubanshe, 1985), "Jie yu hua 解語花," "Under Minghuang, in autumn in the eighth month, by the Taiye Pond several white lotus flowers with a thousand petals were fully opened..The emperor with his high consorts were admiring them together. The entourage all spent much time sighing out in admiration. The emperor indicated [Yang] Guifei and showed her to his entourage, saying, "How can they compare with my talking flower"; see also *Tang Song Bai Kong liu tie* 唐宋白孔六帖 100, p. 17b, "Jie yu hua" 解語花.

209 *QTShi* 283, p. 3225, "Guo Ma wei" 過馬嵬, by Li Yi 李益; for two other poems by Li Yi on Ma Wei and Yang Guifei, see *QTShi* 183, p. 3219, "Guo Mawei er shou" 過馬嵬二首.

210 *Bai Juyi ji* 白居易集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979) 12, p. 238–240, "Chang hen ge" 長恨歌: "Returned home now, and the ponds, the pools, all were as before. The lotuses of Grand Ichor Pool, the Willows by the Night-is-Young Palace. The lotus blossoms resemble her face, the willow branches her eyebrows; Confronted with this, would it be possible that his tears should not fall?"; trans. Paul Kroll, "Po Chu-I's 'Song of Lasting Regret': A New Translation," *T'ang Studies* 8–9 (1990–91), p. 99.

and fragrance, and was drawn to its young round leaves on the water in spring,[211] describing lotus in a lake as "clean as if wiped down."[212] But as often as not he used the lotus in a third symbolic role: its falling petals,[213] or battered and dying leaves in autumn were an established image of the passage of time and of decay. He has no poem that treats the theme of Yang Guifei's comparison to the lotus; indeed it has been shown that he expressed keen disapproval of her, implying that Xuanzong's order that she be killed in effect enabled the dynasty to continue. In contrast to so many of his contemporaries, moreover, he did not apparently compose a "Lotus Gathering Song." Only occasionally did he use the lotus as a metaphor for courtly female beauty. He was as likely to use the more recondite term "*hong qu* 紅蕖," as often as the common term *lian* with its punning erotic associations. In a series of poems written in 767, he mentioned the Longchi Pond in the Xingqing Palace, where the court ritual involving the lotus took place. But his reference seems to indicate disapproval, for it ended:

> The sport they play within the palace
> Is secret, little known by those beyond.[214]

A couplet in the penultimate poem of his "Autumn Meditations" series suggests a symbolic role for the lotus flower as a referent for ageing or dying palace women at Chang'an. The stanza describes how:

> Drifting in the waves the darnel seeds let sink their cloud-
> massed blackness;[215]

[211] *JJJZDS* 21, p. 343B, "Kuang fu" 狂夫, assigned by *Du shih ZCG*, p. 410, to 760. *Tu Fu*, p. 171, translates as Poem CLXXX. The couplet reads, "Held by the wind, the azure bamboo shoots are graceful in their stillness; Soaked in the rain, the lotus flowers are delicately fragrant." *JJJZDS* 21, p.343A, "Wei nong" 爲農; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 397, assigns to 760; *Tu Fu*, p. 168, translates as Poem CLXVII. The couplet reads: "Round lotus let float their tiny leaves; Fine corn lets drop its insubstantial flowers." In *JJJZDS* 20, p. 336B, *Tu Fu*, p. 151, Du Fu imagines red lotus flowers in ponds on the small lakes in the Yuezhou 岳州 region; see above, n. 63.

[212] *JJJZDS* 2, p. 28, "Meibei xing" 渼陂行; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 124, dates to the Tianbao period. *Tu Fu*, p. 53, translates as Poem XIX, but does not identify the lotus. But the simile echoes some of the sensuous treatment of the lotus in late Six Dynasties verse; e.g. Ni Fan 倪璠, annot., and Xu Yimin 許逸民, ed., *Yu Zishan ji zhu* 庾子山集注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980) 4, pp. 292–93, "Feng he Zhao wang xi yu" 奉和趙王喜雨, has "The white sand is like moistened [variant= 'brushed'] powder; the lotus flowers resemble washed cups."

[213] *JJJZDS* 29, p. 443, "Zeng Li pa mishu bie sanshi yun" 贈李八秘書別三十韻; the couplet reads, "In pure autumn the blue-green willows fade; By other lakesides the red lotus dropped." For Du Fu's evocation of red powder falling from lotus heads in his "Autumn Meditations" series, see below at note 217.

[214] *JJJZDS* 30, p. 461A–B, "Su xi" 宿昔; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 985, dates to autumn of 767.

[215] *JJJZDS* 30, pp. 467A–69B; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 1138, assigns to autumn of 767; *Tu Fu*, pp. 233–35, translates all eight poems, CCXXXI-VIII; Tsu-lin Mei and Yu-kung Kao, "Tu Fu's 'Autumn Meditations': An Exercise in Linguistic Criticism," *HJAS* 28 (1968), pp. 63–64. The image of clouds is to suggest abundance, and Du Fu uses it this way in both prose and verse, in e.g. in *JJJZDS* 2, p. 35B, "Sha yuan xing" 沙苑行, dated by *Du shih ZCG*, p. 160, to spring or

Chilled in the dew the lotus heads let fall their powdered red.

Here the imagery is surely intended to convey decay and neglect. Darnel (*gumi* 菰米) seeds that should have been gathered for food are left to sink in cloud-like profusion into the water. The powdered red of the lotus is not drawn from observation, since lotus pollen itself is not red, but rather yellow. Consistently used in earlier verse to suggest young women made up with rouge, the *hongfen* 紅粉 falling must surely refer to court women ageing or dying. Du Fu after all mentioned several times the fate of palace women in the An Lushan rebellion and the later Tibetan sack of Chang'an. But the image cannot be more specifically understood.[216] His outlook on palace women, moreover, was governed by his concern for frugality in the court. In a poem series reflecting on the news that the military governors of the recalcitrant Hebei 河北 provinces had come to court in ritual homage, he praised the emperor Daizong for his frugality, and remarked, "The regions of Yan 燕 and Zhao 趙 should not boast that they produce pretty women, For the palace quarters have no plans to select high court ladies."[217] By implication, he hoped that the eight thousand palace women who had staffed the palace in Kaiyuan times should be much reduced in number.

The absence of the theme of the erotic lotus in Du Fu's verse should not be over-interpreted. But, combined with his disapproval of Yang

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early summer of 756, translated by *Tu Fu*, p. 84, as Poem LVI, describing the imperial horse farms: "The king has a brave minister to control the stud gates, and within them the heavenly stables all are massed like clouds." Also, a memorial for prefect Guo, from Huazhou, immediately following his expulsion from court, dated the first day of the sixth month of 758, on presenting a diagram for the defeat of the rebels. See *Du gongbu ji* 20, p. 9b, "Wei Huazhou Guo shijun jin mie can kou xingshi tu" 爲華州郭使君主進滅殘寇形勢圖; here the phrase is: "Hence the great army gathers like clouds, and in its abundance does not advance…." . For the background, see *Tu Fu*, p. 132.

216 For the phrase *hong fen*, which Du Fu here inverts, referring to the red powder of women's make-up, see for example, Sui Shusen 隋樹森, ed., *Gu shi shijiu shou jishi* 古詩十九首集釋 2, p. 3, where the couplet reads, "Graceful is her red-powdered make-up; delicately she reveals her white hands"; and Chen Qingyuan 陳慶元, annot., *Shen Yue ji jiaojian* 沈約集校箋 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 1995) 10, pp. 380-82, "Zhi nu zengqian niu" 織[怒]贈牽牛, where the variant *hong fen* makes the couplet read, "Red powder and bright mirror, these two things at root are intimates"; *Meng Haoran ji zhu*, 4, p. 164, "Tong Zhang mingfu Bixi zengda" 同張明府碧溪贈答, where the final couplet reads, "We turn to adore the brightness of the slanting sun; when red powder makes young girls alluring." Lotus heads (*lian fang* 蓮房) are the seed heads of the lotus flower, conspicuous even when the red petals are open. Miss Chen Lan of Peking University suggested to me, on the basis of a comment on a later occurrence of this term in Tang verse by Jin Shengtan 金聖嘆, that there is a specific sexual reference here. But in his comment on this poem, in *Jin Shengtan xuan pi Du shi* 金聖嘆 選批杜詩 (Hong Kong: Dongnan shuju, 1957) 3, p. 166, he does not suggest this; nor do earlier Tang examples of the phrase.

217 *JJJZDS* 28, p. 427A–B, "Cheng wen Hebei zhu dao jiedu ru chao xi kouhao jueju shi'er shou, liu" 承聞河北諸道節度入朝歡喜口號絕句十二首, 六. *Du shih ZCG*, p. 908, assigns to spring of 767. Qian, *Qian zhu Du shi* 15, pp. 532–33, identifies an ironic tone in this series,

Guifei and his hope that, for example, the emperor Daizong would show restraint, it suggests austerity in his approach to the court and disapproval of imperial involvement with palace women. Du Fu more characteristically expressed his commitment to the Tang by representing the emperor's "first body," extolling the dynasty's sacred ritual sites or by explicitly condemning court extravagances. It was to later poets to explore in sentimental detail the human experience of the emperor Xuanzong and the drama that it involved.

This does not mean that Du Fu reserved the lotus for the second of its great medieval roles, in Buddhism. His writing indicates that he encountered Buddhism and Buddhist precincts often throughout his life. What he once called "the first truth 第一義," moreover, certainly interested him. He admired individual Buddhists and sought advice from them, and even the Buddhist devotion of one of his servants elicited his praise.[218] But he only occasionally expressed commitment to the great counterclaim put forward by the Indian religion, that the phenomenal world was illusory, with its implication that even the lotus was merely an aid to spiritual insight.[219] If Buddhism touched him more generally, it was likely to be in terms of its injunction to compassion for all living things. Most of his references to the Buddhist lotus were in proper names, among them the peak on Mount Hua, the mountain associated with the emperor Xuanzong that was said to contain a gigantic lotus with a thousand petals.[220] Or again, in a late poem from the south that made extensive use of Buddhist imagery, he referred to the lotus flowers on the ponds of two monasteries.[221] Perhaps his most characteristic evocation of the Buddhist lotus occurs in a poem dedicated to a ban-

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and ties it to the emperor Daizong's refusal to heed the advice of Chang Gun 常衮 to reject gifts from military governors, for which see *ZZTJ* 224, p. 7192.

[218] *JJJZDS* 11, p. 158A–59B, "Xinxing yuan xiu shui tong" 信行遠修水筒, assigned by *Du shih ZCG*, p. 994, to summer of 767; quoted by Chen, "Sixiang shi zhong de Du Fu," p. 20.

[219] Ibid., p. 18, citing the examples of *JJJZDS* 29, p. 4411A–B, "Qiu ri Kui fu yong huai feng ji Zheng jian Li binke yibai yun" 秋日夔州詠懷寄鄭監李賓客一百韻, written in 767; *JJJZDS* 9, p. 126A–B, "Ye Wengong shangfang" 謁文公上方, assigned by *Du shih ZCG*, p, 522, to late 761; *JJJZDS* 13, p. 190B, "Xie huai er shou, er" 寫懷二首, 二, assigned by *Du shih ZCG*, p. 1173, to winter of 767. Professor Chen, pp. 18–19, also reviews the evidence for Du Fu, following Fang Guan and Wang Wei, as loyal to the Southern Chan school of Buddhism. Perhaps a characteristic account of his attitude is contained in the couplet, quoted by Chen, "Sixiang shi zhong de Du Fu," p. 20, from *JJJZDS* 13, p. 186A–B, "Bie Li mishu Shixing si suo ju" 別李密書始興寺所居; "I heard again the sutra on meditation from the Western Region; But for an old person in the ancient temple the wind blew cold. My wife and children waited for my return, so I should go back, and come another day on my stick of hazel to listen more carefully."

[220] *JJJZDS* 19, pp. 315B–16A, "Ti Zheng xian tingzi" 題鄭縣亭子, with commentary; assigned by *Du shih ZCG*, p. 264, to 758–59, while Du Fu was at Huazhou.

[221] *JJJZDS* 16, p. 253A, "Yue Lushan Daolin er si xing" 岳麓山道林二寺行; assigned by *Du shih ZCG*, p. 1402, to spring of 769. *Tu Fu*, pp. 264–65, translates as Poem CCCLII.

ished abbot, whose company he praised. In this he made the connection between a desolate autumn lotus pond and the abbot's enlightenment, even while himself remaining distanced from the Buddhist goal:

> With your monk's staff why have you come here?
> The autumn winds already gust and sough.
> The rain has desolated the chrysanthemums deep in the court-
> yard.
> The frost has overturned half the lotuses in the pond.
> How can your banishment lead you to contravene your nature?
> The emptiness of the void never leaves your meditations.
> We met each other and managed to pass the night together,
> While the moon over Longxi 隴西 shone full on us.[222]

Here, Du Fu linked the abbot to the lotus, the supreme symbol of his religion, which has encountered the autumn, its battered leaves a powerful image of decay. But banishment, ill fate, and decline do not affect the man of true spiritual attainment, and Du Fu stressed that the abbot's religious regime was not disturbed. On the other hand, he claimed the chrysanthemum, also wrecked by the autumn storms, as his own emblem, the symbol of moral integrity in hard times. Both men have been banished; neither the lotus nor the chrysanthemum here had symbolic associations with the court. And when the moon shone on them both, it stood for different things. For the monk, it was a symbol of enlightenment; for Du Fu it stood for nostalgia for the Guanzhong 關中 plain and for the capital.

Finally, in the period when he lived in relative contentment at the "thatched cottage" outside Chengdu, Du Fu made a reference, surely suggestive of the complexity of his outlook, to a double-headed lotus. For the court and the palace gardens of the period of disunion, double-headed lotuses, especially if they grew in the palace gardens, were taken as highly auspicious manifestations of imperial achievement.[223] In the Tang too, double-headed lotus flowers, whether in the palace gardens or in the provinces, like the more specifically Buddhist lotus with "a thousand petals,"[224] were regarded as very auspicious and could be re-

222 *JJJZDS* 20, p. 323A, "Su Zan gong fang" 宿贊公房. *Du shih ZCG*, p. 293, assigns to 7th month of 759, at Qinzhou 秦州 . For the background, see *Tu Fu*, pp. 144, who translates, p. 148, as Poem CXXXV.

223 *Song shu* 29 ("Fu rui, xia 符瑞下"), pp. 834–36, lists 18 instances of two lotus flowers on one stem. Typical phrases are "芙蓉二花一蒂"; "二蓮同幹"; "二蓮共幹."

224 *WYYH* 563, pp. 8b–9b, "Wei bai guan he qianye rui lian biao" 爲百官賀千葉瑞蓮表, by Cui Rong 崔融, provides a fine example of the courtly style of congratulation memorial at its most elaborate, on this case for a red lotus flower with a thousand petals.

ported to the emperor.[225] Describing a riverside scene near his thatched cottage, Du Fu too recorded a double lotus. What seems pointed about his treatment is the limited set of associations that he derived from it. In the context of an excursion with his wife in a small skiff, it was a symbol merely of conjugal happiness, and he juxtaposed it to children playing and splashing in the water, which he likened to the butterflies that chased each other over the river.

> At the southern capital, an old man, long a traveller, ploughs his southern acres
> Or, gazing to the north, his soul distressed, lies by a northern window.
> By day he takes his good wife and rides in a small skiff;
> In bright sunlight we watch the young splashing in the clear river;
> Flying together the butterflies have always chased one another;
> The two headed lotus of its own accord forms pairs.[226]

In this instance, therefore, the double-headed lotus was not an auspicious event to be reported to the capital. Its implications were no longer cosmological. The lotus was double "of its own accord," just as the cherries accepted from the rustic were red "of their own accord." Thus his treatment of the flower appears to express particularly effectively the shift of focus from the court in the north to his immediate domestic life that is a theme in his later verse. This poem, even while opening with his habitual reference to the "northern look," to his yearning for the court, thus stands for Du Fu's determined focusing down to the domestic scale. The commonplace and domestic provided him with an alternative to the court service from which he was cut off, and

225 *WYYH* 563, pp. 9b–10a, "Zhongshu menxia he Shenlong si juzhong rui lian biao" 中書門下賀神龍寺渠中瑞蓮表, memorial by Quan Deyu 權德輿 (759–818), dated in a double column insertion to 18th day, 6th month of 802; *WYYH* 563, pp. 10a–b, "He Xinei jia lian biao 賀西內嘉蓮表" by Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元, probably the same occurrence; and *WYYH* 563, pp. 10b–11a, "He Xi nei jia lian biao" 賀西內嘉蓮表 memorial by Zhang Zhongsu. The phrases used are "一涇兩房"; "合歡蓮花"; and "一本兩花." More relevant, because also provincial and suggestive of the sort of rhetoric available to Du Fu, is the text of a record of good administration by the local prefect at Jizhou 吉州, in Jiangxi 江西, which, the author claimed, resulted in a double headed lotus ; see Huangfu Shi 皇甫湜 (ca. 777–ca. 835), *Huangfu Chizheng wenji* 皇甫持政文集 (SBCK edn.) 5, pp. 3b–4b, "Jizhou cishi ting pi ji" 吉州刺史廳壁記, "auspicious dew in abundance let drop its flavor on his pine trees; auspicious lotuses so exquisite united their stalks on his ponds." There is then the suggestion that the people wanted the matter reported to the capital. The term used here is "瑞蓮合蒂."

226 *JJJZDS* 21, p. 345A, "進艇"; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 411, assigns to 760. *Tu Fu*, p. 168, translates as Poem CLXX. The commentaries make no reference to the cosmic implications of the double lotus; Zhao states, "When Du writes "[the butterflies] have always chased each other, and [the double lotus] of its own accord is double" this is Du Fu, because he is speaking of realities, creating new expressions." Du Fu's phrase is "並蒂芙蓉."

also gave him scope to express his increasing commitment to a poetic art that was independent of the court.

THE CHRYSANTHEMUM

The chrysanthemum was the flower that Du Fu mentioned most frequently. For him it had a wider range of associations than any other flower. It was the "chill chrysanthemum"; it was "dewy," "southern," "yellow," "slender," or "clumped"; it was also "golden" or "metal" correlating in the traditional cosmological scheme with the autumn. It played a prominent part in the court version of the Double Ninth autumn rite, which Du Fu witnessed in the autumn of 757, and for him it therefore had a role as a symbol of Xuanzong's court. Unlike the cherry and the orange, but like the lotus, however, this was a flower whose symbolic role in literary tradition was by no means confined to the court. When Du Fu recalled seeing it growing in the Guanzhong countryside, he testified to its wide distribution.[227] Though it was to remind him of the court, this was the flower that, encountered at the end of each year, functioned throughout his life as a more personal emblem. He used it particularly effectively to express the shifting play of his concerns from the court to his friends beyond the court, his home in the north, his family and ultimately to his own destiny as a sick and isolated old man.

The chrysanthemum was well able to bear the significances that Du Fu invested in it. This was the supreme example of a floral symbol that derived its meanings from correlations deemed real by the ancient Chinese, a flower with potent cosmic linkages. From the start, it was identified with autumn, praised as the last flower to open, and admired for braving adverse conditions. It was made to correlate with metal in the Five-phase sequence, and with the gamut note *shang* 商, in effect the "Re" note of the pentatonic scale, identified with sadness and resentment. It was the herbaceous equivalent of the pine and the cypress, which the historical Confucius had commended for being "the last to wither,"[228] and it was commended for being "... more flourishing than the pine or bamboo." In early-Tang writings, and in Du Fu's own verse, it was mentioned with the pine.[229]

227 *JJJZDS* 3, p. 48B, "Bei zheng" 北征; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 212. assigns to 8th month of 757.

228 *Analects* (Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series) 9, sentence 28.

229 E.g. *QTShi* 37, p. 479, "Zeng Li chang jun Dashou" 贈李徵君大壽, poem by Wang Ji 王績: "The pine by the cascade grows straighter as the cold comes; the chrysanthemum in the hills is fragrant with the autumn." For Du Fu, e.g., *JJJZDS* 30, p. 475B, "Cun yu" 村雨, describing in autumn "the pines and chrysanthemums newly soaked and washed." *Du shih ZCG*, p. 1093, assigns to autumn of 767.

But its linkages went beyond even this: the sound of its name was close to the sounds of words for nine (*jiu* 九), for wine (*jiu* 酒) and for longevity (*jiu* 久). In the Western literary tradition, puns, or in this case near homophones, are considered purely coincidental. In composition, they provide basis for little more than humour and manipulation. In the Chinese tradition, however, sounds are another component to be integrated into the system of correlative cosmology. The sound of the name of something may be integral to its place in the natural world. The lotus in the Chinese as opposed to Buddhist tradition, with its linkage to affect, youth and beauty, has provided an example. For the chrysanthemum, its traditional linkage with the ninth month, wine and longevity added to its persuasiveness as a medicine, a powerful reason for its appeal.

This potent set of correlations was believed to have been first celebrated in the palace precincts of the Han dynasty.[230] By the Later Han, on the Double Ninth, a chrysanthemum gathering rite, with the flower paired with the dogwood sprig, had been written into the annual calendar. The custom involved leaving one's home, ascending a high place, exorcising disaster and prolonging life.[231] The rite was popular as much as elite, and, by the start of the Tang, was so well established that it claimed a separate entry in Tang literary prompt-books.[232] The chrysanthemum then became so important a personal theme in the writing of a single writer, the early-fifth-century poet Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 (365–427), a giant in the Chinese verse tradition, that thereafter its symbolic value was never the same.[233] Tao in effect integrated his philosophical position with gathering chrysanthemums, making wine from them and drinking it in haste. Out of office as he was, he created in the chrysanthemum a symbol of individual adversity and stoicism. Tao ensured that the chrysanthemum was invested with personal associations that were in tension with those of a court literature. It stood

230 Wang Shaoying 汪紹楹, ed., *Sou shen ji* 搜神記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979) 2, pp. 24–25, noting that this text appears in the literary prompt book *Chu xue ji* 3, p. 80; and other texts. The report is provided by Jia Peilan 賈佩蘭, serving girl to the Lady Qi 戚, who was a favorite of the Han emperor Gaozu 高祖; see *Shi ji* 9, p. 397 ; *Han shu* 97, pp. 3937–38.

231 The custom of climbing high, with dogwood in a purse, and drinking chrysanthemum wine to exorcise evil was said to have originated with Fei Changfang 費長房 of the Later Han; see *Xu Qi xie ji* 續齊諧記 by Wu Jun (469–520), quoted in *Yi wen lei ju* 4, p. 81; translated into English by A. R. Davis, "The Double Ninth Festival in Chinese Poetry: A Study of Variations upon a Theme," in Tse-tsung Chow, ed., *Wen-lin* (Madison: U. Wisconsin P., 1968), pp. 45–46.

232 Paula M. Varsano, "Immediacy and Allusion in the Poetry of Li Bo," *HJAS* 52.1 (1992), p. 243; Davis, "Double Ninth Festival," pp. 45–64. Professor Kroll has pointed out to me that 'dogwood' is an inaccurate, if traditional, identification.

233 Davis, ibid., p. 48; *Yi wen lei ju* 81, p. 1391, quoting *Xu Jin yang qiu* 續晉陽秋.

for fortitude in the face of rejection by the official world. In this role, it enjoyed an enormous literary vogue, and even emperors endorsed it. Du Fu himself referred to "Tao Qian's 陶潛 chrysanthemums," and to the fence along which Tao had traditionally grown the flowers.[234]

From the start of the Tang, the chrysanthemum had been cultivated in private gardens as well as in the imperial park. But the chrysanthemum and the dogwood sprig were as affected as any of the main medieval floral emblems by the centralizing force that Tang political success exerted on the literary world. The fact that they dominated the autumn festival of the Double Ninth, when the court customarily took excursions, meant that it featured regularly in the verse written for these occasions. A wish to coopt the flower into the Tang dynasty's own, imperial floral lexicon may perhaps explain why this flower figures most often in Taizong's collection of verse.[235]

Taizong himself ensured that the chrysanthemum was prominent in the imperial version of the Double Ninth ritual. The Tang court performed this ceremony, in their own version and at various venues, certainly into and through the eighth century. Under Taizong, a Buddhist precinct was chosen for the ritual, and the Double Ninth thus became a public celebration of imperial power before a dutiful and obedient Buddhist clergy. Imperial visits on the Double Ninth to the Ci'en 慈恩 Monastery, the great monument to state sponsorship of Buddhism from the reign of Taizong, continued until at least the beginning years of the eighth century.[236] Evidence for the use of chrysanthemums in a Buddhist flower-scattering ceremony comes from the reign of Zhongzong, when poems composed on imperial command by noted court litterateurs survive.[237] A particularly spectacular imperial verse celebration of the Double Ninth, for example, took place in 709. Its setting was a pavilion overlooking the Wei 渭 River, within the Imperial Park,[238] and

234 *JJJZDS* 26, p. 411B, "Qiu jin" 秋盡; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 518, assigns to late 761.

235 It appears no fewer than ten times in his poetry, while he also has one poem dedicated to it; see *QTShi* 1, p. 17, "Fu de can ju" 賦得殘菊, poem by Taizong.

236 *QTShi* 54, p. 663, "Ci'en si jiu ri ying zhi" 慈恩寺九日應制, poem by Cui Shi 崔湜, written for this occasion, underlines the apparent incongruity of the emperor celebrating a native Chinese, pre-Buddhist ritual on Buddhist ground.

237 *QTShi* 58, p. 693, "Feng he jiu yue jiu ri deng Ci'en si futu ying zhi" 奉和九月九日登慈恩寺浮圖應制, poem by Li Jiao. See also Jia, "Jinglong wenguan ji," p. 214, for full references for this occasion, dated to the 9th day of the 9th month of 708.

238 *QTShi* 58, p. 693, "You Jinyuan pei xing Lin Wei ting yu xue ying zhi" 遊禁苑陪幸臨渭亭遇雪應制, poem by Li Jiao, indicates that the Lin Wei pavilion was considered within the imperial gardens. See also Jia, "Jinglong wenguan ji," p. 215, for full references to this occasion, dated to the 5th day of the 2d month of 709.

to the north of the palace complex. The event, featuring verses from the emperor and a retinue of 24 literary officials, shows even more emphatically how the emperor had coopted the chrysanthemum and the dogwood twig.[239] Officials expressed yearning for the longevity of the emperor, the permanence of his "first body": "I hope that through this dogwood and chrysanthemum wine, you will be protected for a hundred thousand years to come," or "I hope that I may attend the festival of the *yang* 陽 schedule, for a thousand million autumns," ran the final couplets of typical contributions.[240] In another example, the chrysanthemum was linked in cosmological imagery to the element metal, to a permanence that ran through successive annual cycles and to two past emperors, Wen 文 of the Wei 魏 (r. 220–226 AD) and Wu 武 of the Han (r. 140–86 BC).[241] In such grandiose evocations of Chinese imperial history and symbols of permanence, the humble chrysanthemum that had grown along Tao Yuanming's fence is altogether changed. It is now made to represent the continuity of dynastic power, the permanence of the cosmos, and the longevity of the reigning emperor.

The chrysanthemum was also much grown in the gardens of government offices within the imperial city. Here again was a setting wholly in contrast with Tao Yuanming's humble homestead. Yang Jiong 楊炯 (d. 692) also took up the challenge posed by Tao Yuanming's treatment of the chrysanthemum as an adversity symbol, implying that his "return" or retirement had been unnecessary. Under the Tang, rather, the flower could prosper at the heart of government. A similar sentiment came from no less a figure than the emperor Zhongzong himself, when he challenged his literary courtiers to compose on the Double Ninth.[242]

In the years of peace, however, as the literary world expanded and broke the monopoly of the court, more and more verse writers commemorated the Double Ninth away from the capital. From this time on, many found themselves in situations remote from the court, that echoed those of their famous literary predecessor. Many more referred to him in their Double Ninth poems. Mapped onto the Tang empire,

239 *Tang shi ji shi* 1, pp. 9b–11b. For full references, see Jia, "Jinglong wenguan ji," p.219.

240 *QTShi* 69, p. 770, "Fenghe jiu ri xing Lin Wei ting deng gao ying zhi de yan zi" 奉和九日幸臨渭亭登高應制得筵字, poem by Yan Chaoyin; *QTShi* 73, p. 799, "Feng he jiu ri xing Lin Wei ting deng gao ying zhi de shi zi feng" 奉和九日幸臨渭亭登高應制高點得時字, poem by Su Ting. See also Jia, "Jinglong wenguan ji," p. 219.

241 *QTShi* 96, p. 1030 "Jiu ri Lin Wei ting shi yan ying zhi de chang zi" 九日臨渭亭侍宴應制得長字, poem by Shen Quanqi 沈佺期.

242 *QTShi* 2, p. 23, "Jiu yue jiu ri xing Lin Wei ting deng gao de qiu zi" 九日幸臨渭亭登高得秋字, poem by Zhongzong.

references to chrysanthemums among Du Fu's friends and acquaintances would extend from modern day Xinjiang 新疆,[243] to Anhui 安徽,[244] from Shaanxi 陝西[245] to southern Hunan 湖南.[246]

Du Fu himself celebrated the Double Ninth with chrysanthemums in wine probably all his life. Certainly he did so in the north, before his travels to the south and west.[247] In his brief period of court office, he had witnessed the court celebration, when chrysanthemums supplied by the court were floated in wine-cups and dog-wood twigs worn in the hair. The impression this gave, as with other court rituals he experienced from 757 to 758, remained with him in the years of travelling and deprivation that followed. But he was no less an admirer of Tao Yuanming, and for him, ultimately, the chrysanthemum that, in the words of a slightly later writer, "does not laugh at poverty"[248] also had more intimate resonances than the grand cosmological ones promoted by the court poets. Like his contemporaries, therefore, Du Fu echoed Tao in many of his references to the chrysanthemum. Before the rebellion, he later recalled, he celebrated the Double Ninth, in buoyant company, with his friends Su Yuanming and Zheng Qian 鄭虔.[249] He recalled how "Dewy chrysanthemums dappled the Feng and Hao," the region of Chang'an, while "Autumn vegetables threw shadows on the Jian 澗 and Chan 瀍 [rivers]" in the Luoyang area.[250] He represented the Double Ninth as a time of high spirits that give way to melancholy and to uncertainty about the future and as a time to meet with friends, drink and compose verse.[251] He also identified the chrysanthemum with the individual of moral integrity in adverse circumstances, by implication

243 *Cen Shen shi ji jiao zhu* 2, pp. 164–65, "Feng pei Feng daifu jiu ri deng gao" 奉陪封大夫九日登高, composed in 755.

244 *Li Taibai quan ji* 20, pp. 960–63, "Jiu ri deng shan" 九日登山, dated to autumn of 754, at Xuancheng 宣城, modern Anhui; pp. 963–64; "Jiu ri Longshan yin" 九日龍山飲, dated to autumn of 755, at Dangtu 當塗 modern Anhui. See Hiraoka, *Ri Haku no sakuhin, Jiryō*," p. 34.

245 Chen Tiemin 陳鐵民 and Hou Zhongyi 侯忠義, eds., *Cen Shen shi ji jiao zhu* 岑參詩集校注 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1981) 3, p. 193, "Xing jun jiu ri si Chang'an gu yuan" 行軍九日思長安故園, dated to 757; 3, p. 247, "Jiu yue shi jun xi, feng jian Wei zhongcheng fu Changshui" 九日使君席奉餞衛中丞赴長水, dated to 759.

246 *Yuan Cishan ji* 元次山集, ed. Sun Wang 孫望 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960) 9, p. 136, "Ju tuan ji" 菊圃記, dated by Sun Wang to 766.

247 *JJJZDS* 1, p. 14B, "Tan ting qian gan ju hua" 歎庭前甘菊花; assigned by *Du shih ZCG*, p.113, to Tianbao period. Also *JJJZDS*, "Jiu ri ji Cen Shen"; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 84, assigns to Tianbao period.

248 *QT Shi* 266, p. 2952, "Xian ju zi shu" 閒居字述, poem by Gu Kuang 顧況.

249 *JJJZDS* 30, p. 484, "Jiu ri wu shou, yi" 九日五首, 一; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 824, assigns to autumn of 766.

250 *JJJZDS* 29, p. 439, "Chiu ri Kuifu yong huai" 秋日夔府詠懷一百韻; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 1036, assigns to autumn of 767.

251 *JJJZDS*, "Jiu ri ji Cen Shen"; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 84, assigns to Tianbao period.

himself. In this role, it functioned not as a recognition or recommendation symbol, like the tangerine, still less as means through which values could be urged upon the court, but rather as a symbol of consolation and commiseration.

In Du Fu's verse after the rebellion, however, as he juxtaposed memories of the court and his later experience, he gave to the Double Ninth and its floral emblem an even more poignant and inclusive set of associations. A poem written in 761 formulates this contrast:

Of old it was wine of the yellow flower;
Now it is an old man with white hair.
I search for a lighter mood, but my strength is no longer what it was,
I gaze out into the distance, the time of the year is ever the same.
My brothers and sisters figure in my sad song;
The court appears before my drunken eyes;
Weapons and spears, passes and frontiers;
On this day my thoughts know no end.[252]

Here, on the city wall of Zizhou 梓州 in Sichuan, he juxtaposed two of the associations that he retained for the chrysanthemum, the court and the family. Some years later in 765, the Double Ninth evoked for him the loss of friends from earlier days: "Former friends with whom I gathered then have suddenly moved on; The wine with its light fragrance will follow soon."[253] In his celebrated "Autumn Meditations" of 767, however, the court celebration of the Double Ninth had receded and the festival evoked an undifferentiated sense of transience, lost friends, and melancholy. Clumps of chrysanthemums, seen in the autumn of the second year of his stay at Kuizhou, were thus associated with "the tears of other days." They stood for the passing of the year, in contrast to their role in the court ritual, when they symbolized primarily privilege, longevity, access to power and an obligatory optimism. The couplet reads:

Clumps of chrysanthemums opening twice, evoke the tears of other days;
A solitary boat moored here alone brings thoughts of my former garden.[254]

[252] *JJJZDS* 24, p. 380, "Jiu ri deng Zizhou cheng" 九日登梓州城; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 513, assigns to 761.

[253] *JJJZDS* 27, p. 418, "Yun'an Jiu ri Zheng shiba xi jiu pei zhu gong yan" 雲安九日鄭十八攜酒陪諸公宴; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 677, assigns to autumn of 765.

[254] *JJJZDS* 30, p. 467, "Qiu xing ba shou, yi" 秋興八首,一, ll. 5–6; assigned by *Du shih ZCG*,

In one of his late poems written in 769 to mark parting with a friend whom he had met twelve years before, he concluded, “"Under northern clouds, the chill chrysanthemum doubled the pain of parting.”[255] That same year, the arrival of the Double Ninth reminded him that another year has passed: “The southern chrysanthemums encountered another time, and I am bed-ridden and sick; The letter from the north fails to come, and the goose bears no news.”[256]

He revived a more inclusive and highly crafted approach in a set piece series, “Five Poems for the Ninth Day,” assigned to the autumn of 766.[257] In these, Du Fu again used the chrysanthemum wine before him to contrast the days of his court office, of his friendship with Su Yuanming and Zheng Qian and of autumn at his farm at Duling 杜陵, with his present predicament: “In my old village at Fanchuan 樊川, we climbed up high and sought the source of the Chan. At that other time alike we laughed at the future; Today how many of us survive?”[258]

In former days on the Double Ninth,
We passed the cup; we never set it down.
Now with [once] touseled hair all gone,
I simply feel shame when the chrysanthemums open.
For northern towers my mind yearns long;
On a western river in solitude I turn my head.
Of the dogwood that was conferred on court officials,
I can hardly obtain a single twig.[259]

In the first poem of this series, finally, he was able to use the Double Ninth as a means to convey radical pessimism about his friendships and his own future:

At the Double Ninth in solitude, I pour out the wine from my cup.
Sick as I am, how can I climb up to the terrace over the River?
Since I have no one with whom to share the “bamboo leaf” wine,
From this time on the chrysanthemums have no need to open.[260]

p.1138, to 767. *Tu Fu*, translates as Poem CCLXXXI. The ambiguities inherent in the structure of this couplet are described in Kao and Mei, “Tu Fu’s ‘Autumn Meditations,’” pp. 54, 78.

[255] *JJJZDS* 35, p. 543, “Changsha song Li shiyi” 長沙送李十一; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 1423, assigns to autumn of 769.

[256] *JJJZDS* 31, p. 486, “Ye” 夜, assigned by *Du shih ZCG*, pp 1420, to autumn of 769.

[257] *JJJZDS* 30, p. 484, “Jiu ri wu shou” 九日五首; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 824, assigns to autumn of 766.

[258] *JJJZDS* 30, p. 484, “Jiu ri wu shou, si” 九日五首, 四, ll. 1–4.

[259] *JJJZDS* 30, p. 484, “Jiu ri wu shou, san” 九日五首, 三.

[260] *JJJZDS* 30, p. 484, “Jiu ri wu shou, yi” 九日五首, 一, ll. 1–4. It remains a puzzle why

The chrysanthemum therefore provided Du Fu with a symbol both of his loyalty to the court and of his rejection by the court. But this was a symbol that, unlike the cherry and the orange, carried no monitory message for the emperor. It was, in Li Bai's usage, the flower of the "rejected official," and it encouraged self depiction rather than criticism of the political order. Thus this poem series also allowed Du Fu to take to great lengths his self image as an old man, solitary and ill, no longer dependent on the court or on friendships beyond it, rejecting even the flower that stood for social contact. Rejection of a symbol associated with sharing melancholy was intended to convey a state of mind in which even shared melancholy was no longer possible. The hope of returning north to witness once more the court version of the Double Ninth was no longer mentioned. The contrast with the mandatory optimism of the chrysanthemum of court verse, symbolizing the longevity of the emperor, had reached its extreme.

CONCLUSION

By his mastery of the verse tradition and his own explicit commitment to innovation, Du Fu was able to treat in new ways the well-established theme of commitment to the service of the emperor. Though from 758 on he continued to follow the course of political and military events on the central plains and though he retained a detailed knowledge of the figures involved, he seldom ventured incisive political recommendations or opinions in his verse. His perspective on the apex of the state was centered mainly on the first of the emperor's "two bodies," on imperial ritual cults and on the precincts associated with the emperor. It has been said of him that "Of all poets [he] was perhaps the least willing to let nature be herself; little seems random or accidental; rarely is something noteworthy simply because it exists."[261] This essay, by analyzing his treatment of a small number of flower and fruit symbols that figured in dynastic and court rituals has shown how he used them to express his moral and political outlook. In so doing, he both converyed his commitment to the dynasty and significantly extended the literary tradition.

In the period of Tang political success, immediately prior to his own active life as a poet, court poets had used these symbols, the cherry

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this poem, which is the most radically pessimistic of the five, is placed first in the series rather than last.

[261] Owen, *Great Age*, p. 204.

and the orange, the lotus and the chrysanthemum, and many others to celebrate Tang imperial achievements, the colossal prestige of court society and the extraordinary pull of service to the state. The emperor Xuanzong himself as leader of the literary world had composed verses on the ritual occasions when the court celebrated these flowers and fruit. Du Fu's contribution was to re-treat these established symbols in the light of his own experience of dynastic collapse, exclusion and final alienation. Remembering the court in its time of prosperity for him was a self-conscious process, kept alive deliberately by his own efforts, and contrasted with his drastically reduced circumstances in the remote west and south.[262] For him, the cherry suggested concern for the upkeep of the sacred ritual program and the tangerine insistence on moderation in court consumption. His outlook on the court lotus suggests obliquely his concern for restraint, while the chrysanthemum provided him with a symbol of his rejection by the court.

Du Fu lived through one of the great imperial narratives of medieval Chinese history, Xuanzong's sixteen year relationship with his consort Yang Guifei, the rebellion of An Lushan, the flight of the emperor Xuanzong to Sichuan, the murder of his consort and the emperor's enforced retirement in the South Garden until his death in 762. These were for him deeply unwelcome tragedies. They had taken place precisely because the principle of restraint at court, his key to stability, had been ignored, so that the spectacularly prosperous and ordered world of the Kaiyuan period had been broken up. For Du Fu to commemorate the emperor's romance with Yang Guifei and its tragic outcome, the story of his "second body," in a verse narrative as they were later to be celebrated would have been to betray the austerity of his outlook on the emperor's "first body" and on the state. Du Fu was willing to attribute grief to an emperor, but as an expression of one of Xuanzong's central moral commitments, his filial devotion to his deceased father Ruizong, and in the context of sacred ancestral rites at Qiaoling, Ruizong's mausoleum. In the same way, he insisted that both Suzong and Daizong were filial to their forbears. If he mentioned the emperor's grief at the very different loss of Yang Guifei, he also suggested, albeit wryly, that the cherry, the canonically sanctioned and therefore sacred fruit of offering to the ancestral temple, should replace the lychee, the object of a sybaritic and destructive favorite's craving, as an item of tribute from the hot south.

[262] *JJJZDS* 35, p. 548B, "Chou Wei Shaozhou jian ji yi shou" 酬韋韶州見寄一首; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 1416–17, assigns to second half of 769. Chen, "Sixiang shi zhong de Du Fu," p. 24, cites instances when Du Fu in the verse of his final years turns his thoughts to or recalls the capital.

Du Fu is close, therefore, to his contemporaries Cen Shen, or the angry and plain-speaking Yuan Jie, in his unwillingness to romanticize the emperor's involvement with Yang Guifei. But there were enormous differences in poetic treatment that marked Du Fu from his friends and fellow verse writers. His elaborate and coherent use of symbols for expressing his outlook was entirely his own. Cen Shen, a staff officer at Chengdu from 766, and from 767 until 768 governor of the Sichuan prefecture of Jiazhou 嘉州, for example, mentions oranges a number of times. But they are not for him a symbol of the recent history of the court; nor do they lead him to express his discomfort over the tribute exactions on the local populations of his Sichuan jurisdiction. Yuan Jie, for two of whose poems expressing sarcastic defiance against rapacious government tax gatherers in remote Daozhou Du Fu expressed keen admiration as late as 767,[263] determinedly grew chrysanthemums at his prefectural headquarters as governor in the years 763–766.[264] But their value for him was straightforwardly moral and medicinal, very different from the self-analytical reflexes that the Double Ninth and its floral emblem inspired in Du Fu.

In the very understatement of his treatment of the emperor Xuanzong's final years, therefore, Du Fu was of his time. The events concerned were too immediate and their consequences too painful for him to treat with the sentimentality that prevailed in later treatments of them. His intense devotion to Xuanzong and his obsession with memories of his brief court service under Suzong, moreover, had no counterpart in the verse of later Tang writers. In this, surely, the dramatic end of Tang court prosperity in 755 played a major part. No later sovereign was able to dominate a verse writer's imagination in the way that Xuanzong dominated Du Fu's. In the post-rebellion decades, the status of the reigning emperor was to decline sharply from the extraordinary peak to which Xuanzong had elevated it. A freer atmosphere permitted treatment of themes that Du Fu would not have entertained. By the 770s, a tradition had already grown up of representing the emperor's remorse at the loss of his consort for its romantic and sentimental interest, of beginning to "count his griefs" in a way that would have been unac-

263 *Yuan Cishan ji* 3, p. 3436, "Chongling xing" 春陵行 and "Zei tui shi guanli" 賊退示官吏; Sun Wang 孫望, *Yuan Cishan nianpu* 元次山年譜 (Shanghai: Gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957), p. 66, dates the poems to 764; and pp. 81–82, Du Fu's appreciation of them to 767; *JJJZDS* 11, pp. 154B–55B, "Tong Yuan shijun Chongling xing" 同元使君春陵行; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 1010, assigns to 767, autumn. The strongest denunciation is in the second poem, "But now these commissioners with the royal mandate are surely worse than the outlaws who invaded. For now these gatherers of taxes, oppress the people as if frying them in fire. Whoever can terminate man's life, is deemed a sage of these our times."

264 *Yuan Cishan ji* 9, p. 136, "Ju pu ji" 菊圃記; Sun Wang, *Yuan Cishan nianpu*, p. 76.

ceptable to any writer in the immediate aftermath of the rebellion. By the early ninth century, the narrative of the emperor Xuanzong's final years had been given lengthy treatment in both prose and verse.[265] Its central theme was the "everlasting remorse" of the emperor himself, and its principal floral emblem was the lotus.

The change that was to permit Bai Juyi and others before him to depict the emperor's grief may also be seen as part of a more comprehensive and complex change that affected the whole intellectual and literary tradition. Expressed simplistically and at its broadest, this change was to permit a writer to treat his own and others' personal experience to a far greater extent than before. In political philosophy, it permitted a writer directly to critique the role of the imperial house itself. It had implications in the history of Confucian thought, permitting a much more introspective analysis of the contemplative experience away from the context provided by Buddhism. In literature, its effects were many: it was central to the development of imaginative fiction, allowing the delineation of private emotion much more fully than hitherto. But Du Fu anticipated this general development in one important respect. Before all this, in part by his skill in manipulating court symbols as he encountered them in the provincial and deprived context of his later years, he had spectacularly broadened the range of experience that might be represented in verse. In his sustained critique of the court, he had indeed "politicized everything and personalized politics."

He remains therefore a writer of his time. Certainly, he mentioned a number of flowers, plants and trees that had never before been mentioned in the verse tradition.[266] But despite his manipulation of their symbolic value, his use of the major flower and fruit symbols is in certain respects limited by the verse conventions of the middle decades of the eighth century. The same longer term trend to a broader range

265 *Bai Juyi ji* 12, pp. 235–240, "Chang hen ge zhuan" 長恨歌傳, by Chen Hong 陳鴻; and "Chang hen ge" 長恨歌, by Bai Juyi. For translation, see Kroll, "Song of Lasting Regret," pp. 97–105.

266 E.g.: i) the Jueming 決明, identified as an autumn flowering vetch or leguminous plant; see *JJJZDS* 1, p. 13A "Qiu yu tan san shou, yi" 秋雨歎三首, 一; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 75, assigns to the Tianbao period; ii) also *JJJZDS* 13, pp. 184A–85B, "Zhong woju" 種萵苣; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 1006, assigns to autumn of 767. Du Fu saw in the seeds of this plant, which after some twenty days had not burst their casings, so that "only wild vegetables showed green," an analogy of the *junzi* who "may obtain an official stipend late in life; and be checked from his advancement." The *woju*, *lactuca sativa* (also called *qian jin cai*) is an annual member of the compositae genus. Zhao idenifies this, p. 1008, n. 12, as the "sweet *wo*," more difficult to germinate than the "bitter *wo*." iii) the *qi* 榿, a fast growing tree used for firewood; see *JJJZDS* 22, p. 366, "Ping He shiyi shaofu Yong mi qi mu zai" 憑何十一 少府邕覓 榿 木栽; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 430, assigns to 760; and *JJJZDS* 21, p. 344, "Tang cheng" 堂成; *Du shih ZCG*, p. 394, assigns to 760; *Tu Fu*, p. 165, Poem CLXV, renders "sallows."

of subject matter in the whole literary tradition affected also precisely the treatment of the flowers and fruit that were so important to his verse. In the floral realm, it allowed the documentation in considerable detail of the spectacular fashion for the *mudan* 牡丹and its herbaceous cousin, the *shao yao* 芍藥 that burst in on the metropolitan and literary world of the second half of the eighth century. This was a fashion that had begun in Du Fu's life time, and that had its court episode, set in the imperial gardens and again involving Yang Guifei, just as the lotus had. But in his extant verse Du Fu never mentions either plant. The same trend was also to allow the cherry to be celebrated increasingly as a flowering tree, rather than a fruit for sacred offering and ritual distribution, or as a fruit with erotic associations. Although Li Bai foreshadowed this trend, again Du Fu treated the cherry only as a fruit for offering and for ritual distribution at court, and did not mention the flowering tree.

Like other great writers whose reputations span centuries, Du Fu is thus to be understood, for all his powers of innovation, as one who wrote at a particular moment in literary history. His commitment to innovate enabled him to build up a corpus of verse distinguished by its "multiplicity,"[267] and this article has explored one theme only in it. Yet that theme, relating as it does to his loyalty, is traditionally a major component in his reputation. His perceived stature as an iconic poet will surely change with time. For the value of loyalty to the ruler or the state, as problematic a value as the modern patriotism with which it is too superficially equated, itself changes in the societies that evaluate their pasts. But moral intensity, exceptionally wide social sympathies, and a commitment to the art of poetry are not combined in any other figure of his period as they are in Du Fu. That unique combination of abilities in the life of a man who experienced the momentous middle decades of the eighth century ensures that the assessment of Chinese tradition will not lightly be set aside.

[267] Owen, *Great Age*, p. 184.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Du shih ZCG	Lin Jizhong 林繼中, ed., *Du shih Zhao Cigong xianhou jie ji jiao* 杜詩趙次公先後解輯校
JJJZDS	*Jiu jia ji zhu Du shi* 九家集注杜詩
JTS	*Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書
Little Primer	David Hawkes, *A Little Primer of Tu Fu*
QTShi	*Quan Tang shi* 全唐詩
THY	*Tang hui yao* 唐會要
TPGJ	*Taiping guang ji* 太平廣記
TPYL	*Taiping yulan* 太平御覽
Tu Fu	William Hung, *Tu Fu: China's Greatest Poet*
WYYH	*Wen yuan ying hua* 文苑英華
XTS	*Xin Tang shu* 新唐書
ZZTJ	*Zi zhi tong jian* 資治通鑑