Reading Tu Fu, Reading Dante

Jeremy Tambling

ABSTRACT

This article makes a comparison between Tu Fu as the most canonical of Chinese classical poets, the one most taken up as a national poet, and Dante, who has the same status in Italian culture. Tu Fu and Dante are both political poets, and both religious, both suffered forms of near-exile, or exclusion, both lived in times which have been seen as the most highly cultured within their countries, so much so that the notion of a "Renaissance" can be applied to the times of both. Yet that said, is there any point in comparing two poets so different in their cultural contexts, and where the similarities might be said to be coincidences only? Can there be any way of reading such different poets without the textual approaches being merely formalistic? The article tries to face this and related problems face-on, and is informed by an approach which tries to historicize, and to read a text with an awareness of a possible cultural and political unconscious. The approach is, of necessity, Western in terms of its training in reading texts, and acknowledges that it can only approach Tu Fu through comparative translation. Nonetheless, it looks first of all at the two poets, giving an introduction to both for the benefit of those who know only one, and comparing Florence with Xi'ian and the European Renaissance with the Tu Fu's T'ang. It suggests some points of contact, and tries to ask what the problems are in reading either poet in terms of their cultural difference not only from each other but from us: we are neither of Dante's Italy nor of Tu Fu's China, and the problem of how to read either text in relation to our own modernity can be usefully addressed by comparing the alterity of one with the alterity of the

other. Comparisons are made between the use of both poets by a later literary tradition to establish a national sense, and a national history. In particular the theme of the exile, the politician who has been displaced and the loss of home and family are compared; the article looks at the role of nostalgia and melancholia in both, and by a sustained reading of Tu Fu's "Autumn Meditation" approaches the question of how the writers look at the issue of loss. At that point, use is made of William Empson's seventh type of ambiguity, which invokes Freud, and the notion that the text might say the opposite of what it seemed to say on the surface, and the question is asked about Dante's reaction to the loss of everything dear to him, as this is discussed in "Paradiso" canto 17, and Tu Fu's ability to deal with emotions. This leads into the question of how both poets regarded the issue of personal subjectivity, whether it was a concept that either of them could understand, and the sense that it is impossible to read a text of a tradition that the present only partly understands leads to a sense of the difficulty of reading in another culture, though indicating that the attempt must be made.

KEY WORDS

Dante
East/West comparative study
nostalgia
poetic ambiguity
European Renaissance
poetry and belief
translation
Tu Fu
politics and poetry
melancholy
Florence and Xi'ian
T'ang dynasty poetry
Italy and China
personal subjectivity

1.

There is a myth associated with nationalism that every nation has its own one special single author, who is usually a poet. In the case of China, that author may be Tu Fu. The critic Stephen Owen says that his "Autumn Meditations," which I discuss last in this paper has "a strong claim to be one of the greatest poems in the Chinese language" (*Great* 214-15). One response to that cultural dominance is exemplified in the diffidence of the translator A.C. Graham towards Tu Fu, commenting that "the mere fact that he is the greatest, the most representative figure of the T'ang [dynasty] tends to make him sound in English like anyone's idea of a Chinese poet" (39). Nothing new or different is to be looked for from him: there is no resistance to the hegemonic sense in which he has been taken, a process of cultural construction which Eva Shan Chou—author of one of the most recent critical studies—traces to the time of the Sung dynasty (1-60). I'll discuss A.C. Graham's translation of Tu Fu's "Autumn Meditations" and show that in practice he cannot believe his own hesitancy, but the stigma remains, as the revenge taken on the writer who seems to be identifiable with the nation's presentation of itself and its language, including its poetic use of language, or usable in that way. In my case, I read Tu Fu completely outside any Chinese cultural tradition, entirely from ignorance, but I want to compare him in specifically local ways with another poet who has been identified with nationalism: Dante, Italy's national author. The balance of attention will incline more towards Tu Fu than Dante. The nationalisms that have promoted these two as icons make the choice of comparing them not an innocent one, but the idea of com-

paring them is itself, I recognise freely, an impossibility, since their texts are dissimilar on virtually every count save that of their importance to the nation.

Not only are both inassimilable to each other, they belong to histories whose difference from the modern can easily be emphasised—if, in the case of Dante, it can be over-emphasised. Reading them with the sense that their history is recuperable in terms of our modernity risks masking their alterity and the point that they belong to different pasts which are not to be related to each other. There are enough landmines buried and implicit in this procedure to stop further progression abruptly, but if a Chinese text is to be put under western eyes, then perhaps one way to avoid covert and unconscious cultural comparisons is to be non-innocent, and to make conscious use of Dante to spell out differences. My justification is increased since I know no Chinese: a point of comparison may help to make points about Tu Fu. Obviously, this account of Tu Fu and Dante is not intended to imply beyond it anything else about what we might understand by saying something is "Chinese" or "Italian," or "European," since it is fed by a scepticism about nationalism and national poets. Nor is it intended to imply anything about West or East, though I should be happy, obviously, if it could show that Dante was Chinese and Tu Fu Italian.

Tu Fu (712-770) and Dante (1265-1321) do have, superficially, some points in common, which I will point out in this first part of the paper, as things that interested me at first in thinking it might be worth trying to put them alongside each other. They were lyric poets in moments which focused on politics in the most direct way. Dante went on in the *Commedia* to become a narrative poet, but his poetry remained inseparable from politics. Both wrote of exile, and both experienced it; indeed it constructs for them both that desire, born out of being placed at the margin, which can be taken up by a later nationalism. It necessitated for both of them wandering, through China or Italy, both countries split by civil war and foreign invasion. To read either Tu Fu or Dante is to encounter topographies—through constant reference to places and especially to the cities from which they were alienated—Tu Fu from Ch'ang-an (Hsi-an) and Dante from Florence. Tu Fu is often

characterised as rural, or agricultural in disposition, but in exile he longs for the urban, and for the capital and the court. And both had lives divided by a caesura. In Tu Fu's case this came at the age of 44, in 755, with the An Lu-shan rebellion, the context of which pervades the majority of over 1400 poems he wrote.

In Tu Fu's case, the rebellion and its aftermath motivated Tu Fu almost wholly. The leader of the rebellion was the outsider, An Lu-shan, who had been born in 703 in Buchara to a Sogdian father and Turkish mother, but had been raised by a Chinese uncle. An Lu-shan first came to the capital in 744, and was appointed prince and son to the emperor. Promoted by the chief minister Li Lin-fu, and promoting himself as a fat buffoon, he was jealous of his successor, Yang Kuo-chung, who was related to the emperor's concubine, Yang Kuei-fei. Tu Fu's "Ballad of Lovely Women" (no. 3 in David Hawkes's anthology)[1] shows the pleasures of luxurious life at the capital, with Yang Kuei-fei and her sisters enjoying themselves at the Spring Festival in 753; as the climax to this poem, Yang Kuo-chung appears as the very image of arbitrary power. An Lu-shan's rebellion, a pre-emptive strike against the ascendancy of Yang Kuo-chung, began from the northeast, with a march on Lo-yang, the eastern capital. The rebels then took the T'ung-kuan Pass on the Yellow River which separated them from Ch'ang-an, and marched on the western capital. The emperor fled with his concubine Yang Kuei-fei and Yang Kuo-chung, the chief minister. Both of these were killed by order of the emperor's soldiers at the post-station of Ma-wei. The emperor fled to Szechwan, while the crown prince went to Ling-wu in the northwest to organize resistance: proclaiming himself emperor, Hsuan-tsung abdicated in his favour.

The mad carnival of violence in Ch'ang-an is vividly recorded by Tu Fu in the poem translated by David Hawkes as "The Unfortunate Prince." But, with the aid of Uighur Turkish cavalry, Ch'ang-an was retaken in the spring of 757. An Lu-shan had already been murdered by his son, An Ch'ing-hsü at the beginning of 757. He in turn was to be killed in 759, by Shih Ssu-ming, who was then killed in April 761. His son Shih Ch'ao-yi, the last of the rebel leaders, fled from Lo-yang at the beginning of 763 and was killed in his turn, with the end of the

nascent "Greater Yen" dynasty. The cost to the T'ang dynasty seems to have been irrecoverable, in terms of loss of prestige and of borders, and of continual border-fighting, referred to in the fourth poem of "Autumn Meditations," as well as by new autonomous regions appearing in China, and the loss of the means of government that had been asserted before.[2] Tu Fu saw the break-up of the China which had seemed united. The country's census records had announced a population of nearly 53 million. In 766, after the rebellion, the census of people who could be accounted for for tax purposes was down to just under 17 million.

In Dante's case, the "caesura" took place in 1302, when he was 37 and was banished from Florence. Dante's Italy was not united; it was a collection of states and towns at war with each other, most famously with the Guelfs and the Ghibellines, who amongst other things represented the opposing interests of the Papacy and the Roman Empire. The Empire had been opposed by the Papacy, using the aid of the French, since the death of the Emperor Frederick the Second in 1250. The Guelfs, triumphant in Florence over the Ghibellines, split into two factions. The Black Guelfs under Corso Donati took possession of the city, massacring Whites, and exiling Dante who was then absent from Florence. Dante's poetry longs for a non-divided Italy, and rather than aligning himself with the Ghibellines, who, like him, supported the Empire, he made a party of himself (*Paradiso* XVII: 69).

The humiliation implied in this caesura was never escaped from, as the *Commedia* suggests. Banishment is hinted at throughout the *Commedia* which was written sometime after 1302, and up to the time of Dante's death, but was in 1300, before the exile. Near the end of *Paradiso* the full revelation boils over in the text, after warnings and threats throughout, when Dante's ancestor Cacciaguida, who remembers the old-style Florence, secure within walls, tells him from the vantage-point of the heaven of Mars, what will happen to him two years later. In reality, it is Dante speaking to Dante:

> You will leave everything delighted in most dearly, and this is that arrow that the bow of exile will shoot first. You will prove how the bread of another tastes salty, and how it is a

> hard path to ascend and descend by the stairs of another. And that which will most bow down the shoulders will be the evil and senseless company with which you will fall in that valley . . .
>
> Tu lascerai ogne cosa diletta
> più caramente; e questo è quello strale
> che l'arco de lo essilio pria saetta.
> Tu proverai sì come sa di sale
> lo pane altrui, e come è duro calle
> lo scendere e 'l salir per l'altrui scale.
> E quel che più ti graverà le spalle
> sarà la compagnia malvagia e scempia
> con la qual tu cadrai in questa valle. (*Paradiso* XVII: 55-60)[3]

The lines, with their disdain are famous, and they have made Dante an allegorical figure of poetry and the poet as excluded and marginal and solitary. But the catastrophe that came was not national, as in the case of the An Lu-shan rebellion, but personal, though Dante interpreted it nationally. The effect is that Dante's poetry is always looking for and expecting and hoping for a future catastrophe, which will affect Florence—whose fall he dreams about, as appears from *Inferno* XXVI: 7-9, and the Papacy. The poetry, which treats Florence as an abandoned lover turning on the city as a sick and disgraced woman (*Purgatorio* VI: 127-51) is characterised by desire, so that the prophetic and the erotic become identical. While Tu Fu's poetry is highly self-referential,[4] so is Dante's, re-writing his life as a way of creating the future, and taking his own fall and journey through hell as prefiguring what Florence, and Italy must do and in some sense doing it for them.

Tu Fu's China was that of the T'ang (618-907), its capital being Ch'ang-an, which had been the Han capital before it. Ch'ang-an and Florence were both walled cities: Ch'ang-an, which enclosed 30 square miles, was as planned as a chessboard, and comprised nearly a million people, much larger than Dante's Florence, whose then population has been estimated at 40,000 (Singleton 271). Both poets then stand out-

side their city walls, which are symbols of paranoia masquerading as security, and emblematic of aggression, ready for the art of war, which the chessboard also implies.[5] The exposure this standing outside implies, which is mixed with desire for what is on the other side of the wall, motivates the poetry of both. Tu Fu was born the same year the emperor Hsuan-tsung came to power, in 712, and unlike Dante, when the rebellion came, he had not attained the preferment he wanted. He had received a small appointment, but he had had to lodge his wife and children north of the capital at Feng-hsien, and then, after the rebellion had broken out, had taken them further north to Fu-chou, two hundred miles from Ch'ang-an. It is a difference between the two that Dante, unlike Tu Fu never mentions his wife, though the *Commedia*, like the *Vita Nuova*, is structured round the ideal figure of Beatrice—even more ideal since she is a figure who has died. Tu Fu lost his position when the rebellion occurred, and though when Ch'ang-an was retaken by the new emperor, Su-tsung, he became Remembrancer in the Imperial Chancery, he was demoted from that in 758 and sent to Hua-chou, in a removal from the capital, to which he never returned. He disavows any criticism of the emperor: there is no suggestion that his sentence has been unjust, in which he is radically unlike Dante. Part of the later praise of Tu Fu came in the Sung dynasty, with Su Shih (1037-1101) saying of him:

> Since ancient times there have been a great many poets, but Tu Fu alone is preeminent among them. Is this not because all through his wanderings, through poverty and hunger, despite his unsatsified desire to serve the state, through all his vicissitudes, he never for the space of a meal forgot his sovereign? (qtd. in Chou 23)

Chou also quotes the view that though Tu Fu "loved to discuss affairs of state; he was idealistic and impractical" (Chou 17). But Tu Fu's life, as illustrated by his poetry, could be made into a national allegory, giving a kind of essential history, so that in the Sung dynasty, he could be called a "poet-historian" (qtd. in Chou 37), identifying with

peasant life, with conscripts and the deserted. In the same way, Dante identifies with "umile Italia" —humble Italy for whom, as Virgil says to him, "the virgin Camilla and Euryalus, Turnus and Nisus died of their wounds" (*Inf.* I: 106-8). These four dead people are names taken from Virgil's *Aeneid*, two names for each side in the conflict between the armies of Aeneas and those of Turnus: a war to possess that Italy.

2.

As Dante makes the dead Virgil to whom he gives life in his poem elegise these four figures who died of wounds, so he makes Virgil refer back to his own *Aeneid*. There is a double layering in Dante's text; present-day Italy replays older civil wars, and the past prefigures the present. The *Aeneid* too had looked back to mythical wars to comment on the then contemporary civil wars raging in Italy whose result would give Octavius victory and make him the Emperor. These Italian wars took place at the time of the Han dynasty in China, which, prepared for by the previous Ch'in (221-206 BC), ran from 206 BC to 220 AD, ranking as China's period of longest and most powerful rule. Tu Fu from his position in the T'ang dynasty looks back to the Han period, so that both Dante and Tu Fu recall a previous form of government which they see as having been lost, Dante even bringing back Virgil into the *Commedia* as the spokesman for that Roman polity.

In his wanderings, Tu Fu came to Ch'eng-tu in Szechwan, and wrote the eight-line regulated verse poem which Hawkes dates to 760. Called "Shu-hsiang" ("The Chancellor of Shu") it memorialises the statesman Chu-ko Liang (181-234) who lived to see the breakup of the Han dynasty and its replacement by the Three Kingdoms (220-280). I give first a free verse translation of this text:

"His Excellency's shrine, where would it be found?"
"Past Damask Town, where cypresses grow dense."
Its sunlit court, gem-bright greens—a spring unto them-
selves.
Leaf-veiled, the orioles—sweet notes to empty air.

Thrice to him Liu Bei sued, keen to rule the realm:
Two reigns Kongming served—steady old heart—
To die, his host afield, the victory herald yet to come—
Weep, O heroes! Drench your fronts now and evermore.

The present-day (T'ang) questioner, who wants to find Chu-ko Liang's shrine is directed outside the walled City of the Brocade Officer (i.e. Ch'eng-tu) to the cypresses, supposedly planted by him. The third and fourth lines, which Hawkes renders literally,

Shining on steps emerald green by itself spring colour
Screened by leaves yellow orioles in vain lovely sound.

suggest desolation: the grass grows on the steps, and the yellow bird sings "emptily" because no-one hears. Lines 5 and 6 return from present to past, narrating the life of the Chancellor, when Liu Pei, the founder of the kingdom of Shu, came to visit, to solicit his aid, and was responded to by Chu-ko Liang's loyal service to him and his son:

Three visits insisting troubling whole world plan
Two reigns founding aiding old servant heart

Hawkes says the balance works by an implicit "equals" which English needs for the sense:

Three visits insisting troubling *equals* whole world plan
Two reigns founding aiding *equals* old servant heart.

The lines imply a chiasmus, a crossover from the servility of the ruler to the service of the servant; to the world plan which issued in two reigns. In the last two lines, the not yet victorious body is that which leads out the army. Hawkes translates:

Lead out army not yet victorious body first die

there is blurring and clarity, wet and dry ("cold"), black ("hair") and white (jade arms, moonlight) in parallel; they are metonymic details to evoke the wife: she is a succession of images where the mist and the hair are not quite distinguished for the air is a mist and the hair a cloud, and, in a chiasmus, the hair fragrant and the mist wet. Or hair and mist are united, both being damp, for this brings things together by eroding boundaries while coldness keeps things separate. The last two lines

> What time lean at the empty curtain
> Double shine tear marks dry

suggest the power of the moon in a reversal shining on the two in Ch'ang-an, in the walled city: it shines so as to make the curtain empty—diaphanous—it dries the tears, as though it were the sun and warm; it doubles its power, as the two will be double, as at the moment only one is looking. In finishing with the tear-marks, there is the idea of the resolution of sorrow; but that resolution is deferred in the poem's failure to close, which is like the poem's failure to name.

The metonymy, also present in "The Chancellor of Shu" gives attention to things and places, which implicitly personifies them.[7] But personification is not apostrophe. There is no speaking to the absent wife. Dante's text is structured on the principle of apostrophe—the principle of addressing some (inanimate) force which is responded to by prosopopoeia, where the thing speaks back. Jonathan Culler, in an essay on apostrophe whose examples are taken from European romanticism, contends that there is a justification in "seeking to identify apostrophe with lyric itself" and says that the function of apostrophe is "to make the objects of the universe potentially responsive forces: forces which can be asked to act or refrain from acting, or even to continue behaving as they usually behave. The apostrophizing poet identifies his universe as a world of sentient forces" (Culler 60-61). In contrast, Francois Cheng, in his chapter on Chinese lyric poetry called "The Passive Procedures," refers to various structural features in Chinese poetry: ellipsis of pronouns and of prepositions and words of comparison and of verbs as a means of creating an "emptiness, a void, between

the words" (Cheng 38).[8] The Chinese text looks like the antithesis of the unified walled city. Subjects disappear and the Chinese text recalls the materiality of the signifier, rather than leading towards idealisation, as the shrine of the Chancellor memorialises death.

There is no apostrophe in Tu Fu's mountain poem "Wang Yue." The obvious contrast would be with the apostrophe that the "I" in Shelley speaks in his poem "Mont Blanc." The Chinese text builds up rather by accumulating metonymic perceptions of the mountain, whose implicit point is the impossibility of grasping a whole perception:

> And what is T'ai Mountain like?
> Over Ch'i and Lu a green unceasing.
> Here Creation concentrated unearthly glory,
> Dark north slopes, the sunlit south divide dusk and dawn.
> Sweeping past breast growing layered cloud,
> Eye pupils split, moving in with homing birds.
> The time will come when I pass up to its very summit,
> And see in one encompassing vision how tiny all other mountains are.
>
> (Owen, *Great* 187)[9]

The text suggests that there is no means of entering into dialogue; comparison, it is implied in the first line, seems to fail, and the last line, which quotes Mencius, "On climbing T'ai Shan, [Confucius] considered the subcelestial realm to dwindle"[10] implies that the mountain would conclude any dialogue, or sense of relativity. The mountain's difference is asserted; no adequate representation of it is possible. Division occurs between the perceiver and what can be known, the mountain, which does not change at all in response to any description.

A reference back to Dante suggests a difference. Dante's *Commedia* also begins with a mountain. After his banishment in 1302, Dante turned to re-writing his life before the period of exile, and the *Inferno* begins when he casts himself as a traveller who wakes to find himself in a dark wood, who escapes and begins to climb out of a valley towards the summit, whose "shoulders [were] already clad in the rays

of the planet that leads men aright by every path" (*Inf.* I: 17-8). He is turned back from this by three beasts, a lion, a leopard and a wolf, and is forced back towards the depths. A figure who appears to him, who defines himself as the dead Virgil, asks:

> But you, why do you return to such grief? Why do you not climb the delighful mountain which is the source and the reason of all joy?
>
> Ma tu perché ritorni a tanta noia?
> perché non sli il dilettoso monte
> ch'è principio e cagion di tutta gioia? (*Inf.* I: 76-78)

Dante's mountain is not described for it is immediately allegorical, like the sun whose rays shine on it, and it expresses several dualisms; the mountain in contrast to the base part below, whose meaning is defined by Virgil as "grief," while the animals who impede the traveller as he tries to ascend it, are also figurative (of sins, of political forces, for example, Florence, France and the Papacy). There is no use for the mountain in a non-ideal sense. It is not described because it must yield to being used by the poetry in a process of allegory, which disposes of everything around of the objective world. Allegory segments reality—as metonymy does—by reducing things to one aspect only which is to be used in description, but whereas metonymy cannot suggest a whole, allegory seems to claim that it can take everything together under one particular sign.

Tu Fu's text tries to hold together metonymic details. It is an "azure (Kroll) or blue green (Friederich)"[11]—both a colour and something metaphorical (implying growth) dominating two states; it is in constant change, since its third line refers to "Creation" which one translator, David Hinton, annotates as "literally create change (tsao-hua), an ongoing process: a kind of deified principle" (Hinton 133). Kroll translates the line "In it the Shaping Mutator concentrated the flourishing of divinity." To know the mountain is impossible because its northern face is that of dusk (the Yin), its southern face dawn (Yang): descrip-

tion is not visual since both slopes cannot be seen at once, and to describe part of it would leave the other part in shadow. Here the mountain is not so much the thing in itself as that which separates, like a knife, cutting dawn from dusk. In the fifth and sixth lines, the loss of a single position for the gazer becomes apparent. Hawkes translates:

> Heaving breast are born layered clouds
> Bursting eye sockets enter returning birds.

Perhaps from the ground the eyes strain to see the birds coming in high up, to the imagined possibility of gazing from the summit (gazing at the mountain produces the imagination of gazing from it). This is Tu Fu's ambiguity; the breast may be the viewer's or the climber's, or may personify the mountain. The birds may return to the mountain, or to the eyes, which are bursting in the strain to possess the vision of them, or perhaps the bursting eye sockets make the returning birds enter them, as though recalling the birds. The eyes may be the viewer's, or even the mountain's. Kroll, who translates "A heaving breast—giving rise to cumulous clouds; / Bursting eye-sockets—giving entrance to homing birds" explains, "We may recall here that a standard property of mountains in the traditional Chinese view is that they 'engender' or 'give rise to' clouds. . . . [I]n line six . . . one must allow the mountains imagined caverns or grottoes to be 'eye-sockets' into which, when seen from a distant perspective, birds seem to enter" (Kroll 182).

There seems to be two points to this ambiguity. Firstly, Chinese syntax, being "weaker" than English, as Kao Yu-Kung and Mei Tsu-lin show, gives, on account of the fewer grammatical constraints "ambiguity" as the "norm, instead of the exception" (Kao and Mei 91) in poetry, so there is no clear answer as to what is the subject in these lines. But secondly, there is no room for a single subject here, no place for a single perception, where even the mountain has two faces—one facing dusk, one facing dawn. If it was given a subject-position by personification, it would have two subject positions. Features of Chinese syntax, which do not seem to produce a single subject, and the impossibility of comprehending the mountain come together.

In the light of that, the difference from Dante becomes acute. Virgil's words to him which I have quoted, beginning "Ma tu . . ."—are noticeable in that they individuate Dante. Having spoken about himself, Virgil turns to the modern poet, "But you . . ." and makes it clear how the subject is individual. Further, his question is not innocent. He is not asking for information; his question is analogous to "Why do you always make yourself so unhappy?" As a question about motivation, imputing unseen motivations to be the driving force behind the subject, or pointing to a blockage within the subject, it constructs subjectivity in a way that the absence of dialogue in Tu Fu could not permit.

3.

Referring to "ambiguity" in Tu Fu in the criticism of Mei Tsu-lin and Kao Yu-tung evokes William Empson, and *Seven Types of Ambiguity* (1930)—as these critics acknowledge in their essay on Tu Fu's group of poems "Autumn Meditations." In the essay they use the translation of A.C. Graham, who calls himself a "post-Empson" critic (Mei and Kao 44).[12] In this section, discussing "Autumn Meditations," I shall focus on the implications of ambiguity. I shall begin with some preliminary comments on the poem, in terms of "close reading," and then I shall step back to look at some of the theoretical implications of that, before returning to the text.

"Autumn Meditations" has 64 lines, comprising eight poems in septasyllabic (i.e. seven-character) regulated verse, and half way between lyric (no progression) and narrative. This group of poems were written in 766, in K'uei-chou, four years before his death, in a further exile from home, not now in Ch'eng-tu but further south. Graham translates the first verse:

> Gems of dew wilt and wound the maple trees in the wood:
> From Wu mountains, from Wu gorges, the air blows desolate.
> The waves between the river banks merge in the seething sky,

Clouds in the wind above the passes touch their shadows on
the ground.
Clustered chrysanthemums have opened twice, in tears of
other days:
The forlorn boat, once and for all, tethers my homeward
thoughts.
In the houses quilted clothes speed scissors and ruler.
The washing blocks pound, faster each evening, in Pai Ti
high on the hill.

The group of poems begins with sundown, and each verse inscribes autumn in it both openly and as if secretly; thus the time of year is included in the jade-white dews because "they have nearly turned to killing frost" (McGraw 204). The dew also suggests tears; unattributably, the scene is inscribed by mourning and hollowness, as the mountain leads down to the gorge, where no people are to be found, and as the third line suggests, there is no room for people because the waves and the sky seem to join. The third and fourth lines are in antithesis; waves seem to reach the sky, clouds seem to be shadowed on the ground. Graham illustrates the complexity of the fifth and sixth lines, the most concentrated in the stanza, in his Introduction. He translates the lines literally:

Cluster chrysanthemum two open / other day tear
Lonely boat one (wholly) tie / former garden heart.

He writes that the syntax of the two parts of each line is plain and reinforced by the grammatical parallelism of the lines; yet one is left suspended between two possibilities, that the sentences end at the caesura [marked /] or that they continue to the end of the line:

The clustered chrysanthemums have twice opened. Another
day's tears.
The lonely boat is tied once and for all. Thoughts of my

former garden.

or

The clustered chrysanthemums have twice released another
day's tears,
The lonely boat wholly ties the thoughts of my former garden.

Glossing this: two autumns have passed, hence "twice opened." "Clustered" is in antithesis to "lonely" and "twice" in antithesis with "once and for all." The tears may be for other past days, or they may be for the future. The barrenness of the future appears in the single boat which tethers homeward thoughts. The boat is tethered, but it suggests that his thoughts are not set at liberty, they represent his sense of imprisonment in exile; or the boat which is tethered ties his thoughts down to the idea of home. The boat is single, lonely, which makes it the emblem of himself and his thoughts. In line five, the flowers have opened, which is a double act, because not only have they been released, but so have tears. On Graham's second reading, which Tsu-Lin Mei and Yu-Kung Kao accept (Mei and Kao 54), the chrysanthemums have twice opened tears, i.e. literally speaking, dew, but in effect, they have produced tears (the line is thus similar to the first). In antithesis to this repetition, the boat is tied, which suggests that there can be no release of emotions as the "tears" might otherwise suggest. Repetition is followed by stasis, where something has happened once for all. The two lines suggest an opening and closing together, an act which might have led to something but which did not. The last two lines suggest the onset of winter and the busyness of people who are distanced by this activity from the poet. But they are also driven by autumn: as Owen suggests in his translation of the last line, "walls of White Emperor castle high / pounding blocks urgent in dusk." "On a hill to the east of Kuei-chou stood White Emperor Castle, built in the Han by the Sichuanese separatist Gong-sun Shu, and named after the God of the West, who is also the god of autumn" (Owen, *Anthology* 433-34). The subjectivity of the

people is constructed through their activities through something else.

Now, the critical move that finds ambiguity so important and useful in discussing this poem is associated with modernism, and the aspect of it which stressed the autonomy of the work of art, its difference and separation from outside reality, so that poetry could be discussed in isolation through close readings. In the writings of the American New Critics, the poem, as a thing in itself does not need anything extraneous to understand it; it is a structure on its own, balanced, ironic, paradoxical. Doublenesses of meaning in Tu Fu, already noticed in "Autumn Meditations," have pushed commentators towards Empsonian notions of ambiguity, but this is not at all a simplifying move. Empson's first six types of ambiguity help in the construction of the neat and complete text which can be made an object of New Criticism. In the seventh type of ambiguity, however, Empson gives less comfort to New Criticism for he draws on Freud's essay on the antithetical value of primal words, whereby words mean what they do *and* the opposite, and also on the principle of "condensation," Freud's word for the notion that contradictory images come together in the dream. Empson suggests that in the seventh type of ambiguity there is "a fundamental division in the poet's mind," that the writer "satisfies two opposite impulses" (Empson 225, 230). Whereas the first six types allow for a more perfect artefact, in the seventh, the other possibility emerges: the poem may, like the dream, express contradictory insights that cannot be fused into one. This has led to talk of Empson as a deconstructionist *avant la lettre*. Rather than the text using antithesis and doubleness to build towards a whole, it is marked by difference that does not permit a total meaning. It reveals that the poem is better thought of as a text—plural, not complete despite its craftsmanship and appearance of control.

Some of Empson's examples in *Seven Types of Ambiguity* come from T.S. Eliot (100-03) but interestingly, Eliot who admired Dante more than any other poets, does not find Dante marked out by ambiguity at all. He argues instead for Dante's "lucidity of style"[13] which he says makes him easier for a foreigner to read than Shakespeare. "Dante's attempt is to make us see what he saw. He therefore employs very simple language, and very few metaphors, for allegory and meta-

phor do not get on well together" (243). Similarly, "The purpose of this type of simile is solely to make us *see more clearly* the scene which Dante has put before us in the preceding lines" (244).

In contrast to Shakespeare, whom Empson also uses frequently for examples of ambiguity, anid whose aim is to add to what the reader sees, "the whole poem of Dante is, if you like, one vast metaphor; there is hardly any place for metaphor in the detail of it" (244).

Eliot's words have their own agenda, for he wishes to argue for Dante's lucidity in order to claim Dante as a philosopher, and so he wishes to put no linguistic difference between his vision and Dante's. He wants to cancel out differences between his and Dante's perception. It is possible that this blinds him to Dantean ambiguity where it exists; but his negative assessment is also suggestive, and it leads to this comparison. Tu Fu's lyricism relies on a difficult structure where, because of the weak syntax (the poem as paratactic), words go in different directions at once, whereas Dante's ambiguity does not principally reside in a punning use of language, except where characters in *Inferno* protect themselves by what they say and do not say in language. Their ambiguity is only partially made more simple by the text; in other words, ambiguity structures reactions to characters that Dante meets. I will give one example from *Inferno*, from a suicide, Pier delle Vigne, encountered in *Inferno* XIII. This figure is found in a woods in Inferno, for his body, like those of other suicides, has been turned into a gnarled and contorted tree. Pier delle Vigne, whose very name suggests the tree (the vineyard), was a minor poet, and a diplomat. He had been the favoured counsellor at the court of the Sicilian King (and, technically, the Roman Emperor) Frederick the Second in the period parallel to the Southern Sung dynasty. Frederick, it will be recalled, was the last Emperor. Pier delle Vigne fell when—as he tells Dante—he was accused by others of having intrigued against his master. He killed himself in prison, in 1249. In hell he tells Dante how envy inflamed all spirits against him, and they inflamed, did so inflame Augustus [Caesar, i.e. Frederick, the Emperor] that

> my glad honours were changed into sad woes. My mind, of

disdainful cast, believing through death to escape disdain,
made me unjust against my just self. (*Inf.* XIII: 67-72)

infiammo contra me li animi tutti
e li 'infiammati infiammi sì Augusto,
che 'lieti onor tornaro in tristi lutti.
L'animo mio, per disdegnoso gusto,
credendo col morir fuggir disdegno,
ingiusto fece me contra me giusto.[14]

The Italian conveys a gnarled and spiky difficulty in the three times repeated "infiammo" the twice repeated "disdegno" (scorn), the punning on "ingiusto" and "giusto" and the triple rhyming of "Augusto," "gusto," "giusto" and the double antithesis of glad honours and sad woes, and above all, the antithesis of the last line—"me contra me"—me against me. This is also a chiasmus, for "ingiusto" compares with "giusto," and "fece me" with "contra me." The action described in the last line—he was unjust against himself by killing himself—is separated as much as it can be from the subject of the sentence "L'animo mio." The effect is that as far as possible he separates himself from responsibility for his actions (it is all the result of the power of the envy of others). Further, Pier delle Vigne doubles himself with the words "me contra me" so that he installs ambiguity into his very being. A highly precise syntax produces a total complex structure, analogous to the thick and wild wood of trees that Dante moves amongst.

Pier delle Vigne is marked by scorn, or disdain, and he says that he scorned to be scorned in prison—hence he killed himself. His scorn takes the form of not quite saying what he did: he relies on ambiguity, or circumlocution. Ambiguity thus becomes a mode of self-protection, where the injustice (in Christian terms), of suicide is also reconciled through the combination of opposite words, with his sense of justice. As a quasi-exile, he is a figure for Dante: something of Dante's "disdegno" finds expression here. It becomes an open question whether the ambiguity of his utterances validates him or whether it is there to be

pulled apart. In the balancing of "ingiusto" and "giusto," which is he? Unjust or just? If he is indeed "giusto," that threatens the values of Dante's hell, and makes those values themselves ambiguous. This in turn fills Dante's text with ambiguity.

But this suggests that ambiguity may be a mode of concealment, a way of speaking when plain speech is politically impossible, or where it is the only form of resistance, or indeed attack. The exile—Pier delle Vigne, Dante, even perhaps Tu Fu—avows love to his country, or his master. Out of such stated loyalties, national poets are created. Pier delle Vigne goes on to say unambiguously: "By the new roots of this tree, I swear to you that I never broke faith with my lord, who was so worthy of honour" (XIII: 73-75). So the melancholic suicide—proved a melancholic by his suicide—disavows any reproach of his Emperor, who believed lying rumours rather than him. But to put the point like that emphasizes the doubleness: Pier delle Vigne's words *could* be seen as ambiguous, in that the line about honour could be ironical.

Going from this to "Autumn Meditations" implies that it might be better to read ambiguity not as soldering together elements into a totally integrated poem, but as showing elements of hostility or difference or contradiction which cannot be worked through but must exist side by side. Perhaps impotence is the key: the line describing the craft on the river:

> The forlorn boat, once and for all, tethers my homeward thoughts.

Where it is the boat that is tethered, and his thoughts, actually, are free—makes it a potential agent of escape, or of personal effort, and so actually like the poem itself. The boat image returns in the fourth line of the second stanza, which incidentally is signed in relation to the title since it refers to the period of autumn:

> Useless my mission adrift on the raft which came by this eighth month.[15]

Being adrift or tethered makes no difference: attention is still drawn to the uselessness the boat suggests. Or in the third stanza:

> Two nights gone the fisher-boats once more come bobbing
> on the waves,
> Belated swallows in cooling autumn still flit to and fro.

The boats have returned, so that there is no breaking out of a cycle, no journey; the swallows flying just above the boats in the river, and their analogue should have gone south but still fly as though in a circle. Again, there is the pointed pairing in the couplet of the boat, as an emblem of the poetry, and the autumn.

The alignment seems significant. "Autumn meditations" as a title belonging to a genre (see Chen) imposes a mood on the poetry, which is confirmed by several images—tears, dew, loneliness. The subjectivity is formed by something imposed upon it: the melancholia is constructed. Rather than saying that the poem moves to create the mood through various subtle forms, the mood is seen to be set up, as though it is given in quotation-marks. This imposes another form of ambiguity on the text, where it both says what it does, and implies that it is also a way of writing.

It was said earlier that Tu Fu "disavows any criticism of the emperor" but the verb seems important in the Freudian sense of disavowal: though no criticism is uttered, criticism is being made all the same, and the poetry is associated with a sense of injury. Here it is worth citing Freud's discussion of what is going on in melancholia:

> If one listens patiently to a melancholic's many and various self-accusations, one cannot in the end avoid the impression that often the most violent of them are hardly at all applicable to the patient himself, but that with insignificant modifications they do fit someone else, someone whom the patient loves or has loved or should love. (Freud 256-57)

If this comment of Freud's is taken even only as a suggestion rather

than as defining commanding states within two earlier and different cultures, it may be thought that Dante's poetry finds strategies for coping with the shattering of hopes caused by exile, and for wounded narcissism through ambiguity, and through making history speak differently. That seems to be exemplified in the case of Pier delle Vigne. In the case of Tu Fu, the past is less re-articulated, and this has to do with the lack of dialogue (like the lack of apostrophe). Injustice in relation to the subject is not brought out, when in Freud's terms this would suggest that emotions are left to become melancholic and self-reproachful. "Autumn Meditations" would then be read differently, as the embodiment of conflictual subject-positions. Though in the second verse, the poet describes how he turns every night towards the Northern Dipper and so relates himself to the capital, Ch'ang-an, the text registers that there is nothing there. Not just because it has been destroyed: there never was anything there. Just as the fisher-boats come back in the third stanza—have they been anywhere? The implicit question becomes apparent in the fourth stanza, which looks across the distance to Ch'ang-an:

> Well said Ch'ang-an looks like a chess-board:
> A hundred years of the saddest news.
> The mansions of princes and nobles all have new lords:
> Another breed is capped and robed for office.
> Due north on the mountain passes the gongs and drums shake,
> To the chariots and horses campaigning in the west the winged dispatches hasten.
> While the fish and the dragons fall asleep and the autumn river turns cold
> My native country, untroubled times, are always in my thoughts.

McGraw translates the first line, "I've heard it said." The dialogism turns the speaker into an historian, and depersonalises the issues: the city, whose construction prepares for war, is a chessboard so that

everything that happens is a game going on for a hundred years, and wars to north and west are interminable. In contrast to that kind of sober realism comes the autumn mood again, and it may be seen that this is a different kind of text, for it is apparent that the notion of home (native country) and of untroubled times does not fit with the reality already described. There is no history of peace to be recovered, only a hundred years of the saddest news.

A peaceful Ch'ang-an could only be fictionalized, and the next two stanzas superimpose on the city the fictionalizings of the Han dynasty.[16] "T'ang palaces were often called by Han names" (Owen), so a palace tower in T'ang Ch'ang-an is called P'eng-lai, a Han name for a tower, "named after the island in the Western Ocean inhabited by the gods." The next line, "Dew collects on the bronze stems out of the Misty River," alludes to bronze columns in Ch'ang-an erected by the Han Emperor Wu to catch dew from which an elixir of mortality could be made. The dew compares with the wounding dew of the opening stanza. The third line, speaking of the descent of the Queen Mother evokes sexual plenitude, the romance between Wu and the goddess, the Queen Mother of the West. The fourth line, "Approaching from the east the purple haze fills the Han-ku pass" speaks of the mystic, rapturous departure from China of Lao Tzu, seen as a purple vapour. These are glimpses of pure presence, whose existence is only textual fantasy:

> The clouds roll back, the pheasant-tail screens open before
> the throne:
> Scales ringed by the sun on dragon robes! I have seen the
> majestic face.
> I lay down once by the long river, wake left behind by the
> years,
> Who so many times answered the roll of court by the blue
> chain-patterned door. (5: 5-8)

The last couplet lets nothing be said about what he has seen of the Emperor's face: it turns into an evening dream of missing a dawn ceremonial; he has an autumnal sense of being left behind—useless—

whereas earlier he was beforehand. Was the dream that of waiting to be received in the place of honour? The majestic face is the heart of the text, yet to refer to it is to convey ambiguously a criticism.

The sixth stanza gives an implicit narrative of how Ch'ang-an became desolate in the rebellion:

> From the mouth of Ch'ut-t'ang gorges here, to the side of Crooked River there,
> For ten thousand miles of mist in the wind the touch of pallid autumn.
> Through the walled passage from Calyx Hall the royal splendour coursed,
> To Hibiscus Park the griefs of the frontier came.
> Pearl blinds and embellished pillars closed in the yellow cranes,
> Embroidered cables and white masts startled the white seagulls.
> Look back and pity the singing, dancing land!
> Ch'in from most ancient times was the seat of princes.

Here the stress is on the artifice in the architecture of Ch'ang-an, still a city penetrated by war: its artifical waterway, its loci such as Calyx Hall and Hibiscus Park, connected by a private walled passageway, the decorativeness of the curtains and pillars which framed the cranes in the park, or the artificial boats of the court which might have made the gulls think them as real. Displacement of people by architectural space and by decoration produces desolation:

> K'un-ming Pool was the Han time's monument,
> The banners of the Emperor Wu are here before my eyes.
> Vega [the Weaving Maiden] threads her loom in vain by night under the moon,
> And the great stone fish's plated scales veer in the autumn wind.

The waves toss a zizania seed, over sunken clouds as black:
Dew on the calyx chills the lotus, red with dropped pollen.
Over the pass, all the way to the sky, a road for none but the birds.
On rivers and lakes, to the ends of the earth, one old fisherman.

The pleasure-rivers and boats of the T'ang are compared with the lake the Emperor Wu built to train a navy: a figuring of the useless boat. There are banners but no people, as the third and fourth lines emphasize monuments: statues only. Vega and the stone fish, which still has plated fins that move, bring in sexual difference as an element which was fetishised, monumentalized, by the T'ang court, in repetition of the sexuality of the Han court. So Vega threads her loom as the embodiment of lack, or loss, and the fish suggests phallic power that is mechanized and pointless—impotent—and the mercy of desolating autumn winds. The absence of people returns to the point made in relation to the fourth stanza. The folly of looking back to Ch'ang-an is made clear in the absence of anything but artificial landscapes filled with statues which cannot relate—as Vega and the stone fish can have no relationship.[17] The imagery has gradually dehumanized itself, from the chessboard to the artificial palaces and navies which attracted real cranes and real gulls, to the two statues. The banners of the Emperor Wu, which should proclaim the importance of imperial phallic power are only empty warnings, empty because the crisis took place long before the rebellion, in the *folie de gloire* that sets up such architecture.

The last four lines of "Autumn Meditations" superimpose, montage-like, the present waters where Tu Fu is onto the waters of the pool. Waves and dew and birds repeat themselves from earlier parts, and the fisherman stands in contrast to the stone fish. These last lines of the stanza may even seem less desolate than what has gone before. The text has entered into dialogue with what it respected of the past, and in the process, the past and the power of the majestic face has seemed much less. Nonetheless, impotence remains a key for the last stanza:

Beautiful girls gathered kingfisher feathers for spring gifts:
Together in the boat, a troop of immortals, we set forth again in the evening . . . .
This brush of many colours once forced the elements.
Chanting, peering into the distance, in anguish my white head droops.

The time of all this seems unattributable. Spring and autumn (the evening) are put in antithesis, in lines suggestive of sexual difference; but that has gone, the boat is referred to positively but poignantly, and the coloured brush, equivalent to poetic talent, has gone.[18] The poet has only one colour now—whiteness—and he says his head droops. But declaration of impotence here, after these lyrics, has become self-stylization, which means that the beginning of the text and its end have nothing in common with each other though superficially they seem the same. What began naively as an expression of loss and of bitterness that could not utter its source has found a different location for its melancholia. Perhaps Tu Fu has answered the spirit of Virgil's question to Dante, "Why do you always make yourself so unhappy?" The loss of the brush is a loss of power whose sources cannot be attributed, but if this poem has been done in black and white, like the chessboard, obviously lack of power can be construed in very positive ways.

Returning for help in this to the example of Dante, in reading *Inferno* XIII, it makes some difference, though it is impossible to be simple about what the difference is, that the Emperor Frederick the Second, whom Pier delle Vigne was supposed to have offended, and who had him imprisoned, has been referred to earlier on, as already in hell (*Inf.* X: 119). He is not seen, just alluded to. Imperial power is placed under the sign of erasure; Dante's text modifies every position that could be taken up, pro-empire and contra-empire. Could Pier delle Vigne have spoken so positively of Frederick if he knew where he was placed? Does Pier delle Vigne's declaration of loyalty not also read as a declaration of hatred? "Autumn Meditations" raises the same kind of question about love for authority and the nation in that it allows for the perception that the mood which looks as if it is constant throughout is

not so, but has subtly been relocated, through an exorcism of some of the commanding aspects of imperial patriarchal power. Perhaps the two nationalist poets have this in common. Their love for their country and its rule, which seems so usable by nationalism, and by those who want a poet to speak for a national language, is actually a hatred of such absolutes. If Tu Fu's state is the same at the end of "Autumn Meditations" as the beginning, that is another definition of ambiguity: the words say the same, but what motivates them is not.

NOTES

[1] I have made use of the compilation of Tu Fu made by David Hawkes, supplementing Hawkes with A.C. Graham for "Autumn Meditations." Many commentators on Tu Fu give incidental translations of his poems, and I have also depended on these, my policy being not to discuss a poem unless I have at least two translations that I could draw on, hoping in this way to eke out my ignorance of Chinese (I am still hobbled, however, in not being able to make any comment on the sound of the poetry in Chinese). Not having Chinese, I have not given Chinese characters. I have used the Wade-Giles transliterations, but where I have used quotations from other Western writers, Pinyin has sometimes appeared, and I have not corrected this to Wade-Giles: readers must bear with some inconsistency.

[2] On the An Lu-shan rebellion, see Twitchett 468-86, 561-86, and Pulleyblank.

[3] With Dante, I quote the Italian in the edition edited by Singleton. Where no Italian is cited, I use Singleton's translation; where I give the Italian, I give my own translation.

[4] Chou discusses Tu Fu as "solipsistic" (164ff).

[5] "No matter how many valuable functions the city has furthered, it has also served, through most of its history, as a container of organised violence and a transmitter of war. . . . Not merely did the walled city give a permanent collective structure to the paranoid claims and delusions of kingship, augmenting suspicion, hostility, non-cooperation, but the division of the compulsive repetitious labour im-

posed on a large part of the urban population under slavery, reproduced the structure of a compulsion neurosis. Thus the ancient city, in its very constitution, tended to transmit a collective personality structure whose more extreme manifestations are now recognized in individuals as pathological" (Mumford 46).

[6] Cheng gives a translation saying that Ch'ang-an means "Long Peace" so that the line becomes "Too young to remember Long Peace."

[7] On the importance of personification in Chinese poetry, see Kao Yu-Kung and Mei Tsu-Lin 117.

[8] Cheng also sees the standard metaphorical figures in Chinese poetry and its structured symbols leading to this result: "thanks to which all of nature was in some way inventoried, laden with associations and added meanings, and thus *tamed*" (71). The void appears in another way, through a prescribed set of standard figures.

[9] Owen entitles the poem "Gazing at the Great Peak." See also Owen's discussion of this poem in his *Traditional Chinese Poetry* and *Poetics* 101-03.

[10] Quoted in Paul W. Kroll, "Verses from on High: The Ascent of T'ai Shan" in Lin and Owen (183). Kroll puts Tu Fu's text "within the discrete [Chinese] tradition of T'ai Shan poems" (179).

[11] Paul Friedrich, "Polytropy," in Fernandez (20). See his discussion of the poem (18-22). It makes use of the translation by Cheng (147).

[12] Graham, Preface (np) and (20). His translation of "Autumn Meditations" appears on 52-55; Mei and Kao quote and modify it slightly. I have also relied on the translation and comments of Hinton (81-84,150-156) and Owen (*Anthology* 433-38), and that of McGraw.

[13] T.S. Eliot (242). The essay on Dante comes from 1929.

[14] On this much-discussed passage, see Patrick Boyde, in Foster and Boyde (1-22).

[15] McGraw annotates: "Here Tu Fu . . . conflates two journeys to the west. Zhang Qian (fl. 129 B.C.) was sent by Han's Martial Emperor as an envoy to explore and contact the western lands. In some sources Zhang is confused with a legendary explorer who sailed a raft up the Yellow River until he reached Silvery River (or 'Milky Way') where

he talked with Weaving maiden (Vega) and Herd Boy (Altair)."

[16] Hawkes stresses how Han names were used for T'ang realities, as a mode of criticism.

[17] For her associations with autumn, see Hinton (155-56). He makes other interesting points: the scales of the fish/whale shook to show disaster coming (this is a signifier without a signified) and it has taken the place of Vega's husband, the Cowherd.

[18] Owen's note: "Once the poet Jiang Yan (443-504) dreamed that the poet Guo Pu appeared to him and asked for the return of his coloured brush, which he claimed to have left with Jiang for many years. When Jiang Yan woke up, he found that his poetic talent had completely deserted him."

WORKS CITED

Chan, Eva Shan. *Reconsidering Tu Fu: Literary Greatness and Cultural Context*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995.

Chen, Peng-hsiang. "The Tradition and Variation of Autumnal Lamentation." *Tamkang Review* 11 (1980): 111-39.

Cheng, Francois. *Chinese Poetic Writing*. Trans. Donald A. Riggs and Jerome P. Seaton. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1982.

Culler, Jonathan. "Apostrophe." *Diacritics* (1977): np.

Eliot, T.S. *Selected Essays*. London: Faber, 1951.

Empson, William. *Seven Types of Ambiguity*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1961.

Fernandez, James W., ed. *Beyond Metaphor: The Theory of Tropes in Anthropology*. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1991.

Foster, Kenelm and Patrick Boyde, eds. *Cambridge Readings in Dante's Comedy*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1981.

Freud, Sigmund. "Mourning and Melancholia." *The Penguin Freud*. Vol. 11. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977.

Graham, A.C. *Poems of the Late T'ang*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1965.

Hawkes, David. *A Little Primer of Tu Fu*. Hong Kong: Chinese U of Hong Kong, 1990.

Hinton, David., trans. *The Selected Poems of Tu Fu*. New York: New Directions Books, 1989.

Kao, Yu-kung and Mei Tsu-Lin. "Syntax, Diction and Imagery in T'ang Poetry," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 31 (1971): 117.

Lin, Shuen-fu and Stephen Owen, eds. *The Vitality of the Lyric Voice*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1986.

Luo, Guanzhong. *Three Kingdoms*. Trans. Moss Roberts. Berkeley: U of California P, 1991.

McGraw, David R. *Tu Fu's Laments from the South*. Honolulu: U of Hawaii P, 1995.

Mei, Tsu-lin and Yu-kung Tao. "Tu Fu's 'Autumn Meditations': An Exercise in Linguistic Criticism." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 28 (1968): 44-80.

Mumford, Lewis. *The City in History*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovitch, 1961.

Owen, Stephen. *The Great Age of Chinese Poetry: The High T'ang*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1981.

—. *Traditional Chinese Poetry and Poetics*. Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1985.

—. *An Anthology of Chinese Literature*. Ed. and trans. Stephen Owen. New York: Norton, 1996.

Pulleyblank, Edwin G. *The Background of the Rebellion of An Lu-Shan*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1955.

Singleton, Charles, ed. *Inferno, Purgatorio, Paradiso*. 3 vols. Bollingen: Princeton: Princeton UP, 1970-76.

Twitchett, Denis, ed. *The Cambridge History of China: Vol. 3*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1979.