

Other Poetry on the An Lushan Rebellion: Notes on Time and Transcendence in Tang Verse

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THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN poetry and its historical ground has been a focus of Chinese poetic criticism from the earliest sources of the tradition, and it remains a major preoccupation of modern scholarship on Chinese poetry and poetics, both within China and without. Some of the earliest and most canonical statements on poetry's value stress its connection with the particular historical circumstances of its composition; and because poems were often supposed to have been natural, spontaneous, or even uncontrollable responses to present

ABSTRACT: This article examines poetry about the An Lushan rebellion (755–763) written during its course by poets other than Li Bai and Du Fu. Despite the centrality of the rebellion to narratives of Chinese literary history, this corpus of poetry is rarely discussed, in large part because it does not provide the sort of visceral witness to the cataclysm that later readers have expected from verse written in troubled times. Instead, this poetry almost always seeks to transfigure or transcend its historical ground through the invocation of alternate frames by which author and readers come to stand apart from current events. This observation offers us a window onto the relationship between poetic practice during the eighth century and longstanding commentarial ideals about poetry's relationship to history, as well as a way of recontextualizing Li Bai's and Du Fu's innovative poetic responses to the rebellion.

摘要：本文討論安史之亂中李白、杜甫以外的詩作。安史之亂於文學史意義重大，但本文所述詩歌因缺乏後世期待的對戰亂切身經歷的描寫，鮮為前人論及。反之，這些詩歌刻意疏離當下，以美化並超越歷史經驗。借此亦可考察八世紀詩歌創作和傳統批評理想間的關係。

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS: Thanks are due to Anna M. Shields and to the anonymous reviewers for their comments on previous drafts of this essay.

stimuli, and thereby to have played a key role in legendary governmental institutions that kept the court apprised of popular sentiment, important early texts sometimes treat determining the character of those historical circumstances as tantamount to interpreting a poem's significance.¹ Such claims have seemed startlingly alien to readers schooled in Western critical modes, prompting several scholars to research the historical development of this sort of historicizing critical orientation and its influence on the history of Chinese poetry.² Some critics have even gone so far as to see the salience of history in Chinese poetic understanding as definitive of the tradition writ large. Pauline Yu's seminal *The Reading of Imagery in the Chinese Lyric Tradition*, for example, argues that whereas Western poetics characteristically allegorize poetry as significant of an abstract, metaphysical meaning, Chinese poetics have generally been underwritten by a "non-dualistic cosmology" that de-emphasizes such notions as creation ex nihilo and fictionality in favor of specifying concrete historical referents.³

Yu and others are certainly right that Chinese poetic criticism has often operated on a historicizing model. There has, however, been significant variation in the values and modes of such critical historicizing over time.⁴ Classical Chinese poetry itself, moreover, is far from homogeneous in reflecting or frustrating the interest that critics have shown in the historical ground from which it derives. When we move beyond generalizing comparisons between the Chinese tradition and the West, then, the question of Chinese poetry's relationship to its his-

¹ The most important statement is the "Great Preface" ("Daxu" 大序) to the *Mao Odes* (*Maoshi* 毛詩). The text and commentary that Tang readers are most likely to have known is *Maoshi zhengyi* 毛詩正義, annot. Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 and Kong Yingda 孔穎達, 20 *juan* 卷, in *Chongkan Songben Shisanjing zhushu fu jiaokan ji* 重刊宋本十三經注疏附校勘記, ed. Ruan Yuan 阮元, 8 vols. (1815; rpt., Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1965) [hereafter *Shisanjing zhushu*], v. 2, j. 1, pp. 11a–23a.

² See, for example, Steven Van Zoeren, *Poetry and Personality: Reading, Exegesis, and Hermeneutics in Traditional China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991) and Haun Saussy, *The Problem of a Chinese Aesthetic* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993). For theoretical reflections on Chinese poetry's groundedness in history, see Stephen Owen, "Poetry and Its Historical Ground," *Chinese Literature, Essays, Articles, Reviews* (CLEAR) 12 (1990): 107–18.

³ Pauline Yu, *The Reading of Imagery in the Chinese Poetic Tradition* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987), pp. 80–81.

⁴ For an argument that the place of history in poetry criticism changed dramatically from the Tang to the Song, for example, see Asami Yōji 淺見洋二, *Chūgoku no shigaku ninshiki: Chūsei kara kinsei e no tenkan* 中国の詩学認識: 中世から近世への転換 (Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 2008), pp. 385–459.

torical ground becomes a complex historical question in itself, with both theoretical and practical aspects. As one part of a larger project to reconsider the place of history in Tang-dynasty poetry and criticism, this article takes up some of the complexities of the practical side of this question by examining poetry produced at one seminal but also understudied historical moment, a moment when the question of poetry's relationship to its historical ground became particularly problematic. I suggest here that the surprising neglect of this body of poetry by later critics signals a discontinuity in the Chinese poetic tradition's approach to poetry's historical ground. This rupture has not been noticed in studies that are committed, in one way or another, to claims that historical concern forms the core of that tradition.

The sudden outbreak in 755 of the so-called Rebellion of the Ans and Shis 安史之亂 shattered one of the largest, most prosperous, and most cosmopolitan empires the world had ever known. Named for its four successive leaders—An Lushan 安祿山 (703–757), An Qingxu 安慶緒 (d. 759), Shi Siming 史思明 (703–761), and Shi Chaoyi 史朝義 (d. 763)—the rebellion brought to an abrupt end a period that has in subsequent historical memory been regarded as one of the high points of Chinese civilization, and especially of Chinese poetry. The suddenness of the Tang dynasty's midcourse collapse has provided endless inspiration to later Chinese literature, and some of the verse written during the rebellion has remained at the center of the literary canon, particularly that by Li Bai 李白 (ca. 701–762) and Du Fu 杜甫 (712–770). Yet although several other famous High Tang poets survived into the rebellion era, their contemporaneous poetry discussing the rebellion has largely been ignored, as has that of younger poets who would come to fame in the postrebellion period.⁵ According to my count, over one hundred such poems survive to us from the period of 755 to 763 (when the Rebellion of the Ans and Shis officially ended with Shi Chaoyi's suicide).⁶ This is not a very large number, but it is not a tiny one either, and it is one that may perhaps be surprising to all but

⁵ What discussions we do find tend to be dismissive. Pei Fei 裴斐, for example, goes through the list of famous poets who left behind little of interest with regard to the rebellion, concluding that “just as other poets all went silent, and a flourishing age of poetry returned to silence, then Li Bai and Du Fu became unprecedentedly active”; Pei Fei, “Tangdai lishi zhuanzhe shiqi de Li, Du ji qi shige” 唐代历史转折时期的李、杜及其诗歌, *Wenxue yichan* 文学遗产, no. 3 (1982): 27.

⁶ I provide references to most of these poems in the appendix.

dedicated readers of eighth-century poetry, as several scholars of Tang literature writing in English have found it necessary to remind their readers that other poets besides Li Bai and Du Fu did indeed leave behind verse on the rebellion.⁷

What scholarship has been written on this “other” rebellion-era poetry has to date approached it from only a limited number of angles, primarily detailing the wartime experiences of a few famous poets and offering fragmentary reflections on the ways in which the rebellion influenced the poetry of later ages. There exists only one scholarly monograph on the topic of poetry written during the war years that deals extensively with writers other than Li Bai and Du Fu: a pioneering (and recently much-imitated) study by Lü Wei 吕蔚 that casts the rebellion period as a “transition” from the High Tang to the Mid-Tang.⁸ According to her analysis, the rebellion’s destructiveness was ultimately quite salutary for literary culture, as it helped to finally dispel the “romanticism” (*langman zhuyi* 浪漫主義) that had characterized the High Tang, encouraging writers to turn their talents toward a “realism” (*xieshi* 寫實) that better acknowledged their responsibility to depict present political and social conditions.⁹ In this respect, Lü’s approach to this body of verse clearly inherits many of the canonical orientations I mentioned summarily above. In particular, she is convinced not only that poetry is almost inevitably shaped by its historical ground—its tone changing, for example, “from vast and lofty to reserved and downcast” in response to changing historical condi-

⁷ Shan Chou, “Tu Fu’s Social Conscience: Compassion and Topicality in His Poetry,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 51.1 (1991): 12–13, doi: 10.2307/2719241; Susan Cherniack, “Three Great Poems by Du Fu” (PhD diss., Yale University, 1988), pp. 101–2.

⁸ Lü Wei, *An Shi zhi luan yu sheng Tang shiren* 安史之乱与盛唐诗人 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2010). Note that the other recent book on the literature of the rebellion period, Zhang Jianjun 张建军, *An Shi zhi luan yu sheng Tang shige de xinbian* 安史之乱与盛唐诗歌的新变 (Changchun: Jilin daxue chubanshe, 2009), is an almost word-for-word copy of Lü Wei’s book, despite having been published a year earlier. Lü’s is the authentic text, since she wrote her dissertation on the topic.

⁹ Lü Wei, *An Shi zhi luan*, p. 1. Lü’s book led to a small boom in articles that make roughly the same case. See, for example, Wu Honglun 吴宏伦, “An Shi zhi luan yu Tang shi zhuanxing” 安史之乱与唐诗转型, *Xiandai yuwen* 现代语文, no. 3 (2011): 17–19, and Duan Ying 段莹, “An Shi zhi luan yu sheng zhong Tang shitan de dibian: yi sheng Tang Chang’an fengqi de xingcheng yu xiaojie wei zhongxin” 安史之乱与盛中唐诗坛的递变——以盛唐长安风气的形成与消解为中心, *Shehui kexue luntan* 社会科学论坛, no. 5 (2013): 62–68. An older article making a similar argument is Wu Xiangzhou 吴相洲, “Lun Tang Suzong chu hua yongshi zhuzhang dui shifeng xinbian de yingxiang” 论唐肃宗黜华用实主张对诗风新变的影响, *Wenxue yichan*, no. 1 (1997): 60–68.

tions—but also that truly moral poetry will characteristically focus on that ground. Her narrative fits nicely, moreover, with both traditional and modern accounts of the development of Tang poetry that treat Li Bai and Du Fu as the exclusive representatives of rebellion-era verse, and indeed these two writers remain her touchstone examples.¹⁰

I suggest here, however, that this narrative oversimplifies the character of the poetry that survives from the rebellion era. Li Bai and Du Fu have, of course, been among the paramount cynosures of Chinese critical attention and among the most central of Chinese poetic models since the eighth century, and it is thus easy to understand how their work has come to seem definitive of the period. Both poets wrote extensively on their experiences during the rebellion—Du Fu in particular in such quantity and detail that his collection has been labeled a “poetic history” (*shishi* 詩史) of the war, providing readers with what later critics have seen as an accurate depiction of contemporaneous political and social realities, and thus, it is often claimed, realizing the tradition’s canonical ideals about poetry’s responsibility to its historical ground. After he had been elevated to the pinnacle of the Chinese poetic pantheon in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, moreover, Du Fu often served as a model for poets writing amid violence and social collapse, and under his influence it would become a commonplace that eras of decline and chaos naturally produce the greatest verse.¹¹ Here, however, the narrative of Tang poetry that places Du Fu and Li Bai at its center begins to call itself into question. If other verse written during and about the same social conditions that informed their work has been little read or discussed—despite deriving from the end of a period often accounted the greatest flourishing of the poetic art in Chinese history—we have to suspect that it is doing something different.¹²

¹⁰ Lü depicts herself as supplementing and continuing respectively the work of Sun Xuetao 孙学堂, *Zhongguo wenxue jingshen: Tangdai juan* 中国文学精神：唐代卷 (Jinan: Shandong jiaoyu chubanshe, 2003), and Jiang Yin 蒋寅, *Dali shifeng* 大历诗风 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1992).

¹¹ Wai-yee Li, “Confronting History and Its Alternatives in Early Qing Poetry: An Introduction,” in *Trauma and Transcendence in Early Qing Literature*, ed. Wilt L. Idema, Wai-yee Li, and Ellen Widmer (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006), pp. 75–80.

¹² Partly, this article is about how different our picture of mid-eighth-century poetry would look if we did not have Du Fu and Li Bai. Another scholar who has recently pursued a somewhat similar project is Wu Guangxing 吴光兴, *Ba shiji shifeng* 八世纪诗风 (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2013).

Put briefly, my argument is that poetry written on the rebellion during the rebellion by poets other than Li Bai and Du Fu rarely seeks to reflect or document historical realities; instead, it works to transfigure or transcend current events by invoking what I call “alternate frames,” by and into which the poet and his readers can escape the uncertainty of the rebellion’s progress. These alternate frames are heterogeneous in terms of their ideological content—including the seasons of the natural world, the time-transcending vision of Buddhist enlightenment, and the historical depth of the literary and cultural tradition, for example—but more or less homogeneous in their function throughout this body of verse. They represent the poet’s agency to reshape a world gone awry or to imagine another one; as such, they are the avatars of poetry within the poem. The reason that this body of verse has been largely ignored by later critics, then, is not that eighth-century poetry lacked the resources to describe violence or disorder or that one needed to be a genius like Li Bai or Du Fu to repurpose its customary forms for the depiction of situations that were anything but customary. Quite the contrary, the lack of appeal that this body of verse has had for the later tradition derives from the abundance and strength of the poetic resources these writers found to contain the rebellion or to rise above it.

Ignoring, Denying, and Downplaying the Rebellion

Probably the most important way in which poetry helped its authors and readers to transcend rebellion-era realities is one that I do not discuss in this article—namely, by not touching on the rebellion at all. The magnitude of loss in eighth-century textual culture and the impossibility of precisely dating the vast majority of verse that survives from the mid-eighth century make it impossible to know exactly how much poetry was written during the rebellion period or how much of what was produced dealt with current events.¹³ That said, only a minority of the verse that survives from and can be confidently dated to the rebellion period actually touches on the upheaval in any significant way (despite the facts that poems that do are usually easier to date and that

¹³ I provide some statistics about the corpus in the appendix.

there might have been a survival bias in their favor).¹⁴ To give an example from the high end of the spectrum in terms of the proportion of his poems explicitly commenting on the troubles, of Liu Zhangqing's 劉長卿 (dates uncertain, perhaps 726–790) roughly one hundred poems that can be dated between 755 and 763, only eighteen discuss the rebellion.¹⁵ In the middle of that same spectrum, Cen Shen 岑參 (ca. 715–770) has seventy-three surviving poems that can be dated to the rebellion era, only nine of which discuss the war explicitly.¹⁶ And on the low end, Qian Qi 錢起 (710?–782?) has only two poems in his large (but also largely undatable) collection that touch significantly on the rebellion, despite his having apparently been quite active throughout the period.¹⁷

These numbers may seem low for what must surely have been a central fact in most poets' public lives throughout much of this time. But it should be recalled that *shi* 詩 poetry was merely one of many venues in which writers could discuss the war; others included memorials to the throne, letters, tomb inscriptions, records on local sites, and rhapsodies—examples of most of which survive, sometimes in abundance. Eighth-century verse had its place for depictions of violence and warfare, primarily in poetry that described either real or imagined combat in the cold northlands, in poetry celebrating imperial campaigns, and in poetry written to request patronage from the

¹⁴ Shortly after the rebellion, there seems to have been an interest in what the war must have been like for those who lived through it. This interest is evidenced, for example, by two poems attributed (highly implausibly) to the wartime martyr Zhang Xun 張巡 (709–757) by Wei Xuan 韋絢 (see his *Liu Binke jiahua lu* 劉賓客嘉話錄, 1 juan, Yingyin wenyuange Siku quanshu edition [Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1983], j. 1, pp. 1a–b), and by Geng Wei's 耿漳 "Dai Songzhou jiang Huaishang qishi" 代宋州將淮上乞師 (Geng Wei, poem no. 1 in the appendix). Geng Wei also has a number of retrospective poems describing the lingering damage after the rebellion (Geng Wei, poem nos. 2–4), including one that may have inaugurated the important Mid-Tang mini-genre of describing old men and women who lived through the war (see Geng Wei, poem no. 2). In general, the rebellion seems to have become an easier topic to discuss in poetry after it was over—when it was itself an "alternate frame"—and a number of poets wrote recollections of their experiences throughout its course.

¹⁵ See Liu Zhangqing, poem nos. 1–18 in the appendix.

¹⁶ See Cen Shen, poem nos. 1, 2, 4–10 in the appendix. Cf. *Cen Shen ji jiaozhu* 岑參集校注, annot. Chen Tiemin 陳鐵民 and Hou Zhongyi 侯忠義 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1981), which is usefully arranged in chronological (*biannian* 編年) order, at least for those poems that can be dated confidently.

¹⁷ See Qian Qi, poem nos. 1 and 3 in the appendix. Cf. *Qian Qi shiji jiaozhu* 錢起詩集校注, annot. Ruan Tingyu 阮廷瑜, 2 vols. (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 1996).

Tang's powerful generals. Most of the time, however, verse was a social and occasional art, and there were many social occasions wherein discussion of the rebellion would have been unwelcome. As a feature of drinking parties, for example, poetry served much the same function as alcohol, food, and company, offering participants a break from the difficulties the war had caused. Poems written in such contexts that simply do not mention the rebellion probably make up a majority of the poetry surviving from the period; and in this respect, the fact that it is often impossible to tell when such poems might have been written would seem to fulfill one of the central wartime functions of this verse.¹⁸

Generic and occasional proprieties aside, there survive a number of works datable to the rebellion years wherein a poet's decision not to mention the war seems particularly pointed. One such case is Dugu Ji's 獨孤及 (725–777) "Gazing Out at the Northern Plain from Gongchao Valley after a Rain, Sent to Reminder Gao" ("Yuhou Gongchao gu beiyuan tiaowang ji Gao shiyi" 雨後公超谷北原眺望寄高拾遺), an almost entirely descriptive five-couplet poem about the springtime renewal of nature at Dugu's hermitage near Mt. Hua 華山. "Reminder Gao" here is probably Gao Shi 高適 (700?–765), who had been made a Reminder to the Throne in the last month of Tianbao 天寶 14 (February 756).¹⁹ In the following spring, Gao Shi would have been at Tongguan 潼關 with Geshu Han's 哥舒翰 (699–757) army, defending the capital against An Lushan's approach from Luoyang.²⁰ Despite the exigency of Gao's task, the poem makes no explicit mention of Luoyang's recent fall or the danger presented to Chang'an; instead, it adopts a perspective from which the entire capital region seems small.

¹⁸ This point is well illustrated by a famous set by Jia Zhi 賈至 (his poem no. 2 in the appendix), Wang Wei 王維 (his poem no. 3 in the appendix), Du Fu (his poem no. 3 in the appendix), and Cen Shen (his poem no. 3 in the appendix) in early 758, after the recovery of Chang'an.

¹⁹ Tao Min, Li Yifei, and Fu Xuancong, *Tang Wudai wenxue biannian shi* (see appendix for full citation), pp. 4–5.

²⁰ Liu Xu 劉昫 et al., *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書, 200 *juan* in 16 vols. (Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1981), v. 10, j. 111, p. 3328. Shortly after the sixth month of Tianbao 15 (July 756), Gao was promoted to Attendant Censor; the poem's dating (if it is to Gao Shi) is thus relatively secure.

獨孤及，雨後公超谷北原眺望寄高拾遺

DUGU JI, "GAZING OUT AT THE NORTHERN PLAIN FROM
GONGCHAO VALLEY AFTER A RAIN, SENT TO REMINDER GAO"

崖口雨足收，	At the cliff-mouth, the raindrops have ceased;
清光洗高天。	clear brightness has washed high heaven.
虹蜺斂殘靄，	A rainbow gathers in the remaining mists;
山水含碧鮮。	mountains and waters hold within green freshness.
遠空霞破露月輪，	In the distant void the red wisps break, revealing the moon's wheel;
薄雲片片成魚鱗。	thin clouds flake by flake form into fish scales.
五陵如薺渭如帶，	The Five Barrows are like heart's-weeds, the Wei like a belt; ²¹
目極千里關山春。	stretching my eyes a thousand leagues, the barrier mountains turn spring.
朝來爽氣未易說，	When morning comes, the cool air is difficult to describe,
畫取花峰贈遠人。	so I paint here the flowering peaks as a gift for the man afar. ²²

In the penultimate couplet here, Dugu Ji looks out on the capital region all the way to the barrier passes where Gao Shi was stationed and the opposing armies had massed their troops. From his high vantage point, the land they are fighting over seems tiny: the Five Barrows are no bigger than weeds, and the great watercourse of the Wei is thin enough to wear as a belt. Dugu Ji's gift to Gao Shi, then, would seem to be a vision from his transcendent perspective, from which all storms are revealed as transient.

It is not clear why Dugu Ji might have adopted this attitude of lofty detachment from the troubles of the mortal world, whether because

²¹ The Five Barrows were the tombs of the Han emperors on the outskirts of Chang'an; following a conventional metonymy by which the Tang was analogized to the Han, some rebellion-era verse takes them as symbolic of the dynasty. See, for instance, Du Fu, poem no. 1 in the appendix. This line may recall "Valley Winds" ("Gufeng" 谷風) [Mao no. 35] from the *Shijing* 詩經: "Who says that sowthistle is bitter? [Compared to my grief] it is sweet like heart's-weed" (*Maoshi zhengyi*, v. 2, j. 2, p. 90a).

²² This poem is Dugu Ji, no. 1 in the appendix. Texts in this article are drawn from Chen Yixin, *Zengding zhushi Quan Tang shi* (see appendix for full citation) unless otherwise noted. In this case, I follow the readings of Dugu Ji 獨孤及, *Piling ji jiaozhu* 毘陵集校注, annot. Liu Peng 劉鵬 and Li Tao 李桃 (Shenyang: Liaohai chubanshe, 2006), j. 1, p. 14.

he did not recognize the seriousness of the threat An Lushan's armies posed to the dynasty or because he did. This ambiguity is emphasized by the penultimate line of the piece, which borrows the language of "stretching my eyes a thousand leagues" from the "Summons of the Soul" ("Zhao hun" 招魂)—an early poem generally understood as lamenting a doomed state—while apparently not evincing the grief that poem's speaker feels in response to his own springtime gazing.²³ Read one way, then, this inverted citation could be understood as suggesting that such springtime gazing does not "wound" Dugu Ji's "springtime heart" because the Tang is in no danger of collapse. Read differently, however, it may not be a coincidence that the poet mentions in the title that he is dwelling in a valley named after Zhang Kai 張楷 (early second century CE), a famous recluse whose example inspired a number of Han-dynasty scholars to follow him off in retreat from the human world.²⁴ Dugu Ji might, in other words, be suggesting to Gao Shi that he would be better off extricating himself from the dangers of a dynasty on the verge of collapse.

Elsewhere, decisions to avoid or to downplay the rebellion are probably more innocent, and we can often infer with some confidence the reasons why even poets who had personally undergone harrowing experiences might have done so. Chu Guangxi 儲光羲 (706?–762), for example, was serving in Chang'an in 756, and when the city fell in the summer of that year, he was taken back to Luoyang and forced to take office under the newly declared Yan 燕 empire. In the autumn of 757, he seems to have escaped south from Luoyang to Xiangyang 襄陽 and then followed the Han river northwest toward the court-in-exile at Fengxiang 鳳翔, where he was summarily imprisoned for having collaborated with the enemy.²⁵ In the months following his escape from Luoyang, he wrote four poems that mention the rebellion.²⁶ Among

²³ "Zhao hun," in *Chuci buzhu* 楚辭補注, annot. Hong Xingzu 洪興祖 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), p. 215.

²⁴ Fan Ye 范曄, *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, 90 *juan* plus 30 *zhi* 志 in 12 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), v. 5, j. 36, pp. 1242–43.

²⁵ For reconstructions of Chu's movements during the rebellion period, see Chen Tiejun 陈铁民, "Chu Guangxi shengping shiji kaobian" 儲光羲生平事迹考辨, *Wenshi* 文史, no. 12 (1981): 205–8. See also Ge Xiaoyin 葛晓音, *Han Tang wenxue de shanbian* 汉唐文学的嬗变 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1990), pp. 365–78, and Yoshimura Hiromichi 芳村弘道, *Tōdai no shijin to bunken kenkyū* 唐代の詩人と文献研究 (Kyoto: Chūgoku geibun kenkyūkai, 2007), pp. 48–59.

²⁶ See Chu Guangxi, poem nos. 1–4 in the appendix.

these four, we find the following social verse—written, apparently, before he made the ill-fated decision to head to Fengxiang, when he still planned to travel farther south to the relatively peaceful rivers and lakes of the southlands. Yet if Chu Guangxi at this point was himself still fleeing the war, he has little choice in this poem but to assuage the concerns of his interlocutors, who had apparently been summoned to the northwest to assist the loyalist cause.

儲光羲，奉別長史庾公太守徐公應召

CHU GUANGXI, “RESPECTFULLY PARTING FROM SENIOR SCRIBE
YU AND GOVERNOR XU, WHO ARE RESPONDING TO IMPERIAL
COMMAND”²⁷

烈風起江漢， Fierce winds rise on Yangzi and Han,
白浪忽如山。 with white waves suddenly like mountains.
方伯驟勤王， The lords of the region rush to the king’s defense;
杞人亦憂天。 this man of Qi might even worry about the sky
falling.²⁸
鄠鎬頃霾晦， Feng and Hao having recently been darkened by
haze,²⁹
雲龍召我賢。 the cloud-borne dragon calls for our worthy men.³⁰
車騎北艱苦， Wagons and cavalry in the north have encountered
difficulty,
舳舻西溯沿。 so your barges and warships will head west against
the current.³¹
水靈靜湍瀨， Yet the god of the waters will calm the swirling rapids;
猛獸趨後先。 the fierce beasts will speed one after another.³²

²⁷ These are Governor Xu Hao of Xiangyang 襄陽太守徐浩 (703–782) and Senior Scribe Yu Guangxian of Jingzhou 荊州長史庾光先 (n.d.).

²⁸ This line refers to a story about a fool from Qi who was so certain that the sky would fall that he could not eat or sleep. Of course, the sky did not fall, but the man did die of exhaustion and hunger. See *Liezi jishi* 列子集釋, annot. Yang Bojun 楊伯峻, 8 *juan* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), j. 1, pp. 30–33.

²⁹ Feng and Hao were the capitals of the Zhou dynasty.

³⁰ The imperial family were conventionally the scions of dragons. In the *Yijing* 易經 we read that “Clouds follow dragons, and winds follow tigers; the Sage arises and the myriad things look toward him”; *Zhouyi zhengyi* 周易正義, annot. Wang Bi 王弼 and Kong Yingda, 9 *juan*, in *Shisanjing zhushu*, v. 1, j. 1, p. 15a. The suggestion might be that Emperor Suzong 肅宗 (r. 756–762) is gathering to himself worthy men as a dragon gathers clouds.

³¹ That is, they will follow the Han River west toward modern-day Hanzhong, at which point they will, presumably, head north to Fengxiang.

³² One of the anonymous reviewers suggests that these “fierce beasts” may be painted

龍樓開新陽， The dragon tower will begin a new spring;³³
 萬里出雲間。 for ten thousand *li* around, he'll emerge from the
 clouds.³⁴

宇宙既焜耀， Not only will the universe will be bright and
 glorious,
 崇德濟巨川。 exalting virtue, he will get us across the huge
 stream.³⁵

受命在神宗， Having received Heaven's mandate in the ancestral
 temple,³⁶

振兵猶軒轅。 he will rouse troops like the Yellow Emperor.
 煌煌逾涿鹿， Brilliant, he will overtop the achievement at
 Zhuolu;³⁷

穆穆更坤元。 reverent, he will renew heaven and earth.
 明王朝太階， The Enlightened King will hold court on the Great
 Terrace;³⁸

遠邇望嘉言。 from far and near, we all await his excellent words.
 遊子淡何思， This wanderer will be placid with nothing to yearn for;
 江湖將永年。 on rivers and lakes, I will live out my years.³⁹

In the poem's opening lines, there is a hint of the terror that gripped Chu Guangxi when Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 713–756) fled his palace in the night and An Lushan's armies captured the capital: the man of Song to whom he compares himself in the second couplet was so frightened that the sky would fall that he starved himself to death. Yet by comparing himself to this proverbial fool, Chu also breezily dismisses his own

on the prows of the boats. It is also possible that they represent the enemy, fleeing before the wagons and cavalry.

³³ The "dragon tower" is the crown prince's residence; the phrase refers here to Suzong.

³⁴ The clouds that have been hiding his divinity; emperors were conventionally compared to the sun.

³⁵ "Getting across the huge stream" is a metaphor for governance derived from the *Shangshu*; see *Shangshu zhengyi* 尚書正義, annot. Kong Anguo 孔安國 and Kong Yingda, 20 *juan*, in *Shisanjing zhushu*, v. 1, j. 10, p. 140a. It probably refers here to Suzong's summoning and exalting worthy ministers like Xu and Yu.

³⁶ That is, after recapturing Chang'an.

³⁷ According to legend, Zhuolu was the place where the Yellow Emperor battled the demonic Chiyou 蚩尤.

³⁸ The Great Terrace was a stellar asterism and also a conventional kenning for the palace.

³⁹ The poem is Chu Guangxi, no. 2 in the appendix.

fear, suggesting that the toppling of the Tang royal house is in the end just as unlikely as the overturning of the cosmos itself. From his other surviving poems from around the same time, it is clear that Chu was not always so convinced of the war's ultimate insignificance. It would, however, have been rather impolite to have admitted as much on this occasion.

Chu reassures Xu Hao and Yu Guangxian that their northwest expedition will be a success by narrating the war's progress through a series of conventional periphrases that invoke—and pointedly blend together—the cycles of the cosmos and historical precedent. The rebellion, he suggests, should be something like a winter storm in the Tang's fortunes, shortly to be overcome when the new Emperor Suzong “renews heaven and earth” and “begins a new spring” by defeating An Lushan, much as the Yellow Emperor previously defeated the monster Chiyou (associated with storms in early sources).⁴⁰ Instead of worrying that waves will overturn the skies, therefore, Chu hopes that Suzong will reascend to the heavens (a conventional metonymy for the palace in Chang'an) as the springtime sun. And for his own part, Chu will go off to lead a “placid” life on the rivers and lakes that the Tang's restoration has calmed. In these carefully plotted reversals of the worries articulated in the poem's first half, Chu's rhetorical strategy consists in drawing conventional metaphors together in such a way that the density of their interconnections suggests that Chinese civilization might really be as stable as the cycles of the cosmos. If Chu can get his audience to accept momentarily that the war (in fact highly uncertain at the time the poem was written) can indeed be compared to a winter storm and that the natural course of things is to return to the placidity of China's southern rivers and lakes, then he has convinced them that the situation is more hopeful than they might have thought and that they should have another drink.

⁴⁰ “Dahuang bei jing” 大荒北經, *pian* 17, in *Shanhai jing Hai jing xinshi* 山海經海經新釋, 13 *juan*, in *Shanhai jing jiaozhu* 山海經校注, annot. Yuan Ke 袁珂 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1980), j. 12, p. 430.

Reading the Present Through the Past

In the case of both Dugu Ji's poem and Chu Guangxi's, one gets the sense that the poets' expenditure of energy and ingenuity was itself supposed to be calming to their audiences: if you have the leisure to observe the coolness of a spring morning or to think through the complicated series of interlocking metaphors that populate Chu's verse, then surely things cannot be as dire as they might otherwise seem. Beyond this sort of comfort, though, it is notable that both poems deal with the war by turning their attention to the cycles of nature. Nature's stabilities here constitute what I am calling an "alternate frame"—an invocation of another scale or type of temporal significance to interpret, circumscribe, or transcend the lived uncertainty of the war. In cases like these, such appeals can be decidedly optimistic; in other verse, however, alternate frames could have pessimistic or ambivalent implications as well. Historical precedents, for example, take on many valences in this corpus, alternately suggesting that the war should come to a speedy conclusion or that things are likely to get worse before they get better. Although poetry was sometimes an escapist art, therefore, it did not always turn its sights away from the dangers of the age or the sufferings the rebellion brought on. Instead, the invocation of alternate frames sometimes allowed authors to face these realities in verse, sure of their ability to comprehend and confront them.

Wu Yun's 吳筠 (?–778) 756 poem, "Recalling the Past at Jianye" ("Jianye huaigu" 建業懷古), for example, takes the most pessimistic approach to the rebellion of any verse that has survived outside of the corpora of Li Bai and Du Fu.⁴¹ The first thirty-eight lines of this poem rehearse the history of Jianye (later Jiankang 健康, now Nanjing) in the service of the final ten lines' suggestion that the Tang's current strategy for dealing with the rebellion will not work. Jianye had been the capital of six different dynasties since the Han, and their rise and fall all followed a common pattern: "It is in virtue, not in physical fastness,"

⁴¹ The poem is Wu Yun, no. 1 in the appendix. The date of late 756 comes from Tao Min, Li Yifei, and Fu Xuancong, *Tang Wudai wenxue biannian shi*, pp. 16–17, where they suggest that the poem was written as Wu fled south from Songshan 嵩山 (in modern-day Henan) to Lushan 廬山 (in modern-day Jiangxi).

Wu writes, “that success and defeat truly have their cause.”⁴² Yet for all that Wu himself wants to “lean upon a heavenly sword and behead the scales that sprawl across our sea”⁴³—here invoking the comparison of An Lushan to a sea monster well-known from Du Fu’s poetry but common throughout verse from the period⁴⁴—he finds himself far from the court and unable to lend it the wisdom he encapsulates for his reader here. He “hesitates, therefore, in the dusk of the Yangzi’s mountains, stirred to emotion, but with no one to express it to,” watching darkness fall upon the Tang as it had fallen upon the six dynasties centered at Jianye.⁴⁵

This poem provides a clear demonstration of the way that appeal to an alternate frame could represent a claim to agency, even in poems that acknowledge the poet’s inability to influence the course of events. For all Wu’s pessimism about the fate of the dynasty, he is not at all pessimistic about his own capacity to understand the rebellion. Quite the contrary, if he is convinced that the Tang is in danger of collapsing, it is precisely because he, and people like him who are virtuous and recognize historical patterns, are not in positions of power. Were his historical understanding put to better use, he suggests, the Tang’s outlook might be considerably brighter.

Of course, poets who were in positions of power often made similar appeals to historical knowledge, which they too hoped would give them a handle on the war. Take, for example, another poem from 756, this one written by Jia Zhi (718–772) when he, Wei Jiansu 韋見素 (697–762), Fang Guan 房瑁 (696–763), and Cui Huan 崔渙 (707–769) were sent north by Xuanzong to deliver the registers of investiture from Shu to Lingwu 靈武, where the crown prince (soon to be Emperor Suzong) was organizing the loyalist defense.⁴⁶ The poem is written in one of the most common styles of verse on the rebellion, an elevated register defined by length, erudition, and lexical compression, all of which make it difficult to render into appealing English.⁴⁷ For

⁴² 在德不在險，成敗良有因；Wu Yun, poem no. 1 in the appendix.

⁴³ 安得倚天劍，斬茲橫海鱗；Wu Yun, poem no. 1 in the appendix.

⁴⁴ For poems that contain this figure, see, for example, Du Fu, poem nos. 2, 4, and 5; Dugu Ji, poem no. 2; Gao Shi, poem no. 2; Liu Zhangqing, poem no. 10; and Qian Qi, poem no. 3.

⁴⁵ 徘徊江山暮，感激為誰申；Wu Yun, poem no. 1 in the appendix.

⁴⁶ Jia Zhi, poem no. 1 in the appendix.

⁴⁷ Other poems that describe the rebellion in an unambiguously “elevated register”

this reason, I translate only the last section of the sixty-line poem here. After narrating recent troubles, praising his traveling companions, and describing the difficulties of the road ahead, Jia turns to his expectations for what awaits the group upon its arrival in Lingwu:

元凶誘黠虜， The prime evil has seduced the crafty barbarians;⁴⁸
 肘腋生妖氛。 close at hand, evil vapors arise.⁴⁹
 明主信英武， But our enlightened ruler is truly heroic in war;⁵⁰
 威聲赫四鄰。 his fame for might awes our neighbors on all sides.
 誓師自朔方， He swore an oath with the troops at Shuofang;⁵¹
 旗幟何繽紛。 how numerous were their flags and banners!
 鐵騎照白日， Ironclad cavalry shone in the white sun;
 旄頭拂秋旻。 oxtail pennants brushed against the autumn
 empyrean.
 將來蕩滄溟， In short order, he will cleanse all the way to the great
 sea;
 寧止蹴昆侖。 and why would he refrain from trampling on
 Kunlun?⁵²
 古來有屯難， Since ancient times, there has been difficulty and
 disorder;⁵³
 否泰長相因。 adversity and prosperity have always followed one
 another.⁵⁴
 夏康繼禹績， Shaokang of Xia succeeded to the accomplishments
 of Yu;⁵⁵

include Dugu Ji, nos. 2 and 3; Gao Shi, nos. 1 and 2; Jia Zhi, no. 3; Liu Zhangqing, nos. 1, 7, and 14; and Qian Qi, no. 3.

⁴⁸ The “prime evil” here is of course An Lushan. The “crafty barbarians” are his north-east allies.

⁴⁹ “Close at hand” is literally “elbow and armpit.” In the *Jinshu*, we read that when troubles arise from “elbow and armpit,” the disease is difficult to cure; Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 et al., *Jinshu* 晉書, 130 *juan* in 10 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), v. 5, j. 56, p. 1531.

⁵⁰ That is, Emperor Suzong.

⁵¹ The phrase “swore an oath with the troops” derives from the “Da Yu mo” 大禹謨 chapter of the *Shangshu* (*Shangshu zhengyi*, v. 1, j. 4, p. 57b). Shuofang was one of the most important military commands in the north of the Tang empire.

⁵² This line may suggest that after Suzong defeats the rebels in the east (the direction of the sea), he will push back the Tibetans in the west as well.

⁵³ “Difficulty and disorder” allude to the Tuan 屯 commentary on the hexagram “zhun” 屯, from the *Yijing*: “In *zhun* [difficulty], we have the hard and the soft beginning to mix and disorders arising” (*Zhouyi zhengyi*, v. 1, j. 1, p. 21b).

⁵⁴ “Adversity” (*pi* 否) and “prosperity” (*tai* 泰) are two hexagrams from the *Yijing*.

⁵⁵ Yu was the virtuous first ruler of the Shang dynasty. Shaokang was Yu’s seventh-generation descendent, who restored the dynasty after a brief interregnum.

代祖復漢勳。 the Prince of Dai restored the merit of the Han.⁵⁶
 于役各勤王， Traveling on official business, let us all work our
 hardest for our king;⁵⁷
 驅馳拱紫宸。 galloping on, we shall bow to the Purple Eaves.⁵⁸
 豈惟太公望， How could it only be Taigong Wang
 往昔逢周文。 who in the past met with Zhou King Wen?⁵⁹
 誰謂三傑才， Who says that those three excellent talents⁶⁰
 功業獨殊倫。 established merit that is alone outstanding?
 感此慰行邁， Stirred by this, to comfort us in our traveling,
 無為歌苦辛。 do not sing about bitterness and difficulty.⁶¹

Jia's point in this poem is not to recommend a particular strategy based on his understanding of history; instead, he merely wants to suggest that despite apparent difficulties, some form of positive action ought to be possible. Both the Xia and the Han went through periods of internal disorder, but handled appropriately, these adversities proved spurs to renewed flourishing. Similarly, Jia's three companions may perhaps feel insecure in their positions, given the transfer of power under way, but great ministers like Taigong Wang and the "three outstanding talents" of the early Han were able to convince rulers of their virtues despite inauspicious beginnings. In other words, Jia encourages his companions to look on their current "bitterness and difficulty" with the historical perspective offered by his highly periphrastic, allusive rhetoric: to abstract themselves from the stubborn texture of present problems so as to frame them within larger historical cycles that promise that both their

⁵⁶ The Prince of Dai was the second emperor of Han, Han Wendi 漢文帝 (r. 180–157 BCE), who became emperor upon the suppression of the insurgent Lü family after his father's death. This line probably refers to the recent execution of the Yang family, in particular Yang Guozhong 楊國忠 (d. 756) and Yang Yuhuan 楊玉環 (719–756).

⁵⁷ "Traveling on official business" alludes to "Junzi yu yi" 君子于役 [Mao no. 66] in the *Shijing*: "The gentleman travels on official business, not knowing when he will return" (*Maoshi zhengyi*, v. 2, j. 6, p. 149a).

⁵⁸ The palace.

⁵⁹ Taigong Wang was the honorific title of Lü Shang 呂尚 (*fl.* eleventh century BCE), an important minister of the early Zhou. According to legend, he was a poor old man fishing on the banks of the Wei river when his virtue was discovered by Zhou King Wen.

⁶⁰ "The three outstanding talents" (*sanjie* 三傑) is a conventional moniker for a few different groups of historical figures. Here it probably refers to the talented subordinates of Emperor Gaozu 高祖 of Han (r. 202–195 BCE): Zhang Liang 張良 (d. 186 BCE), Han Xin 韓信 (d. 196 BCE), and Xiao He 蕭何 (d. 193 BCE). Of course, Jia Zhi's present comparison is to Wei Jiansu, Fang Guan, and Cui Huan.

⁶¹ Last section from Jia Zhi, poem no. 1 in the appendix.

empire and their high offices might be reestablished. If Wu Yun's poem on history symbolizes his ability to see through present circumstances to the constant logic of events, Jia Zhi's elevated register represents the sort of mental distance from the pain and uncertainty of historical experience that his interlocutors need to respond to it constructively.

In Jia's poem, we can see a signal instance of the way that poetry could provide eighth-century writers a space to collect and fortify themselves against the confusion of current events. For many of the same reasons, the art also seems to have been a natural venue for autobiographical narratives seeking to make sense of wartime experience after the fact. Gao Shi's long 759 poem "Responding to Supernumerary Pei [Ba], A Poem in Place of a Letter" 酬裴員外以詩代書, for example, is remarkably specific about Gao's experiences as a military commander and high official during the previous three years of the rebellion, narrating even Gao's participation in the failed siege at Ye 鄴 in 758 and his unseemly retreat after it was broken.⁶² Yet not only does Gao couch his discussion of these events in much the same elevated register that we saw in Jia Zhi's poem, he also bookends his verse with a narrative of learning that helps to make sense of his failures during the course of the war.

These bookends provide an alternate frame that stands against the bewildering temporality of Gao's wartime experience. The poem begins with a twenty-eight-line reminiscence of Gao's youthful travels with Pei Ba 裴霸 (n.d.) in the northeastern provinces currently under rebel occupation. The two friends visited various sites associated with the early history of the region, all of which offered the lesson, Gao reflects, that "promising oneself to the state often leads to death; public-mindedness and loyalty are the embryo of disaster."⁶³ At the time, however, Gao did not take this lesson to heart, instead seeking out high office—a decision that would lead to the painful experiences of his wartime service that are narrated in the central forty-eight lines. In the concluding eighteen-line section of the poem, therefore, Gao turns back to his youthful friendship with Pei Ba and the overlooked lessons he should have learned in their time together, recognizing that he would have done better to heed ancient worthies such as Zhang Han 張翰 (fl. ca. 300), who cared more for sharing a cup of ale with friends than he

⁶² Gao Shi, poem no. 2 in the appendix.

⁶³ 然諾多死地, 公忠成禍胎; Gao Shi, poem no. 2 in the appendix.

did for posthumous fame,⁶⁴ and Xi Kang 嵇康 (d. 262), who wrote an essay on “Nurturing Life” (“Yang sheng lun” 養生論) through reclusive disengagement.⁶⁵ The detailed account of Gao’s hard experience in the central section of the poem thus feeds into a narrative of finally learning the lessons he should have drawn in his youth from his reading of history, and the timelessness of those lessons symbolizes the cool and collected perspective on his life that Gao is still struggling to achieve.

Feeling, Aestheticizing, Enjoying

Both in downplaying the rebellion and in providing a distance from which it could be comprehended, poetry’s tendency to invoke alternate frames provided rebellion-era poets a sort of buffer through which dangerous materials could be handled more safely. In this respect, these alternate frames fulfill one of the canonical functions prescribed for poetry in Tang classicist discourse—ordering, defusing, and channeling potentially volatile feelings into beautiful patterns (*wen* 文, a term that meant both “literature” and “culture,” in the older sense of a “cultured man”).⁶⁶ According to the late-medieval classicist scholarship current in the eighth century, the ancient sages had established poetry as a government institution precisely to encourage these sorts of sublimations, selecting poems that exemplified praiseworthy sorts of emotional dispositions for performance and imitation throughout their kingdoms.⁶⁷ If poets often sought, therefore, to bring their responses to the war into line with alternate frames provided by the poetic or the larger cultural tradition, they had good canonical reasons for doing so.

Some poets were unabashed in their attempts to shape emotion into normative cultural patterns, particularly in verse eulogizing recent imperial triumphs, which seems almost always to have imagined the war’s end on the model of historical—and usually downright

⁶⁴ Liu Yiqing 劉義慶, “Rendan” 任誕, no. 20, in *Shishuo xinyu jiaojian* 世說新語校箋, ed. Xu Zhen’e 徐震堦, 3 *juan* in 2 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2001), v. 2, j. 3, p. 397.

⁶⁵ *Xi Kang ji jiaozhu* 嵇康集校注, ed. Dai Mingyang 戴明揚 (Beijing: Renmin wuxue chubanshe, 1962), j. 3, pp. 143–57.

⁶⁶ For this vision of *wen*, see, for example, the preface (*xu* 序) to *Liji zhushu* 禮記注疏, annot. Zheng Xuan and Kong Yingda, 63 *juan*, in *Shisanjing zhushu*, v. 5, prefatory materials, pp. 3a–b.

⁶⁷ *Shangshu zhengyi*, v. 1, j. 2, p. 47a.

mythological—precedents.⁶⁸ In a poem written around the twelfth month of Zhide 2 (January or February 758), for instance, Dugu Ji wrote a long poem celebrating the recovery of the capitals as a work of cosmic recreation (*zao quyu* 造區宇) on the model of early stories about the establishment of Chinese civilization.⁶⁹ According to Dugu, An Lushan's rebellion replayed the cataclysm caused by the snake-bodied monster Gonggong 共工, who in early myth broke one of the pillars of heaven, tilting earth and sky and unleashing China's primeval flood.⁷⁰ In the poem, An Lushan is referred to as a "long snake eating up the central lands," causing "heaven's covering to slant toward the northwest and the many stars to meteor down like rain."⁷¹ The dead bodies are piled into mountains; flowing blood drowns the plants. In the face of this hyperbolic destruction, Suzong's accomplishment in recapturing the capitals becomes equivalent to that of the ancient god-king Zhuanxu 顓頊, who defeated Gonggong ("cutting off the leviathan's head" 斬鯨), and the mythological creator-figure Nüwa 女媧, who repaired the cosmos after Gonggong's destruction ("making of the tortoise a pillar to support heaven" 截鼈作天柱).

At the end of the poem, Dugu Ji turns to himself, noting that, unlike Suzong's mighty generals, he has as yet offered nothing to the state's recovery:

腐儒著縫掖， This stale Ru scholar wears humble clothes;⁷²
何處議鄒魯。 what use, my speaking of Zou and Lu?⁷³
西上輶轅山， To the west, I climb Huanyuan Mountain,

⁶⁸ See, for instance, Chu Guangxi, poem no. 3; Dugu Ji, poem no. 3; Jia Zhi, poem no. 1; and Qian Qi, poem no. 3.

⁶⁹ Dugu Ji, poem no. 2; *Piling ji jiaozhu*, j. 1, p. 16. For the poem's date, see also Tao Min, Li Yifei, and Fu Xuancong, *Tang Wudai wenxue biannian shi*, p. 34.

⁷⁰ The detail that Gonggong had a snake's body (and a human head) derives from Gao You's 高誘 (168?–212) annotations to the *Huainanzi*; see *Huainanzi jishi* 淮南子集釋, ed. He Ning 何寧, 21 *juan* in 3 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1998), v. 1, j. 4, p. 370.

⁷¹ 長蛇食中土 and 天蓋西北傾, 眾星隕如雨; both are from *Piling ji jiaozhu*, j. 1, p. 16; Dugu Ji, poem no. 2 in the appendix. Heaven presumably "slants northwest" because after Xuanzong fled south and abdicated the throne, Suzong reconstituted the court ("heaven") at Lingwu, to the northwest of Chang'an. Northwest also happens to be the direction in which Gonggong had slanted the heavens.

⁷² "Humble clothes" recalls the *Liji* 禮記: "Confucius said, 'When I was young, I lived in Lu and wore humble clothes'" (*Liji zhushu*, j. 59, p. 974a). Zheng Xuan explains that humble clothes are thin with large sleeves.

⁷³ Home states of Mencius (Mengzi 孟子, fl. fourth century BCE) and Confucius (Kongzi 孔子, 551–479 BCE), respectively.

丘陵橫今古。 where the hills have stretched across past and
 present.
 和氣蒸萬物， Warm air steams the myriad things;
 臘月春靄吐。 in the first month, spring clouds come forth.
 得為太平人， If I get to be a person living in an age of great peace,
 窮達不足數。 whether I'm poor or successful is not worthy of
 mention.
 他日遇封禪， Meeting again with the Feng-Shan sacrifice,⁷⁴
 著書繼三五。 my writings will continue the Three Landmarks and
 Five Canons.⁷⁵

To this point in the war, Dugu Ji's assiduous study of the teachings of Confucius and Mencius have been of no use. But now that the capitals have been recovered, the universe recreated, and heaven mended, his literary skills will become useful again, allowing him to record Suzong's achievements in the way that the Three Landmarks and Five Canons recorded those of the Three High Sovereigns and Five Thearchs of antiquity. The poem's mythologizing rhetoric, in other words, proleptically enacts the hope it expresses, writing of Suzong in much the register that defined the Tang's understanding of these early rulers. The poem is thus Dugu Ji's contribution to the restoration, aiming to bring back the cultural patterns of great antiquity and thus to solidify imperial authority after a period in which it had been destabilized.

We may or may not believe Dugu Ji here when he claims to be happy with remaining poor and out of office so long as the empire is at peace; certainly a poem such as this one might have served as a presentation piece to potential patrons, attempting to persuade them of his loyalty and value to the dynasty. Less selfless motives of this sort obviously inform a number of rebellion-era poems, shaping their outpourings of feeling and their own attempts to shape the responses of their readers. A clear example here is a hundred-line *pailü* 排律 (extended

⁷⁴ According to one version of the myth, the Feng-Shan sacrifices dated back at least to the time of the Yellow Emperor, who finally established complete sovereignty over China after a period of contestation.

⁷⁵ The phrase "three and five" (*sanwu* 三五) has a number of possible meanings. Here, it seems to me most likely that Dugu is referring to the "Three Landmarks and Five Canons" (*sanfen wudian* 三墳五典), the collected documents of the Three High Sovereigns (San Huang 三皇, often Fuxi, Shennong, and the Yellow Emperor) and the Five Thearchs (Wu Di 五帝, often Shaohao, Zhuanxu, Gao Xin, Yao, and Shun). This excerpt is from *Piling ji jiaozhu*, j. 1, p. 16; Dugu Ji, poem no. 2 in the appendix.

regulated verse) that Liu Zhangqing wrote to his patron Li Xiyan 李希言 (n.d.) in the spring of 768, shortly after the recovery of the capitals.⁷⁶ The poem is, in part, a naked request for preferment and accordingly affects an even-more-elevated register than that we observed in Jia Zhi's above—narrating the war's progress through elaborate periphrases depicting stellar asterisms, historical precedents, mythological resonances, and conventional metonymies. The point of all these verbal pyrotechnics is to flatter Li Xiyan by inflating his contribution to the magnificent restoration of the dynasty and to show off Liu's literary virtuosity as a qualification for his promotion to a higher civil office (somewhere in the central bureaucracy tasked with drafting documents, for example; Liu complains at the end of the poem about being isolated in a low provincial post on the outskirts of the empire). Even though Liu claims, therefore, with false humility, that his lowly "Ba tune"⁷⁷ is forced out of him by natural emotions, its social situation encourages him to channel whatever emotions he may actually feel through the recondite literary resources of the high tradition.

Such resources were not, of course, merely instrumental, and they did not always require specific social ends in view to exert their shaping influence upon rebellion-era poetry. Rong Yu's 戎昱 (744?–800?) 762 series, "How Bitter! Five Ballads" ("Kuzai xing wu shou" 苦哉行五首), for example, offers no ulterior motive for discussing the recent devastation of Luoyang by the Tang's Uyghur allies (who were allowed to sack the city in return for helping to recapture it) through narratives drawn from the precedent tradition.⁷⁸ Instead, those tropes seem merely to aid the poet in conjuring emotions appropriate to poetry in the face of a recent event whose frank depiction might break the boundaries of decorum. Consider, for example, the following poem, the second in the series, which imagines the violence of the Uyghur rampage through the eyes of an imagined victim modeled on Cai Yan

⁷⁶ Liu Zhangqing, poem no. 10.

⁷⁷ "People of Ba" 巴人 was supposedly the title of a lowly sort of popular music, discussed in a dialogue between the legendary Song Yu 宋玉 and the king of Chu; see *Quan shanggu Sandai wen* 全上古三代文, 16 juan, in *Quan shanggu Sandai Qin Han Sanguo Liuchao wen* 全上古三代秦漢三國六朝文, ed. Yan Kejun 嚴可均, 4 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1958), v. 1, j. 10, p. 78b. The learned character of the allusion demonstrates the hollowness of its humility.

⁷⁸ Rong Yu, poem no. 2. For the dating of this series, see Fu Xuancong, *Tangdai shiren congkao* (see appendix for full citation), p. 338; it is prefaced by an apparently authorial note placing it in the Baoying 寶應 reign period (762–763).

蔡琰 (178?-?), a Han-dynasty aristocrat taken captive by the raiding Xiongnu in 195 CE and betrothed to their chieftain.

戎昱，苦哉行其二

RONG YU, "HOW BITTER! FIVE BALLADS," NO. 2

官軍收洛陽， Our army recaptured Luoyang,
 家住洛陽裏。 and my home is within Luoyang.
 夫婿與兄弟， My husband and my brothers
 目前見傷死。 were all butchered before my eyes.
 吞聲不許哭， Swallowing sobs, I was not allowed to cry;
 還遣衣羅綺。 instead they made me dress in gauze and silks.
 上馬隨匈奴， Getting on a horse, I followed the Xiongnu,
 數秋黃塵裏。 and passed several autumns in their brown dust.
 生為名家女， I was born a daughter of a famous family;⁷⁹
 死作塞垣鬼。 dead, I will be a ghost by the Great Wall.
 鄉國無還期， I have no hope of returning to my hometown;
 天津哭流水。 my weeping flows in the water past Heaven's Ford.⁸⁰

According to the *History of the Latter Han (Hou Hanshu)*, Cai Yan was the author of the famous "Poem of Grief and Anger" ("Beifen shi" 悲憤詩), which describes her experience among the Xiongnu; she continued to be a consistent topic of poetry throughout the middle period.⁸¹ Rong Yu's decision to discuss Luoyang's recent sufferings in terms of historically distant models such as Cai Yan thus appeals to a long tradition of poetic melancholy and elegant ethnic horror—a tradition whose established norms provide a means of placing recent violence at a manageable distance, allowing for delicious poetic flourishes like the final image of the speaker's tears returning to Luoyang while she cannot. Because such topics have been aestheticized before, they can be enjoyed here again, provided Rong stays within the boundaries demarcated by the textual tradition. In this context, the fact that Rong's poems were written to "match a set by Wang Jiyou 王季友" (unfortunately lost) merely furthers the case that rebellion-era poetry generally engaged with current events through the medium of other texts.⁸²

⁷⁹ Like Cai Yan, daughter to the famous scholar and official Cai Yong 蔡邕 (132–192).

⁸⁰ A bridge in Luoyang. The northwest was the source of the Yellow River, which flows north of the city. This poem is Rong Yu, no. 2 in the appendix.

⁸¹ Fan Ye, *Hou Hanshu*, v. 10, j. 84, pp. 2801–2.

⁸² 同王季友作; Rong Yu, poem no. 2, p. 715.

Mismatches, Reticence, and Indirection

Li Bai and Du Fu were among the most well-read poets of their age, and like all the writers discussed so far, their work on the rebellion makes extensive use of the precedent textual tradition. If their verse has seemed more vital to later readers, it is probably because their depictions of the rebellion contorted and repurposed traditional forms in far more radical ways than did that of their contemporaries—Li Bai because that is what he habitually did to traditional resources, Du Fu through a process of progressive experimentation and disillusionment with them. Other poets did sometimes reflect upon the mismatches between the contours of the art as it was constituted in the eighth century and the events that demanded their attention during the war. But this reflection does not seem to have led, as it did in Du Fu's case, to an attempt to remake poetry as a more subtle instrument for depicting the vicissitudes of wartime experience. Instead, most rebellion-era poems that highlight mismatches between current events and the proper topics of poetry shy away from direct depictions of the violence, only intimating its unrepresentable reality through the screen of an alternate frame.

Often, indeed, the observation of mismatches between poetry's resources and its wartime subject matter serves primarily to emphasize the importance of canonical regularities. Cen Shen's collection, for instance, contains a pointed reflection upon the tools eighth-century poetry provided for dealing with the war, a *yuefu* 樂府 ("music bureau" or ballad-style) poem that subverts *yuefu* conventions to complain about how little traditional learning is worth in this period of disorder. In highlighting the incapacity of poetry to solve the problems of the age, the poem may perhaps display the influence of recent poetic experiments by Du Fu, who had recommended Cen to the position of Rectifier of Omissions (Buque 補闕) shortly before he wrote this poem. Yet where Du Fu's experiments would eventually lead him to pioneer new modes for the poetic art, Cen's observation of poetry's current uselessness suggests a more conservative disposition.

岑參，行軍詩其二

CEN SHEN, "TWO POEMS ON TRAVELING WITH THE ARMY," NO. 2

早知逢世亂， If I'd known early on I'd meet a disordered age,
 少小謾讀書。 when young, I wouldn't have read books.
 悔不學彎弓， I regret not studying to pull a bow;
 向東射狂胡。 to the east, I'd shoot the mad Hu.
 偶從諫官列， It happens I follow the ranks of remonstrating
 officials;
 謬向丹墀趨。 absurdly, I run toward the cinnabar steps.
 未能匡吾君， I have not been able to correct my lord,⁸³
 虛作一丈夫。 and so it is in vain I am a man.
 撫劍傷世路， Rubbing my sword, I grieve for state of the world;⁸⁴
 哀歌泣良圖。 singing sadly, I weep over my fine plans.
 功業今已遲， Too late, already, to do great deeds;
 覽鏡悲白須。 looking in the mirror, I grieve over my white
 whiskers.
 平生抱忠義， All my life I've harbored loyalty and righteousness;
 不敢私微軀。 I wouldn't dare stint my insignificant body.⁸⁵

"Traveling with the Army" was a traditional *yuefu* title, used ironically here to label a verse that complains precisely about *not* being as closely integrated with the army as the poet would like to be.⁸⁶ In keeping with this frustration of generic expectations, the poem as a whole represents an inversion of the usual dynamics of the *yuefu* tradition, which from at least the time of Bao Zhao 鮑照 (414?-466?) onward often involved literati writing in the voices of people of lower social status, including soldiers. Here, by contrast, Cen is complaining that he cannot inhabit a soldier's role, that his study to become a literatus has prevented him from taking on what is currently a more important function in preserving the state.

⁸³ Correction was, technically, Cen's lofty duty as Rectifier of Omissions. In practice, Cen's position was relatively lowly, and he should not have expected to have much say in policy.

⁸⁴ *Shilu* 世路, which I translate as "state of the world," is ambiguous in this context. Beyond the general situation of the age, the term could also refer to the "paths of power" in officialdom or to the path Cen's life has followed.

⁸⁵ Cen Shen, poem no. 1 in the appendix; *Cen Shen ji jiaozhu*, p. 191.

⁸⁶ According to an early note on this poem, Cen was at Fengxiang with the court in exile, so he could be said to be "traveling with the army," even if he is not really part of the army.

The poem does not, however, totally dispense with the conventions of the *yuefu* tradition. Both its implicit Han-dynasty setting (marked by the use of the term Hu 胡, the ethnonym for the Han-era Xiongnu) and its unrealized ideal of the brave and loyal soldier sacrificing his body to defend the empire derive from that stock.⁸⁷ This use of book learning to repudiate book learning may imply a complaint about the role that men of literary and civil talent are being afforded at Suzong's court. It is not, that is, that culture is irrelevant to an age at war; Cen simply has not been given the chance to enact the "fine plans" his learning has enabled him to formulate for the state. He is thus not really criticizing the learned tradition, even if he is frustrated by its present uselessness. At the very least, it provides him tools for considering how far off the normal course of poetry current events have taken him.

This poem is thus double-edged, simultaneously critiquing the limitations of the poetic art and critiquing an age in which its value has come into question. Yet if Cen displays a certain reluctance here to adapt the art to new exigencies, such frustrated conventionality could in other instances intimate with greater pathos the tragedy of the war. Consider the following poem, for example, Cen's best-known from the period.

岑參，行軍九日思長安故園

CEN SHEN, "TRAVELING WITH THE ARMY ON THE DOUBLE NINTH FESTIVAL, YEARNING FOR MY OLD GARDENS IN CHANG'AN"⁸⁸

強欲登高去， Strongly I desire to go off and climb a high place,
無人送酒來。 but there'd be no one to bring me ale.
遙憐故園菊， Afar I pity the chrysanthemums of my old gardens:
應傍戰場開。 they surely must be blooming beside a battlefield.⁸⁹

The Double Ninth Festival was a common occasion for poetry, particularly poetry that invoked the great recluse-poet Tao Qian 陶潛 (365?-

⁸⁷ There is precedent within the *yuefu* tradition for the sort of inversion of *yuefu* dynamics that Cen accomplishes here; see, for example, Yang Jiong 楊炯 (650-after 693), "Congjun xing" 從軍行, in *Yang Jiong ji* 楊炯集, 10 *juan*, in *Lu Zhaolin ji Yang Jiong ji* 盧照鄰集楊炯集, ed. Xu Mingxia 徐明霞 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1980), j. 2, p. 21.

⁸⁸ An early note on the poem, perhaps written by Cen Shen himself, says: "At the time, Chang'an had yet to be recaptured" 時未收長安。

⁸⁹ The poem is Cen Shen, no. 2 in the appendix; *Cen Shen ji jiaozhu*, p. 193.

427), who had written several Double Ninth poems.⁹⁰ The significance of the festival's date, the ninth day of the ninth month, is conventionally explained by its being a homonym for "long life" (*jiujiu* 久久); the customary ritual on the holiday was to climb to a high place, carry ailanthus branches, and drink chrysanthemum-infused ale, perhaps in order to imbibe that late-blooming perennial's proverbial ability to withstand the winter. Implicitly, then, Cen's failure to engage in this custom this year symbolizes the breakdown in the Tang state, which can no longer maintain a ritual calendar that calls for a break from work on this day, and may bode ill for his own longevity, which is at risk so long as he remains an official rather than a recluse. But instead of dwelling on these forebodings, Cen transmutes them into "pity" for his chrysanthemums, which have the misfortune this year of blooming beside a battlefield. The flowers, we cannot help but recognize, could not care less about this misfortune; they belong to the cycles of nature, surviving adversity and renewing themselves with the year. They thus serve here merely as a screen by means of which Cen can both hide and reveal concerns that are hereby depicted as so powerful that they can only be handled obliquely, through a poem whose topic is ostensibly a conventional one.

This sort of negative technique—leveraging disharmonies between the present situation and the normal topics of poetry to allude to current violence while avoiding direct confrontation with it—constitutes one of the most common modes of poetry on the rebellion. The technique is particularly prevalent in short "recent-style" verses (*jinti shi* 近體詩), especially in the work of poets active in the southeast, such as Liu Zhangqing, Zhang Ji 張繼 (?–779?), Huangfu Ran 皇甫冉 (717?–770), Lu Lun 盧綸 (dates unknown), Li Jiayou 李嘉祐 (dates uncertain), and Jiaoran 皎然 (720?–ca. 795?).⁹¹ These poets are sometimes criticized for their verses' apparent disengagement from the serious

⁹⁰ See, in particular, Tao Qian, "Dwelling in Idleness on the Double Ninth" ("Jiuri xianju" 九日閑居), in *Jin shi* 晉詩, 21 *juan*, in *Xian Qin Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao shi* 先秦漢魏晉南北朝詩, ed. Lu Qinli 逯欽立, 3 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), v. 2, j. 17, pp. 990–91. On the Double Ninth Festival, see A. R. Davis, "The Double Ninth Festival in Chinese Poetry: A Study of Variations upon a Theme," in *Wen-lin: Studies in the Chinese Humanities*, ed. Tse-tsung Chow (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), pp. 45–64.

⁹¹ Regulated-verse (*jinti*) poems in the appendix are: Huangfu Ran, no. 2; Jiaoran, nos. 2–6 and 8; Li Jiayou, nos. 1–7; Liu Zhangqing, nos. 2–4 and 6–18; Lu Lun, nos. 1–3; and Zhang Ji, nos. 2 and 4. There are significant problems in Lu's chronology, however, which may cast the authenticity of his poems into doubt; see Fu Xuancong, *Tangdai shiren congkao*, pp. 469–92.

troubles of their age in their pursuit of craft.⁹² I find it difficult, however, to evaluate poems of this sort on a scale of “realism.” On the one hand, these works clearly represent an evasion of the war’s full horror. On the other, their evasions at least implicitly acknowledge—in a way that was not characteristic of the graphic but highly mannered depictions of violence we saw in Dugu Ji’s and Rong Yu’s poems above—that the sufferings of their contemporaries constitute problematic matter for an art aimed at beauty and decorum.

The following poem is a good example of this conflict. At the time it was written, Li Jiayou was serving as a local official in Jiangyin (in modern-day Jiangsu). Although the Rebellion of the Ans and Shis was concentrated in the northeast, the southeast also saw local rebellions, and Li is probably reflecting here on the effects of Liu Zhan’s 劉展 (d. 761) revolt in 760 and 761.

李嘉祐，南浦渡口

LI JIAYOU, “THE FERRY CROSSING AT NANPU”⁹³

寂寞橫塘路， Lonely and silent, the Hengtang road;
 新篁覆水低。 fresh bamboo shoots, low, covering the water.
 東風潮信滿， In the east wind, the tide is full;⁹⁴
 時雨稻粳齊。 timely rains, the rice paddies even.
 寡婦共租稅， Widows provide the taxes;
 漁人逐鼓鼙。 the fishermen have followed the drums.
 慚無卓魯術， I am ashamed that I lack the skills of Zhuo and Lu;⁹⁵
 解印謝黔黎。 taking off my seals, I should apologize to the people.⁹⁶

This poem is one of the most interestingly conflicted works to survive from the rebellion era. In the first two couplets, the return of spring has brought a natural abundance, if one largely wasted on a society at

⁹² Stephen Owen, “The Cultural Tang,” in *The Cambridge History of Chinese Literature*, ed. Kang-i Sun Chang and Stephen Owen, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), v. 1, p. 324.

⁹³ Nanpu was a common place name in the region, and it is not clear where exactly Li was writing. For the dating of this poem, see Fu Xuancong, *Tangdai shiren congkao*, pp. 227–28.

⁹⁴ The east wind is the wind of springtime.

⁹⁵ Zhu Mao 卓茂 (d. 28 CE?) and Lu Gong 魯恭 (32–112?) were proverbially worthy administrators in the Han dynasty.

⁹⁶ “Apologize”—in the sense of “acknowledge my unworthiness to”—also has the meaning here of “resign my responsibilities for”; both meanings are in play. This poem is Li Jiayou, no. 4 in the appendix.

war. There is no one to eat the bamboo shoots, and though the timely rains have been kind to local agriculture, the land is being worked only by widows, the menfolk having been pressed into military service. Ashamed that he has not, as an official, been able to prevent these depredations on the community for which he was supposed to be responsible, Li Jiayou thinks of giving up his seals of office. The poem's sting, however, lies in the fact that retiring from public life would immediately make him a recluse, which in the riverine and lacustrine southland would generally mean being a "fisherman"—that is, taking the place of the people whose lives he could not save. There is a troubled ambivalence, therefore, to Li's depiction of nature's gentle abundance and the renewal of spring, which offer him an escape from the war that others have been denied.

Turning Away

In aspiring toward an ideal of reclusive retreat from the troubles of the age, Li Jiayou here makes one of the most common moves we find in surviving poetry from the rebellion era (indeed, we have already seen it above in poems by Dugu Ji, Chu Guangxi, Wu Yun, and Gao Shi). Reclusion was a complex discursive trope: on the one hand, it was a way of saving one's skin in a period of disorder; on the other, the decision to save one's skin rather than participate in saving the world could often be interpreted as a political statement about the misgovernment of the empire. In this way, rebellion-era poems that end with the poet yearning to become a recluse simultaneously offer a solution (for the poet) while hinting that there may be no easy solution (for the state). Such poems thus often look both ways, toward the unbreakable regularities of the natural world and the broken state of the human one.

Most of the poets who fantasized about reclusion in poetry did not really seek it in life; one important exception is Yuan Jie 元結 (719–772), who in 762 resigned his relatively high-ranking government post and retired to "Retreat Valley" 退谷 near Wuchang 武昌 in modern-day Hubei. In most of his surviving rebellion-era poems, Yuan invokes reclusion as offering an escape from the vicissitudes of life in a troubled age.⁹⁷ Yet he does not seem to have felt, even when he had retired to

⁹⁷ Yuan Jie is often thought of as the most socially conscious poet of the rebellion era other than Du Fu, although the two famous poems upon which this judgment is generally

Retreat Valley, that he had truly escaped. In a remarkable poem written during the period, he even goes so far as to reinterpret a friend's poetic epistle—which to all appearances merely describes a bout of cold weather—as allegorically depicting the sufferings that the war has occasioned among the common people, perhaps in (feigned?) disbelief that his esteemed friend might focus his poetic energies on such a mundane topic as winter snow while there is a rebellion going on.⁹⁸ Where other writers (such as Yuan's friend) could avert their eyes from the chaos, that is, Yuan remained fixated on it. Yet when he wrote about the rebellion himself, he still needed to make recourse to the alternate frame that reclusion provided.

元結，忝官引

YUAN JIE, "LAY OF BEING ASHAMED TO HOLD OFFICE"

天下昔無事， In the past, the empire had no troubles;
 僻居養愚鈍。 I lived apart and nurtured my dullness.
 山野性所安， Mountain wilderness is where my nature is at peace;
 熙然自全順。 happily, I kept myself whole and followed my
 inclinations.
 忽逢暴兵起， Suddenly I met with the rise of violence and war;
 閭巷見軍陣。 in the village lanes appeared battle lines.
 將家瀛海濱， I took my family to the edge of the great sea,
 自棄同芻糞。 abandoning myself to be as lowly as hay and shit.
 往在乾元初， Yet then at the beginning of the Qianyuan period,⁹⁹
 聖人啟休運。 our Sage began a better cycle of fortune.
 公車詣魏闕， In an official carriage I paid my respects at the gate
 towers of Wei;¹⁰⁰
 天子垂清問。 the Son of Heaven extended pure questions in my
 direction.
 敢誦王者箴， I dared to proclaim advice fit for one who would be
 a true king,

based (Yuan Jie, poem nos. 8 and 9 in the appendix) were in fact written sometime after 763, when the war in the northeast was already over.

⁹⁸ Yuan Jie, poem no. 6 in the appendix. The poem Yuan is responding to is apparently Meng Yanshen, poem no. 1 in the appendix.

⁹⁹ That is, 758–760.

¹⁰⁰ The Wei gate towers were a common metonymy for the court. In 759, Yuan was summoned out of reclusion to serve. For Yuan Jie's biography, see *Tang caizi zhuan jiaojian* 唐才子傳校箋, ed. Fu Xuancong, 5 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987–1995), v. 1, pp. 513–21.

亦獻當時論。 and I also presented disquisitions fit for the times.
朝廷愛方直， The court valued my directness and uprightness;
明主嘉忠信。 the enlightened ruler celebrated my loyalty and
trustworthiness.
屢授不次官， Several times I was bestowed positions out of
normal sequence,
曾與專征印。 and I was once given the seals to take charge of a
campaign.
兵家未曾學， I never studied the military masters,
榮利非所徇。 for glory and profit were not what I sought.
偶得凶醜降， Having happened to get evil people to surrender,
功勞愧方寸。 the merit I attained shamed my heart.
爾來將四歲， Since then it has been almost four years:
慚恥言可盡。 can my shame now be fully spoken?
請取冤者辭， Let me take the words of those who have been
wronged
為吾忝官引。 to make for myself a lay of being ashamed to hold
office.
冤辭何者苦， And how bitter are the words of those who've been
wronged!
萬邑餘灰燼。 of more than ten-thousand towns, only leftover
ashes.
冤辭何者悲， And how sad are the words of those who've been
wronged!
生人盡鋒刃。 all the living people there put to the sword.
冤辭何者甚， And how extreme are the words of those who've
been wronged!
力役遇勞困。 with heavy corvée, they have met with labor and
hardship.
冤辭何者深， And how deep are the words of those who've been
wronged!
孤弱亦哀恨。 the orphaned and weak also feel pain and
resentment.
無謀救冤者， I have no strategies that can save these wronged
people,
祿位安可近。 so how can I approach emolument or position?
而可愛軒裳， How could I love the accoutrements of office,
其心又干進。 with a mind that still seeks to advance?

此言非所戒， I do not mean these words as a warning to others;
 此言敢貽訓。 would I dare leave these words as a lesson for the
 future?

實欲辭無能， In truth, all I want is to resign as incapable,
 歸耕守吾分。 and returning to plow, keep to my own portion.¹⁰¹

This poem represents perhaps the most persuasive attempt within surviving rebellion-era verse to actualize the canonical poetics of the “Great Preface” to the *Mao Odes*, channeling the voices of the entire state through the medium of an individual poet to produce an omen of the age. Yet there is something odd about the poem’s relationship to the voices it claims to channel. Although the text as a whole is entitled “Lay of Being Ashamed to Hold Office,” its first twenty-six lines ostensibly serve as a preface for the “lay” that Yuan here vows to make out of “the words of those who have been wronged”—words that in fact never appear in the poem. Yuan apparently hears them—more powerfully, we might say, than any of the other authors we have read so far—but the words *we* hear are exclusively his, and are moreover pressed to the service of a frame argument that he should return to the mountain wilderness wherein his nature was once at peace. Thus even if Yuan’s announcement here that he plans to leave his post can perhaps be read as a criticism of the way the government is currently prosecuting the war, there is an interesting vacillation within the poem between fidelity to its historical ground and a fantasy of escaping it.

In this respect, Yuan’s poem crystallizes the liminality that I argue generally characterizes this corpus of poetry on the rebellion, simultaneously facing the horror of a world at war and turning away from it toward alternate frames that render that world amenable to poetic presentation. The world of poetry, that is, is not simply the world of history, but rather a space between history and its transcendence. This space is rendered physical in the following poem by Qian Qi, written at the very outset of the rebellion, when he fled to a Buddhist monastery in the Zhongnan mountains to escape the encroach of An Lushan’s armies.

¹⁰¹ Yuan Jie, poem no. 3 in the appendix.

錢起，東城初陷與薛員外王補闕暝投南山佛寺
 QIAN QI, "WHEN THE EASTERN CAPITAL FIRST FELL TO THE
 REBELS, SUPERNUMERARY XUE,¹⁰²

RECTIFIER OF OMISSIONS WANG [WEI], AND I SECRETLY SOUGHT
 REFUGE AT A BUDDHIST TEMPLE IN THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAINS"

日昃石門裏， The sun slants within the stone gate;
 松聲山寺寒。 sound of pines, the mountain temple cold.
 香雲空靜影， Fragrant clouds vacantly still their reflections;¹⁰³
 定水無驚湍。 calm waters have no startled rapids.¹⁰⁴
 洗足解塵纓， Washing our feet, we take off our dusty official sashes;¹⁰⁵
 忽覺天形寬。 suddenly we feel our heaven-given forms relax.
 清鐘揚虛谷， A clear bell rises within the empty valley;
 微月深重巒。 faint moonlight deepens on the layered ridges.
 噫我朝露世， Alas for us, a generation like the morning dew;
 翻浮與波瀾。 we toss and tumble with the waves.
 行運遭憂患， The dynasty's fortune has met with worry and
 trouble;
 何緣親盤桓。 how could we ourselves linger on there?¹⁰⁶
 庶將鏡中象， We hope to take all the images in the mirror
 盡作無生觀。 and completely subject them to a vision of
 non-arising.¹⁰⁷

Insofar as we have explored here the generic space that poetry provided for the discussion of violence and disorder, it is worth noticing that the prose title of this piece—apparently added (or at least edited) retrospectively—is much more explicit about its historical background than is the verse itself, which only hints at the “worry and trouble” that the dynasty currently faces. The text of the poem, in other words, is

¹⁰² Supernumerary Xue is unknown.

¹⁰³ These fragrant clouds may be clouds of incense smoke.

¹⁰⁴ In Buddhist texts, calm waters are a common metaphor for the mind in meditation.

¹⁰⁵ This line recalls a song preserved in a few early texts: “When Canglang’s waters are clear, I can wash my headband in it; when Canglang’s waters are dirty, I can wash my feet in it”; *Mengzi yizhu* 孟子譯注, annot. Yang Bojun, 14 *juan* in 2 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960), v. 1, j. 7, p. 170.

¹⁰⁶ The phrase translated as “linger on there” (*panhuan* 盤桓) derives from the *Yijing*; Wang Bi’s (226–249) gloss on the phrase tells us that “in a situation wherein one cannot advance, one lingers on”; see *Zhouyi zhengyi*, v. 1, j. 1, p. 22a.

¹⁰⁷ Qian Qi, poem no. 1 in the appendix; *Qian Qi shiji jiaozhu*, v. 1, j. 3, p. 177.

already at a certain distance from historical experience, a transition signaled by crossing the threshold of the temple in the poem's first line.

Such confluences of spatial and mental sorts of transcendence were commonplace in temple-visiting poems of the eighth century, wherein the ascent into the mountains often served as a metaphor for a spiritual ascent. But even as he reaches the top here, Qian has not yet fully escaped the world of dust. Although he finds calm waters in the monastery pool, which serve initially both as a metaphor for the stilling of his mind and also as a stand-in for the reclusive topos of Canglang 滄浪 stream, waves soon rise among his thoughts, breaking the new moon's reflection into sparkling dew, a proverbial figure for the fragility of human life. Qian ends the poem, therefore, hoping that the monastery grounds will become for him an entrance to a further sort of transcendence, beyond even the images of poetry and the passage of time itself.

Conclusion

The liminal structure we can discern in this corpus of rebellion-era poetry is not, I would suggest, limited to it. Instead, the Tang's sudden midcourse collapse merely brought to a crisis a concern with the relationship between the present and the permanent that can be found throughout much of eighth-century verse, as well as much that preceded it. The formal characteristics of poetry in the medieval period were far from free; an art often dominated by allusions, syntactic parallelism, and tonal balance, it was fundamentally an art of order. Unpredictable violence could thus sometimes prompt and provide the material for verse, but in the end, poets needed to find rhymes, both in their language and with the alternate frames that served as avatars of *kairos* within a poetry struggling against *chronos*.¹⁰⁸

Whether these alternate frames are depicted as immanent or imminent, therefore, there remains throughout this corpus a compulsive

¹⁰⁸ This theological distinction is developed for literary criticism in Frank Kermode, *The Sense of an Ending: Studies in the Theory of Fiction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), especially pp. 46–64. It is also employed by Giorgio Agamben, who has argued that rhyme of its very nature is concerned with redeeming time from the destinationless succession characteristic of *chronos*; see, for example, Giorgio Agamben, *The Time That Remains: A Commentary on the Letter to the Romans*, trans. Patricia Dailey (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005).

binocularly, one eye always past the uncertainties of present experience to the significant horizons provided by history, the natural world, or religious transcendence. In this respect, while scholars such as Lü Wei can productively read this verse as enacting canonical ideals of poetry's duty to respond to its historical ground, that response always involves escape to or transfiguration from positions outside history's obscure progress. Whether or not eighth-century poetry was conditioned by a non-dualistic cosmology,¹⁰⁹ then, it was at least in this respect a dualistic practice, wherein the interest of the art lay largely in the complex tensions that obtained between current events and the alternate frames invoked to transform them, and thus between the world that poetry strove to create and the world that poets lived in.

When we move from practice to theory, we find similar sorts of binocularly in Tang discussions of poetry's historical derivation, its normative forms and uses, and its metaphysical significance. Tang classicism, for example, read the *Shijing* not as a document of the historical decline from which its later sections derived, but rather as a largely homogeneous collection of normative emotional reactions to history, each poem in the collection (including those that criticized the corrupted mores of their belated age) reflecting the time-transcending influence of the early Zhou-dynasty sages who established poetry as a state ritual.¹¹⁰ A similar analysis of poetry's normative significance characterized the pervasive ideal in Tang literary criticism of returning to antiquity (*fugu* 復古), by which writers were enjoined to write according to the conventions and with the force of earlier poetic eras. In a somewhat different direction, moreover, much Tang poetic theory emphasized the derivation of great poetry from strata of reality that lie beyond ordinary perception, and certainly beyond the sorts of macroscopic events that historiography generally records.¹¹¹ Though these topics are too complex to deal with in any detail here, each of these ways of discussing the poetic art positions it between the present realities poetry generally took as its explicit subject matter and the

¹⁰⁹ As suggested, for example, in Pauline Yu, *Reading of Imagery*, and Zong-qi Cai, *Configurations of Comparative Poetics* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002).

¹¹⁰ See *Maoshi zhengyi*, v. 2, j. 1, pp. 16b–17a.

¹¹¹ For this discourse, see Stephen Owen, *The End of the Chinese "Middle Ages": Essays in Mid-Tang Literary Culture* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), pp. 107–29. See also Lucas Rambo Bender, "Du Fu: Poet-Sage, Poet-Historian" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2016), especially pp. 40–68, 91–113, and 151–64.

time-transcending sources of value that permit that subject matter's transfiguration into successful verse. And just as these ways of talking about the literary art fell out of favor during the Song dynasty and the late imperial period more generally, so too did this body of poetry become less compelling to later readers.

Given the awesome continuity often ascribed to the Chinese literary tradition, it is useful now and again to pay attention to subtle shifts like this one in the ideals that shape not only how we read but also what we read. Since literary histories primarily select from this period only Du Fu and Li Bai, they have come to seem both more original and more normal than they were in their own time. Attending to this corpus of other poetry on the rebellion, therefore, can help us to resituate these famous poets' well-known masterpieces in a more robust context, wherein we will be better able to recognize where they departed from the conventions of their age and where they repeat motifs found throughout the work of their contemporaries. Reading this poetry sympathetically, moreover, will reveal that the poetic ideals that have made Du Fu and Li Bai so important to the later tradition sometimes flatten other Tang verse with demands that it speak to its historical context in a particular sort of way. Freed from this expectation, these "other" poets' stubborn performance of an art learned in a more optimistic age, their quixotic hope that the enactment of stability in verse might somehow re-engender it in the real world, and their yearning for an escape from the relentlessness of history should all be recognizably human to any of us who continue to devote ourselves to the study of a premodern culture in our own troubled times.

Appendix: Poems from the An Lu Shan Rebellion Era (755–763)

This appendix provides a list of the most interesting poetry (*shi* 詩) I have found that discusses the rebellion and was written during its course by writers other than Li Bai and Du Fu. It also provides references to all poems cited in this article that are germane to the rebellion, even if they were written after its end. I do not include *fu* 賦 rhapsodies, though several *fu* dealing with the rebellion survive.

Poems are cited here according to two standard numbering systems for Tang poetry, as provided by:

- Chen Yixin 陈贻焮, *Zengding zhushi Quan Tang shi* 增订注释全唐诗, 5 vols. (Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe, 2001) [hereafter *QTS*]; and
- *Tōdai no shihen* 唐代の詩篇, ed. Hiraoka Takeo 平岡武夫, 2 vols. (Kyoto: Kyōto daigaku jinbun kagaku kenkyūjo, 1964–1965) [hereafter *TS*].

To provide a date for a poem, I have, wherever possible, used a given author's edited and annotated collection. I have also consulted the notes in *QTS* as well as other sources, most notably:

- Tao Min 陶敏, Li Yifei 李一飞, and Fu Xuancong 傅璇琮, *Tang Wudai wenxue biannian shi: Zhong Tang juan* 唐五代文学编年史: 中唐卷 (Shenyang: Liaohai chubanshe, 1998);
- Fu Xuancong, *Tangdai shiren congkao* 唐代诗人丛考 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980); the notes in *QTS*; and
- *Dali shilüe jianshi jiping* 大历诗略笺释辑评, ed. Qiao Yi 乔亿 with annot. by Lei Enhai 雷恩海 (Tianjin: Tianjin guji chubanshe, 2008).

All dates here should be understood as highly tentative and provisional. Dates are provided according to reign dates. The Common Era (CE) dates for the beginning of the relevant reign periods are:

Tianbao 天寶 14 (Emperor Xuanzong): February 16, 755

Zhide 至德 1 (Emperor Suzong): August 1, 756

Qianyuan 乾元 1 (Emperor Suzong): March 14, 758

Shangyuan 上元 1 (Emperor Suzong): May 20, 760

Baoying 寶應 1 (Emperor Daizong 代宗): April 29, 762

Guangde 廣德 1 (Emperor Daizong): August 14, 763

Dates with a question mark (?) are either particularly uncertain or currently under debate. Poems whose dates cannot be even tentatively estimated are given no date (n.d.).

Although the magnitude of textual loss from this period makes me worry that providing any statistics about this corpus will prove misleading about the overall production of poetry in the period, certain rough proportions among what survives may, perhaps, be indicative of the types of verse that tended to mention the rebellion. Notably, for example, slightly over two-thirds of surviving poems that discuss the rebellion are explicitly social or occasional. A similar proportion of surviving poems are in recent-style (*jinti*) forms; sixty percent of such works are eight-line regulated verses, thirty percent are *pailü* (extended regulated verses), and the rest are *jueju* 絕句 (four-line poems).¹¹² Only two poems in the corpus are written to an existing *yuefu* title, though this number likely leaves out *yuefu* written during the war about the war that are not clearly datable as such. Five more poems within the corpus are included in Guo Maoqian's 郭茂倩 (1049–1099) *Yuefu shiji* 樂府詩集 as *pingdiao* tunes 平調曲.¹¹³ And two poems identify themselves as songs (*ge* 歌). Around 85 percent of surviving poetry on the rebellion is written in a regular five-syllable line, and only three poems use irregular meters. In short, then, the genres in which Li Bai and especially Du Fu most famously addressed the rebellion—often in *guti* forms, through *yuefu* or so-called new (*xin* 新) *yuefu* registers, in ballads and songs, and in poems without explicit social occasions—were not the most common forms in which their contemporaries discussed the war.

¹¹² Though note that *jinti* and *guti* 古體 (old-style) forms existed on a continuum of tonal regulation in the mid-eighth century rather than being clearly distinct; Paul W. Kroll, “Heyue yingling ji and the Attributes of High Tang Poetry,” in *Reading Medieval Chinese Poetry: Text, Context, and Culture*, ed. Paul W. Kroll (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 169–201.

¹¹³ Guo Maoqian, *Yuefu shiji*, 100 *juan* in 4 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), v. 2, j. 33, pp. 492–93.

NO. POEM TITLE	QTS VOL. & PG. NOS.	QTS JUAN & POEM NOS.	TS NO.	PROBABLE DATE	NOTE NO. & COMMENTS
CEN SHEN 岑參 (CA. 715-770)					
1 行軍詩二首	1.1616-17	187.96	09582, 09583	Zhide 2	nn. 16, 85; #2 translated in main text
2 行軍九日思長安故園	1.1665	190.39	09848	Zhide 2	nn. 16, 89; translated in main text
3 奉和中書舍人賈至早朝大明宮	1.1658	190.1	09808	Qianyuan 1	n. 18; does not mention the rebellion
4 過綏山王處士黑石谷隱居	1.1608-9	187.55	09541	Qianyuan 1?	n. 16
5 送裴判官自賊中再歸河陽幕府	1.1635	189.25	09664	Shangyuan 1	n. 16
6 九日使君席奉餞衛中丞赴長水	1.1659	190.7	09815	Shangyuan 1 or 2	n. 16
7 虢州郡齋南池幽興因與閻二侍御道別	1.1603	187.35	09521	Shangyuan 2	n. 16
8 虢州送天平何丞入京市馬	1.1644	189.73	09712	Shangyuan 2?	n. 16
9 衛節度赤驃馬歌	1.1625	188.28	09616	Shangyuan 2	n. 16
10 潼關鎮國軍句覆使院早春寄王同州	1.1594	187.8	09494	Baoying 1	n. 16
CHU GUANGXI 儲光羲 (CA. 706-762)					
1 留別安慶李太守	1.1042	128.3	06603	Zhide 1	n. 26
2 奉別長史庾公太守徐公應召	1.1032	127.13	06568	Zhide 1	nn. 26, 39; translated in main text

NO. POEM TITLE	QTS VOL. & PG. NOS.	QTS JUAN & POEM NOS.	TS NO.	PROBABLE DATE	NOTE NO. & COMMENTS
3 同張侍御宴北樓	1.1041	127.40	06596	Zhide 1	nn. 26, 68
4 登秦嶺作時陪賊歸國	1.1016	126.12	06530	Zhide 1	n. 26
DU FU 杜甫 (712-770)					
1 袁王孫	2.23	205.46	10541	Zhide 1	n. 21
2 奉送郭中丞兼太僕卿充隴右節度使 三十韻	2.179	214.4	10985	Zhide 2	n. 44
3 奉和賈至舍人早朝大明宮	2.185	214.19	11003	Qianyuan 1	n. 18; does not mention the rebellion
4 晦日尋崔耿李封	2.25	206.2	10547	debated	n. 44
5 觀兵	2.198	214.70	11077	Qianyuan 2?	n. 44
DUGU JI 獨孤及 (725-777)					
1 雨後公超谷北原眺望寄高拾遺	2.519	236.1	12865	Tianbao 15	n. 22; translated in main text
2 季冬自嵩山赴洛道中作	2.517-18	235.21	12857	Zhide 2	nn. 44, 47, 69, 71, 75; partially translated in main text
3 丙戌歲正月出洛陽書懷	2.519	235.25	12861	Zhide 3	nn. 47, 68

NO.	POEM TITLE	QTS VOL. & PG. NOS.	QTS JUAN & POEM NOS.	TS NO.	PROBABLE DATE	NOTE NO. & COMMENTS
4	庚子歲避地至玉山酬韓司馬所贈	2.513-14	235.11	12847	Qianyuan 3	
5	代書寄上裴六冀劉二穎	2.510	235.3	12839	Baoying 2?	
GAO SHI 高適 (CA. 702-765)						
1	酬河南節度使賀蘭大夫見贈之作	1.1785	203.56	10442	Zhide 2	n. 47
2	酬裴員外以詩代書	1.1736	200.22	10260	Qianyuan 2	nn. 44, 47, 62, 63; discussed in main text
3	同河南李少尹舉員外宅夜飲時洛陽告捷遂作春酒歌	1.1769-70	202.25	10378	Qianyuan 2?	
GENG WEI 耿湜 (JINSHI CA. 762)						
1	代宋州將淮上乞師	2.694	257.32	13836	n.d.	n. 14; likely after the rebellion
2	路旁老人	2.709-10	258.26	13940	n.d.	n. 14; likely after the rebellion
3	宋中	2.692	257.19	13823	n.d.	n. 14; likely after the rebellion
4	宋中	2.702	257.96	13901	n.d.	n.14; likely after the rebellion
HUANGFU RAN 皇甫冉 (717?-770)						
1	宿嚴維宅送包七	2.552	238.79	13076	Zhide 1	also attributed to Liu Zhangqing
2	同溫丹徒登萬歲樓	2.556	239.8	13102	Zhide period	n. 91; also attributed to Liu Zhangqing

NO.	POEM TITLE	QTS VOL. & PG. NOS.	QTS JUAN & POEM NOS.	TS NO.	PROBABLE DATE	NOTE NO. & COMMENTS
3	太常魏博士遠出賊庭江外相逢因敘其事	2.551	238.76	13073	Zhide period	
4	送鄴判官赴徐州	2.543	238.24	13015	Shangyuan 2?	also attributed to Liu Zhangqing
5	送鄴判官赴河南	2.556	239.11	13105	Baoying 2	also attributed to Liu Zhangqing
6	送袁郎中破賊北歸	2.563	239.59	13153	Baoying 2	
7	和袁郎中破賊後經劍中山水	2.568	239.92	13186	Baoying 2	
JIA ZHI 賈至 (718–772)						
1	自蜀奉冊命往朔方途中呈韋左相文部房尚書門下崔侍郎	2.355	224.1	11949	Zhide 1	nn. 46, 61, 68; translated in main text
2	早朝大明宮兩省僚友	2.360	224.22	11972	Qianyuan 1	n. 18; does not mention the rebellion
3	巴陵早秋寄荊州崔司馬吏部閻功曹舍人	2.356	224.3	11951	Shangyuan 1	n. 47
JIAORAN 皎然 (ca. 720–ca. 798)						
1	效古	5.508	815.29	44817	Tianbao 14	

NO.	POEM TITLE	QTS VOL. & PG. NOS.	QTS JUAN & POEM NOS.	TS NO.	PROBABLE DATE	NOTE NO. & COMMENTS
2	同楊使君白蘋洲送陸侍御士佳入朝	5.495	814.7	44592	Qianyuan 1	n. 91
3	送季良北歸	5.498	814.29	44737	Qianyuan 2	n. 91
4	送乾封李成	5.489	813.30	44661	Qianyuan 2	n. 91
5	兵後與故人別予西上至今在揚楚因有是寄	5.467	811.14	44511	Shangyuan 1	n. 91
6	兵後送薛居士移家安吉	5.489	813.28	44659	Baoying 1	n. 91
7	兵後餘不亭重送盧孟明遊江西	5.494	814.1	44709	Baoying 1	
8	兵後早春登故鄆南樓望昆山寺白鶴觀示清道人並沈道士	5.460	810.45	44476	Baoying 1	n. 91
LI JIAYOU 李嘉祐 (JINSHI 748)						
1	晚發咸陽寄同院遺補	1.1711	196.19	10128	Qianyuan 1	n. 91
2	送皇甫冉往安宜	1.1711	196.18	10127	Suzong's reign?	n. 91
3	自常州還江陰途中作	1.1703	195.58	10081	Shangyuan 2	n. 91
4	南浦渡口	1.1699	195.30	10053	Shangyuan 2	nn. 91, 96; translated in main text
5	自蘇臺至望亭驛人家盡空春物增思悵然有作因寄從弟紆	1.1709	196.9	10118	Baoying 2	n. 91

NO. POEM TITLE	QTS VOL. & PG. NOS.	QTS JUAN & POEM NOS.	TS NO.	PROBABLE DATE	NOTE NO. & COMMENTS
6 和袁郎中破賊後經剡縣山水上太尉	1.1708	196.1	10110	Baoying 2	n. 91
7 早秋京口旅泊章侍御寄書相問因以贈之時七夕	1.1711	196.20	10129	Guangde 1?	n. 91
LIU ZHANGQING 劉長卿 (726?-790?)					
1 京口懷洛陽舊居兼寄廣陵二三知己	1.1148-49	138.64	07301	Tianbao 15	nn. 15, 47
2 曲阿對月別岑况徐說	1.1122	137.23	07128	Tianbao 15	nn. 15, 91
3 旅次丹陽郡遇康侍御宣慰召募兼別岑單父	1.1154	139.5	07319	Tianbao 15	nn. 15, 91
4 登松江驛樓北望故園	1.1175	140.60	07433	Zhide 1	nn. 15, 91
5 吳中聞潼關失守因奉寄淮南蕭判官	1.1150	138.71	07308	Zhide 1	n. 15
6 冬夜宿揚州開元寺烈公房送李侍御之江東	1.1143	138.35	07272	Zhide 1	nn. 15, 91
7 瓜洲驛奉錢張侍御公拜膳部郎中卻復憲臺充賀蘭大夫留後使之嶺南時侍御先在淮南幕府	1.1159	139.16	07330	Zhide 2	nn. 15, 47, 91
8 送賈侍御克復後入京	1.1138	138.8	07245	Zhide 3	nn. 15, 91
9 送路少府使東京便應制舉	1.1123	137.25	07130	Zhide 3	nn. 15, 91

NO.	POEM TITLE	QTS VOL. & PG. NOS.	QTS JUAN & POEM NOS.	TS NO.	PROBABLE DATE	NOTE NO. & COMMENTS
10	至德三年春正月時謬蒙差攝海鹽令聞 王師收二京因書事寄上浙西節度李 侍郎中丞行營五十韻	1.1160	139.17	07331	Zhide 3	nn. 15, 44, 76, 91; discussed in main text
11	獄中聞收東京有赦	1.1173	140.43	07416	Qianyuan 1	nn. 15, 91
12	送李二十四移家之江州	1.1115	136.110	07072	Qianyuan 1	nn. 15, 91
13	奉陪使君西庭送淮西魏判官	1.1125	137.45	07150	Qianyuan 1	nn. 15, 91
14	罷攝官後將還舊居留辭李侍御	1.1156	139.11	07325	Qianyuan 1	nn. 15, 47, 91
15	送裴郎中貶吉州	1.1104	136.32	07339	Qianyuan 2	nn. 15, 91
16	自江西歸至舊任官舍贈袁贊府	1.1170	140.29	07402	Shangyuan 2	nn. 15, 91
17	送盧侍御赴河北	1.1166	140.1	07374	Guangde 1?	nn. 15, 91
18	北歸次秋浦界清溪館	1.1112	136.85	07047	Guangde 1?	nn. 15, 91
LU LUN 盧綸 (CA. 737-CA. 788)						
1	晚次鄂州	2.858	268.68	14876	Zhide period	n. 91
2	至德中途中書事卻寄李憫	2.863	269.25	14905	Zhide period	n. 91
3	至德中贈內兄劉贊	2.861	269.12	14892	Zhide period	n. 91

NO. POEM TITLE	QTS VOL. & PG. NOS.	QTS JUAN & POEM NOS.	TS NO.	PROBABLE DATE	NOTE NO. & COMMENTS
MENG YANSHEN 孟彥深 (JINSHI 743)					
1 元次山居武昌之樊山新春大學以詩問之	1.1582	185.1	09434	Baoying 2	n. 98; probable prompt for Yuan Jie's response; does not mention the rebellion
QJAN QI 錢起 (710?-782?)					
1 東城初陷與薛員外王補闕暝投南山佛寺	2.378	225.74	10269	Tianbao 14	nn. 17, 107; translated in main text
2 送時暹避難適荆南	2.394	226.66	12160	Zhide 1	
3 觀法駕自鳳翔回	2.407	227.15	12248	Zhide 2	nn. 17, 44, 47, 68
RONG YU 戎昱 (744?-800?)					
1 八月十五日	2.726	259.67	14055	Qianyuan 2?	
2 苦哉行五首	2.715-16	259.2	13984-88	Baoying 2	nn. 78, 80, 82; 2nd ballad translated in main text
WANG WEI 王維 (ca. 699-761)					
1 菩提寺禁裴迪來相看說逆賊等凝碧池上作音樂供奉人等舉聲便一時淚下私成口號誦示裴迪	1.938	117.59	06149	Zhide 1	

NO. POEM TITLE	QTS VOL. & PG. NOS.	QTS JUAN & POEM NOS.	TS NO.	PROBABLE DATE	NOTE NO. & COMMENTS
2 菩提寺禁口號又示裴迪	1.934	117.36	06114	Zhide 1	
3 和賈舍人早朝大明宮之作	1.927	117.5	06058	Qianyuan 1	n. 18; does not mention the rebellion
4 既蒙宥罪旋復拜官伏感聖恩竊書鄙意兼奉簡新除使君等諸公	1.928	117.11	06064	Qianyuan 1	
WU YUN 吳筠 (D. 778)					
1 建業懷古	5.763	848.9	46791	Zhide 1	nn. 41, 42, 43, 45; discussed in main text
2 酬葉縣劉明府避地廬山言懷貽鄭錄事昆季苟尊師兼見贈之	5.764-65	848.16	46799	Zhide 2	
YUAN JIE 元結 (719-772)					
1 寄源休	2.461-62	230.5	12578	Shangyuan 2	
2 與灑溪鄰里	2.463	230.9	12582	Shangyuan 2	
3 忝官引	2.460	230.2	12575	Baoying 1	n. 101; translated in main text
4 喻舊部曲	2.464	230.15	12588	Baoying period	
5 喻常吾直	2.464	230.16	12589	Baoying period	

NO.	POEM TITLE	QTS VOL. & PG. NOS.	QTS JUAN & POEM NOS.	TS NO.	PROBABLE DATE	NOTE NO. & COMMENTS
6	酬孟武昌苦雪	2.465	2.30.19	12592	Baoying 2	n. 98; responds to Meng Yanshen, no. 1
7	漫酬賈河州	2.465	2.30.20	12593	Guangde 1	
8	賊退示官吏	2.461	2.30.4	12577	Guangde 2	n. 97; after the rebellion
9	春陵行	2.461	2.30.3	12576	Guangde 2	n. 97; after the rebellion
ZHANG JI 張繼 (D. 779?)						
1	酬李書記校書越城秋夜見贈	2.474	2.31.15	12639	Zhide 2	
2	春夜皇甫冉宅歡宴	2.472	2.31.3	12627	Suzong's reign	n. 91
3	送鄴判官往陳留	2.473	2.31.14	12638	Baoying 2	
4	闔門即事	2.475	2.31.20	12644	n.d.	n. 91