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(ejl@princeton.edu)

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DEDICATED TO
Frederick W. Mote

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From the Editor

The revived *East Asian Library Journal*, in the form of volume eight, number one, has met with an enthusiastic reception, and we are sincerely encouraged about the future viability of the journal. In the sense of the Chinese adage *yinshui siyuan* (“when drinking water, think of the source”), we are pleased to dedicate this special issue on the Song poet and statesman Su Shi to Professor Frederick W. Mote. Professor Mote (Professor Emeritus of East Asian Studies, Princeton University) was a founding editor of the journal in 1986, and has been its most valued adviser since then. Therefore, it is with the utmost appreciation and respect that we offer this volume to him.

The *East Asian Library Journal* began life as the *Gest Library Journal*, and then as now one of our underlying aims was to use and demonstrate the extraordinary resources of the Gest Library, and (in the words of the editors of volume one, number one) “to arouse all who value books, knowledge, and scholarship to take an interest in the life of this great library, and others like it.” We believe this can best be accomplished by publishing “high quality scholarship concerning traditional and modern East Asia.” Just as the *East Asian Library Journal* is recovering from its three-year interruption, the Gest Library is entering a similar period of disruption caused by the construction of a new campus center and the renovation of the Gest Library, all taking place in Palmer Hall. At present, the load-bearing capacity of the fourth floor, location of the main book stacks in Gest, is being increased. The renovated Gest Library will have a new main entrance, the working space for the staff will be

reorganized, and some new shelf space will become available. Nevertheless, the fundamental problems regarding inadequate space in the library, which were addressed in previous issues of the journal, will not have been solved. In fact, the percentage of Gest holdings relegated to remote storage in the annex at the Forrestal campus is increasing at an alarming rate. We will describe important developments in the renovation of the library in future issues of the journal.

The idea of preparing a special Su Shi issue of the *East Asian Library Journal* came up in 1996, a *bingzi* year according to the traditional Chinese system of using the cyclical "heavenly stems and earthly branches" to determine dates. Su Shi was born on the nineteenth day of the twelfth month of the *bingzi* year 1036, but because the lunar calendar overlaps the modern Western calendar, his actual date of birth corresponds to January 8, 1037. The 960th anniversary of his birth then translates into January 27, 1997. Fortuitously, I mentioned the idea to Freda Murck at a conference, and her immediate and enthusiastic response influenced the decision to pursue the project. In fact, she was responsible for locating excellent articles on the subject as well as writing one of her own, and she deserves the journal's profound thanks. Once again, I am indebted to our capable associate editor, Nancy Norton Tomasko, for the dedication and energy she put into producing this issue of the journal. The editor alone is responsible for delays in publication. I also wish to thank our authors for their stimulating contributions.

Stuart Sargent teaches Chinese literature at Colorado State University; previously he was on the faculty of the University of Maryland. Professor Sargent holds degrees from the University of Oregon and Stanford University, and his chief research interests are Song-dynasty poetry and Japanese-Chinese literary relations. His essay reminds us of the profound relationship that obtained between two of the outstanding poets of the Song and Tang, Su Shi and Bo Juyi.

Alfreda Murck is an independent scholar living in Beijing and teaching as a guest instructor in the History Department of Peking University. Dr. Murck is a graduate (M.F.A., Ph.D.) of the Department of Art and Archaeology of Princeton University, and her current research interest focuses on the use of poetry in Chinese scholar painting. For twelve years she served as a curator in the Asian Art Department at

the Metropolitan Museum in New York. Her contribution is part of a larger study entitled "Poetry and Painting in Song China: The Subtle Art of Dissent," to be published next year.

Peter K. Bol is Professor of Chinese History in the Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations of Harvard University, where he teaches Chinese intellectual and cultural history and serves as chair. He was educated at the University of Leiden in the Netherlands and received his Ph.D. from Princeton University. Professor Bol is the author of numerous articles on Chinese intellectual history; his most recent book is *This Culture of Ours: Intellectual Transitions in T'ang and Sung China*. His article on Su Shi's literary reception in the locality of Wuzhou is related to his current study of local society and Neo-Confucianism from 1000 to 1500.

Kathleen Tomlonovic is Associate Professor of Chinese in the Department of Modern and Classical Languages of Western Washington University, and she concurrently serves as director of the university's Center for East Asian Studies. She received her doctorate from the Department of Asian Languages and Literature of the University of Washington, and her primary research interest is Song-dynasty literati culture, especially the works of Su Shi. Professor Tomlonovic is involved in comprehensive projects in China concerning Su Shi, of which her study of the transmission of Su Shi's poetry collections is a clear reflection.

With this issue of the *East Asian Library Journal* we are attempting to develop a basis for style rules that can eventually be codified in a style sheet that will provide prospective authors with formal guidelines. Our first concrete step has been to adopt the *Hanyu pinyin* scheme of romanization for transcribing Chinese words and names in all articles. Although this move has added a measure of internal uniformity to the appearance of contributions to the journal, inconsistencies arising from variant pronunciations remain. For example, the Tang poets Li Bai and Pai Juyi can be found spelled Li Bo and Bo Juyi. Another example is a preference for Su Che over Su Zhe, the correct pronunciation according to the tenets of modern standard Chinese. During this transitional period we are willing to leave the question of preferred pronunciation to the authors themselves, but before long we will have to enunciate a clear standard, and in doing so we hope to find wide support for our proposals.

Publication of volume eight, number two of the *East Asian Library Journal* has been made possible by a grant from the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange.

Roots of the Way Deep

Su Shi and Bo Juyi

STUART SARGENT

It is well known that Su Shi (1037–1101) felt a kinship with Bo Juyi (772–846) throughout his life. From the very earliest works in his career as a poet, he was borrowing diction from his Tang predecessor. He also continued some of the traditions in which Bo Juyi pioneered, such as writing poems of topical criticism and exchanging poems with other individuals. It has even been suggested that the name he took for his plot of land in exile at Huangzhou in 1081, and the sobriquet by which he was known thereafter — Dongpo, or Eastern Slope — can be related to poems that Bo Juyi wrote on an eastern slope in another location in 819–820.¹

In this essay, however, I want to look at the year 1087, when Su Shi made especially explicit references to his identification with Bo Juyi as a predecessor. In fact, this new self-image actually replaces the Eastern Slope persona that he had developed in the years 1084–1086, especially 1085. After leaving Huangzhou in 1084, Su Shi frequently referred to himself as “The Master of Dongpo” or “the Kulapati of Dongpo.” But among the poems he wrote in 1087, the phrase “Eastern Slope” appears only once, and then not as the poet’s appellation, nor even as his own special world, but as a place where a friend’s mother had lived and was now buried.²

Bo Juyi was a widely appreciated writer at this time; one indication of this is that when the emperor wished to bestow his favor on Su Shi at the conclusion of the latter's lectures on the *Analects* in the eighth month of 1087, he did so by writing out a quatrain (*jueju*) by Bo as his gift. The first two lines of Bo Juyi's quatrain provided the basis for the seventeenth and eighteenth lines of the poem Su Shi wrote in response:

Below the silk-thread galleries [= Secretariat], documents in
silence;
in the towers of bell and drum, the clepsydra drawn-out.
Alone I sit in the yellow dusk — who is my companion?
The *ziwei* flowers face this *Ziwei* Gentleman.³

In his response, quoted in part below, Su Shi ended his line eighteen with *yong* (forever), a near synonym of the *chang* (drawn out), at the end of Bo's second line.

Nephrite Hall, closed by day, *documents in silence*;
the [alarm] bell's cord does not stir, the [time] *bell, the clepsydra*,
go on forever.
Don't say I should wield my brush for a "few lines of writing";
you must believe the times are at peace, because our ruler is
sagely.⁴

Su Shi's quatrain is part of a long and more complex poem made up of seven quatrains (each having its own rhyme); the first sixteen lines celebrate the occasion and the imperial calligraphy in elevated language. In the quatrain quoted here, the poet claims to be idle within the Nephrite Hall while peace reigns in the empire. I take line nineteen, "Don't say I should wield my brush for a 'few lines of writing,'" to mean there are no urgent affairs for Su Shi to bring to the emperor's attention — he uses a phrase from Du Fu (712–770): "[As] reminder I once memorialized in a *few lines of writing*."⁵ In the two quatrains after this one, Su claims there is no threat from the Xixia empire, offering in the last couplet to "face the purple myrtle" as a writer of edicts and draft a letter to summon the "Turfan" king to court.

Surely there is no place for overt irony in a poem addressed to one's emperor; yet one senses here Su Shi's penchant for suggesting the

opposite of what he says, the reality that is evoked in its very denial. In a note he appends to the end of his poem to explain his reference to his own willingness to “face the purple myrtle” and draft edicts, Su Shi does not specifically mention Bo Juyi, but he does link his position as drafter with the edict-drafting function of the Hanlin scholars under the Tang system. As we shall see, parallels between Su Shi’s path through the Song bureaucracy and Bo’s career in the Tang system were important to the later poet. Thus, Su must have been mindful on this occasion that Bo was administering the drafting of edicts in 821, when he wrote the quatrain describing the “purple myrtle facing” him in the silent courtyard at dusk.⁶ In fact, his reference to the cord of the alarm bell that hung in the Nephrite Hall (in Tang times, at least) not stirring in the present era of peace (line 18) may be an intentional contrast with the situation in 821, when the alarm bell started ringing by itself at night: a rebellion had begun in Hebei Circuit, and the bell would mysteriously ring faster and slower as the urgency of the military situation changed.⁷

“Nephrite Hall” in line seventeen of Su’s poem refers to the Hanlin Academy — the appellation *Yutang* being standard from Tang times on — where he has been a drafter since the ninth month of the previous year; he refers to it frequently in 1087 as a place of silence and idleness, though often in juxtaposition with an anticipated departure from the capital for his home at Meishan or other remote districts.⁸ The Secretariat (“Purple Tenuity”) to which Bo refers was also the agency to which Su Shi had been promoted in the first month of 1086. This is a coincidence that may or may not have been in the emperor’s mind when he chose his gift poem, but it was certainly a matter to which the poet himself attached significance.

In the colophon quoted below, “Recording Letian’s Poem on the Western Side Being Connected to the Eastern Department,” Su Shi contrasts Bo Juyi’s situation with his own.⁹

In [1086] I was a drafter in the Secretariat. At that time the executive officials were bothered by the fact that there were many leaks from their department and wanted to make a hedge behind the hall of the drafters to interdict their comings and goings with the department. I told them we should have [people

who are] “unceremonious and keep to the essential, [and those who are] pure and perceptive”; why plant a hedge and stick thorns into it? They all laughed and put the plan aside.¹⁰ The following year they finally made one. On a day off, I happened to read [Bo Juyi’s] collected works where he says, “They just made a little pavilion in the northern courtyard of the Western Department, planting bamboo and making a window that leads eastward to the Cavalry Department. I had a little drink with Attendant-in-Ordinary Li, and made a poem.”¹¹ Thereupon I realized that in Tang times they were able to make a window in the West Side to pass through to the Eastern Department, whereas today they cannot come and go from this department. This is regrettable!

Thus, although we do not know the date of this colophon, when in 1087 Su Shi addressed the following poem to a drafter in the Secretariat, Liu Ban (1023–1089), he must have had a comparison between himself and Bo Juyi in the back of his mind:

In the Nephrite Hall I sit alone, unendurable purity.
 Always I envy Zou and Mei’s receiving Changqing.¹²
 I am only allowed to hear, across the wall, the setting out of
 wine;
 at times, thanks to deliberations on matters, we are able to link
 our names.¹³

More direct evidence of Su Shi’s identification with Bo Juyi can be seen in a note appended by Su Shi to a quatrain Su wrote as he recalled lectures he had delivered to the emperor in the same hall in the spring and summer of the previous year:

[Bo] Letian, from being [demoted to] vice administrator at Jiangzhou [817–819], got a post as prefect of Zhongzhou [819–820]; before long, as director of the Bureau of Receptions, he administered the Drafting of Proclamations [821], and then was made drafter in the Secretariat [821–822]. Although I dare not compare myself with him, I was exiled to Huangzhou, raised up

to be administrator of Wendeng [i.e., Dengzhou], summoned as [director in] the Ministry of Rites, and then added to [the ranks of] attendants [with access to the emperor]. Our career patterns and ages are generally similar. I hope I may be blessed with the joy of idleness and ease of this old man in his late years.¹⁴

Although Su Shi's note expresses a desire to achieve the "idleness and ease" (*xianshi*) that is one side of Bo Juyi's character, what spiritual kinship did he think they shared in the context of the career steps singled out for comparison in this note? To answer that, we turn to the following quatrain, to which Su's comment is attached:

A tiny life by chance escaped a place of wind and waves;
 in late years there still remains [my] heart of iron and stone.
 Certainly it's like the old recluse of Xiangshan:
 ties to the world shallow in the end, roots of the Way deep.¹⁵

The first line appears to refer to the perilous years preceding the Yuanyou era, the second to the fact that the poet's heart remained solid through those bad times — and has in these good times, too. That is to say, his resolve to withdraw from public life is unchanged even now. "The old recluse of Xiangshan" is, of course, Bo Juyi, who in his sixties was quite involved with the Buddhist temple on the hill or mountain by that name near Luoyang.¹⁶ It is crucial to note that Su, whether he is in the Nephrite Hall or in exile, does not define the Way in terms of Buddhist, Daoist, or Confucian parameters, but by its opposition to the worldly; this opposition is the foundation of Bo Juyi's and Su Shi's "heart of iron and stone."

This same reading of Bo Juyi is evident in a poem using the rhymes of a fellow Hanlin academician, Zeng Zhao (1047–1107), the younger brother of Zeng Gong (1019–1083). Paired with another poem, it is labeled "Harmonizing Again" (Zai he);¹⁷ the crucial couplet is the second, where Su finds experiences shared with both Du Fu and Bo Juyi. Before that, he complains about seeing spots in front of his eyes and being a superfluous member of the imperial procession in which he and Zeng Zhao had participated.

- “Flowers” in the eyes, jumble-tumble; hair even-spread with frost.
- 2 A sick horse, a gaunt outrider, “only making [myself] dusty.”¹⁸
Escorting the carriage, the Reminder recklessly assumed the post of Attendant;¹⁹
- 4 Longing to return, the Junior Mentor envied the Zhu and Chen [clans].²⁰

Du Fu’s image as the ineffectual minister with high ideals is a familiar one by this time. Bo Juyi was more successful; on the other hand, his desire, when he was exalted as “junior mentor,” was to leave government. This pose was to become increasingly acceptable from his time on. Simultaneously embracing the position of the outsider yearning to get in and that of the insider ready to get out seems contradictory. Yet Su Shi, through the allusions in the last two lines quoted above, evokes both predecessors as figures for his own situation. (Although it is possible that one line is about Zeng Zhao and the rest of the poem about Su Shi, I think that is unlikely.) He is dedicated yet powerless; he has status, yet he longs for a utopian village society without conflict. Su Shi has far more political prestige than Du Fu, yet the struggles he experienced at court in 1087 obviously made him feel every bit as ineffectual as the great Tang poet. If we ask whether he will stay in service or leave, the juxtaposition of the two alternatives creates enough ambiguity to avoid our having to commit Su Shi irrevocably to anything at all, at least in his poetry.

The rest of the poem, about the burden of versifying, continues the ambiguity on a different plane:

- In my withering years this imposing sight startles my eyes, to
no purpose;
- 6 with perilous rhymes [your] unsullied poem: I struggle for the
new, in suffering.
- These final pieces, do not despise them —
- 8 pounded peppers and cinnamon retain some spiciness.

The imperial procession overwhelms the poet, and Zeng Zhao’s rhyme words are difficult to work into a poem. The final couplet seems to say

that because of these intractable rhymes, it is impossible to continue this repeated exchange any further — yet if Su's poem still has some flavor left over, it should not be rejected altogether. One could also say the poet himself is hanging on to his zest, not quite pounded out of him.²¹

A more pointed identification with Bo Juyi is found in a fascinating poem written for a painter and Daoist named Li Derou, who had apparently done Su Shi's portrait.²² The poem is built on many continuities with figures of the past, perhaps as an extension of the notion that this Li Derou is supposedly the reincarnation of a Daoist painter who had once been treated leniently by Li Derou's grandfather, an official in the southwest in the mid-1030s. The man had caused a fire and was to be executed for it, but Li's ancestor delayed the case until an amnesty for condemned criminals was declared. Finding himself pardoned at the age of eighty-one, the painter vowed to be reborn in the Li clan to repay this kindness.

Su Shi relates all this in a preface, then launches into his poem with a comparison between "General Cao," a painter much lauded by Du Fu, and Gu Kaizhi (ca. 345–406), Su's favorite painter.²³ Su Shi pretends that Cao is overrated; it is Gu Kaizhi's playful irreverence that is truly great. Clearly, these are qualities that have also come down to Li Derou. The next continuity is between Li and two "ancestors": Laozi and Yin Xi, Yin being the keeper of the pass through which Laozi was attempting to leave the declining Zhou dynasty and the man who forced him to commit his philosophy to writing. We can understand and enjoy this double identification if we know that Laozi's surname was also Li, and that the Daoist of whom Li Derou is supposedly the reincarnation was surnamed Yin.

The final two couplets introduce predecessors for Su Shi himself. To appreciate the first couplet, one must recall that Su Shi is fifty-two *sui* in 1087. This permits him to borrow language from a letter by Kong Rong (153–208): "The fiftieth year arrives suddenly; you are just fully fifty, and I have passed further by two."²⁴ But there is more than a coincidence of ages behind Su Shi's adoption of Kong's language. When he was a boy, Kong Rong gained admittance to the household of the powerful commandant Li Ying (110–169) by claiming to be related to him — a relation he later explained as being based on the fact that his

ancestor Kong Zhongni (Confucius) had supposedly once placed himself in the position of being a student of Laozi, who, being surnamed Li, could supposedly be Li Ying's ancestor.²⁵ Su Shi in the following lines thus becomes another Kong Rong, addressing another descendant of Laozi, our Li Derou:

The fiftieth year, [I've] just passed [by] two;
 14 a withered face, [you] record me now like this.
 In another time they'll point to this man of the Assembled
 Worthies
 16 and know it is the old retired scholar of Xiangshan.

It is the final couplet that brings the series of reincarnations, identity adoptions, and historical parallels around to Su Shi and Bo Juyi. Su compares his portrait to one of Bo Juyi that hung in the Hall of Assembled Worthies at the emperor's command when Bo was in the Hanlin Academy in 810 (like Su now). Bo himself mentions this portrait in a poem and its preface,²⁶ but there is a crucial difference between what is said there and Su Shi's allusion to it. Bo is writing on the occasion of a second portrait done for the Xiangshan Temple after his retirement in 842, lamenting the changes wrought in his visage and in the world by the three decades intervening between the two portraits. Su Shi's couplet blends the two images — Hanlin scholar and recluse — into a single portrait. What were two stages in the Tang poet's life, stages of entirely different character, are now two sides of a single personality, existing simultaneously. This is not unlike the Nephrite Hall-exile (or retirement) juxtaposition often seen in the poems Su Shi wrote just prior to the period under discussion.

One last reference to Bo Juyi in 1087 comes at the end of Su Shi's poem "Following the Rhymes of Zhang [Wen] Changyan's 'Happy over Rain'";²⁷ this time the comparison is between Bo and Zhang Wen, not Su Shi. Zhang has obviously written a poem expressing joy over the ending of a drought; Su Shi follows suit, giving the emperor due credit for both showing concern for the people and restoring communication between Heaven and mankind, with the hoped-for results. The final couplet (lines 7 and 8) adds a complicating twist: "In loving his lord, who

is like the Yuanhe elder? / When ‘Congratulations on Rain’ was done — it was a letter of admonition.”

Su Shi is asking the rhetorical question, “Who else but Zhang Wen writes as Bo Juyi did?” His query implies praise and approval for a poem that evidently warned the emperor (or those around him) that he must maintain his moral leadership. The “Congratulations on Rain” to which he refers was written by Bo Juyi in the fourth year (809) of the Yuanhe Period.²⁸ It is a poem Bo later listed among several he found to cause dismay and displeasure to those who heard them;²⁹ the poem piously catalogues all the virtuous actions taken by the emperor to induce Heaven to bring rain, undoubtedly exaggerating for effect, then closes with a little lecture on the duty of the sovereign to be “aware,” the duty of the minister to be “straightforward,” and the hope that affairs will continue to be worthy of “congratulations.” Indeed, the poem was equivalent to a loyal critic’s letter of advice to his ruler.

Su Shi wrote a different kind of poem: where the ninth-century poet used archaic concepts of the powers and responsibilities of the sovereign to establish religious and political tension, Su Shi’s emperor reverses the advancing drought almost effortlessly: the enthusiastic recitation of his edict around the nation has the same effect on nature as if he had toured the provinces in person. Yet Su Shi recognizes, responds to, and praises a contemporary emulation of an aspect of Bo Juyi by Zhang Wen; this has the dual effect of overtly distancing Su from that admonitory mode and covertly acknowledging what his own poem has left unspoken: that the situation in the nation remains serious. The first line of the poem states explicitly that the “brown current” has “lost its old place” or “obscured the old dwellings” of the people, depending on how one chooses to interpret it, and although it is unclear whether this refers to floods that preceded the drought or the effect of rains that have now ended the drought, it certainly suggests that rain is not always something to be welcomed.

To recapitulate and draw some conclusions: Su Shi’s evocation of Bo Juyi as his precursor is similar to the repeated allusions to his exile at Eastern Slope in the poems of the years leading up to 1087 — similar insofar as he uses this evocation to hint that he is straddling two worlds:

his present world of prestige and the world of exile, or a place of “wind and waves” and a place of “idleness and ease.” The difference is that the Eastern Slope identity looks backward in time, and the Bo Juyi image looks forward to a future withdrawal from court. Both images imply a double identity, an outward one and an inward one that coexists with it psychologically (“roots of the Way deep”) but temporally belongs to a different sphere. One has its roots in the past; the other threatens to be realized in the near future.

NOTES

1. Michael Fuller, in *The Road to East Slope: The Development of Su Shi's Poetic Voice* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), pp. 271–272, gives a complete review of proposals for connecting the two Eastern Slopes, from the twelfth century in China down to modern Japanese scholarship, prudently concluding that their association must remain an open question.
2. In “Dirge for Judge Pan [Geng]’s Mother, née Li” (Pan Tuiguan mu Li shi wanci), Eastern Slope appears in the second line as a place where “all who come and go are ‘hidden’ people,” withdrawn from society. Since Su Shi goes on to speak of Pan’s mother as someone he has visited, it seems likely that she resided in the Huangzhou area. The penultimate line states the poet’s intention to go to “rivers and lakes” this year, but the last line immediately subordinates whatever other significance this proposal might have had to an image of mourning: “Evening rains, linked mountains, trees on [her] mound [showing] spring.” See *Su Dongpo Quanji* (Taibei: He-Le tushu chubanshe, 1975; a typeset version of the 1468 “Seven Collections” edition), *Qianji*, 16, p. 223; Wang Shipeng’s (1112–1171) *Jizhu fenlei Dongpo shi* in the Yuan edition reproduced in the *Sibu congkan* (cited hereafter as *SBCK*), 24, p. 453b; and Wang Wen’gao (1764–?), comp., Kong Fanli, collator and ed., and Liu Shangrong, ed., *Su Shi shiji*, 3d ed. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992), *juan* 28, p. 1474.
 “Harmonizing with Wang [Shen] Jinqing” (He Wang Jinqing), *Qianji*, 17, p. 233; *SBCK*, 19, p. 352b, ascribed by Shi Su and most others to 1087, begins with the poet (referring to himself as *xiansheng*, “mister,” “sir”) drinking alone at Eastern Slope under the moon, with obvious echoes of Li Bo. The creation of such a “character,” and the way the poem dwells on the exile experience of the two men now recalled to service make this strongly reminiscent of the “Dongpo” poems of 1086. Our stylistic or thematic perceptions are substantially confirmed by strong external evidence from Wang Wen’gao (*Su Shi shiji*, *juan* 27, p. 1422) that the poem should, in fact, be ascribed to 1086.
3. “Purple Myrtle” (Ziwei), *Quan Tang shi* (cited hereafter as *QTS*), 442, p. 4934. Bo’s final line (and my resort to transliteration) is based on the fact that the

name of the flower is homophonous with "Purple Tenuity," which was "from 713 to 717 the official variant name of the Secretariat." See Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), p. 557, where one also notes that the Qing Dynasty was to make the two terms homographic as well, Hall of the Purple Myrtle being an unofficial term for the Central Drafting Office.

4. "On the Fifteenth Day of the Ninth Month" (Jiuyue shiwuri), *Qianji*, 17, p. 233; *SBCK*, 11, p. 227b; *Su Shi shiji*, *juan* 29, p. 1541.
5. Du Fu, "Respectfully Responding to the Work Sent by Mr. Yan to Inscribe on the Rustic Pavilion" (Fengchou Yan Gong ji ti yeting zhi zuo), *Du Shaoling ji xiangzhu* (Commentary by Qiu Zhaoao et al., preface dated 1693; rpt. Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 1974; hereafter cited as *Du Shaoling*), *juan* 11, p. 48.
6. Zhu Jincheng, *Bo Juyi nianpu* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982), pp. 118-119.
7. The note to Su Shi's line in *Su Shi shiji*, *juan* 29, pp. 1543-1544, places this incident "in the Changqing period," from 821 through 824, but surely it refers to the unrest of August 821 in Chengde (Charles Hartman, *Han Yü and the T'ang Search for Unity* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986], pp. 104-108) — about three months before Bo became a Hanlin scholar.
8. See "Planting Flowers at the Nephrite Hall: Zhou [Yin] Zhengru Has a Poem [on this]; Following His Rhymes" (Yutang caihua, Zhou Zhengru you shi, ciyun), *Qianji*, 16, p. 224; *SBCK*, 14, p. 267a; *Su Shi shiji*, *juan* 28, p. 1475); "Following the Rhymes of Zhang Shunmin's 'Going Out from the Censorate to be Assistant Prefect at Guozhou': To Detain Him" (Ciyun Zhang Shunmin zi yushi chu cui Guozhou liubie), *Qianji*, 17, p. 232; *SBCK*, 19, p. 352b; *Su Shi shiji*, 5, *juan* 29, p. 1534); and "Guo Xi's Painting of Autumn Mountains in Level Distance" (Guo Xi hua qiushan pingyuan), *Qianji*, 16, p. 229; *SBCK* 11, p. 226b; *Su Shi shiji*, *juan* 28, p. 1509; Ronald C. Egan, "Poems on Paintings: Su Shih and Huang T'ing-chien," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 43.2 (1983), p. 431.

Huang Tingjian [Huang T'ing-chien] refers, in poems ascribed to 1087, to Su Shi's Nephrite Hall, but always in juxtaposition with Eastern Slope, asserting for Su Shi the exile-returned-to-power identity that Su himself is now avoiding. See "The lines of poetry of Zizhan are the marvel of the whole age," quoted in *Shangu quanji* (Sibu beiyao ed.), *Neiji*, 5, p. 3a; Kurata Junnosuke, trans., *Kō Sankoku* (Kanshi taikai, 18; Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1967), p. 138; Arai Ken, trans., *Kō Teiken* (Chūgoku shijin senshū, 7; Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1963), p. 78; Huang Baohua, *Huang Tingjian xuanji* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991), p. 209; "Shuangjing Tea: Sent to Zizhan" (Shuangjing cha song Zizhan), *Neiji*, 6, p. 3b; and "Following the Rhymes of Zizhan's 'Inscribed on Painted Mountains by Guo Xi'" (Ciyun Zizhan ti Guo Xi hua shan), *Neiji*, 7, p. 6a; Kurata, *Kō Sankoku*, p. 162; Huang Baohua, *Huang Tingjian xuanji*, p. 233.

9. "Ji Letian Xiye tong Dongsheng shi," *Su Shi wenji*, *juan* 68, p. 2151. The

- Western Side (*Xiye*) is the Song term for an area where most of the edict drafters in the Hanlin Academy lived, according to Yang Huan (1186–1255), as quoted in *ibid.*, *juan* 27, p. 1429. This is also the term by which Bo Juyi refers to his office in 821, when he was administrator of drafting, as Su Shi is in 1087. In the lengthy title quoted by Su Shi, Bo uses the term Western Department, but this is equivalent to Western Side: see his “Facing the Flowers in the *Western Department* and Recalling the New Blossoming Trees at Eastern Slope in Zhongzhou: Sent to Inscribe on the Eastern Tower” of 821 (*QTS*, 442, p. 4932), line 3: “My eyes of today, within the walls of the *Western Side*.”
10. The expression *jianyao qingtong* (“unceremonious . . . perceptive”) seems to echo the characterization of Pei Kai (237–291) and his brother-in-law Wang Rong (234–305) as given in the *Jin shu*. Both of them rose to high office, Wang in the Department of State Affairs, and Pei in the Secretariat, but it is unclear whether this is relevant. *Tong* (perceptive) also means “to pass through,” so part of Su Shi’s wit may involve a pun. See Richard B. Mather, trans., *Shih-shuo hsün-yü: A New Account of Tales of the World* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1976), pp. 211, 212, and 214; *Jin shu*, 35, p. 1047. (I use Mather’s translation of the phrases.) One would expect that the hedge and thorns in the next line evoke a matching allusion, but I have been unable to identify it.
 11. Bo’s lengthy title in *QTS* (442, p. 4935) ends with “each inscribed [a poem] in four rhymes.” I do not know what the Cavalry Department (*jisheng*) was, and although early in the year Bo might have enjoyed a drink with Li Jian, whom he had known since around 803, the title given Li in his grave inscription (he was to die two months after Bo became administrator of edict drafting) is vice president (*shilang*) of the Ministry of Justice, making him a more exalted man than the attendant-in-ordinary (*changshi*) with whom Bo shared a drink through the window.
 12. Zou Yang and Mei Sheng (or Cheng) were rhetoricians in the retinue of the king of Liang. When Sima Xiangru (Changqing) met them, he was so pleased with their talent that he resigned his post, left the capital, and went to the Liang court to be in their company. (Burton Watson, trans., *Records of the Grand Historian of China: Translated from the Shih-chi of Ssu-ma Ch’ien* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1961], 2, p. 297.) Su Shi wishes he could do the same for Liu Ban and his nephew.
 13. Lines 1–4 of “Following the Rhymes of Liu [Ban], Jingfu’s Nephew’s ‘Riding in the Imperial Retinue’” (Ciyun Liu Gongfu shuzhi hujia), *Qianji* 17, p. 234; *SBCK* 19, p. 353b; *Su Shi shiji*, *juan* 29, p. 1549. The last line means that Su and Liu’s names occasionally appear together on position papers, and that is all the “contact” they have.
 14. “In Spring and Summer of Last Year, I Stood in Attendance in the Miying [Hall]” (Shi yi qusui chunxia shili Eying), *Qianji*, 16, p. 229; *SBCK*, 2, p. 69a; *Su Shi shiji*, *juan* 28, p. 1505. This is the fourth of four quatrains. There is some confusion among the scholiasts in Shōun Seisen (early 16th century), comp., *Shika jikkai* (movable type ed., ca. 1600; reprod. ed. Nakata Norio;

Tokyo: Bensei sha, 1970-, 1, pp. 640-642) as to when these quatrains were written (1086, 1087, or 1088); I side with Zuikei Shūhō, Ikkan Chikō, and Banri Shūku; Shi Su and Wang Wen'gao also place them in 1087. It is eerie to note that Bo Juyi asked for an assignment outside the capital in 822 and consequently went as prefect to Hangzhou, precisely as Su Shi was to do in 1089; the parallels in their careers did not stop with their rise from exile to drafting proclamations for the emperor.

15. *Su Shi shiji*, *juan* 28, p. 1507.
16. Bo paid for its revitalization in 832 and deposited one edition of his works there in 840. In view of the fact that "Xiangshan" (Incense Mountain) is also a legendary peak of some importance in Buddhist texts, we might also translate the name Bo adopted into Sanskrit as "The Kulapati of Gandhamadana." My information on Bo Juyi's life comes from the *nianpu* in Gu Zhaocang and Zhou Ruhang, eds., *Bo Juyi shixuan* (Selected Poems of Bo Juyi), Beijing: Zuoja chubanshe, 1962.
17. *Qianji*, 16, p. 227; *SBCK*, 19, p. 351b; *Su Shi shiji*, *juan* 28, p. 1491.
18. Three words from *Book of Poetry*, ode no. 206, which begins "Do not help forward the great carriage, you will only make yourself dusty; do not think of the many anxieties, you will only make yourself ill." Bernard Karlgren, *The Book of Odes: Chinese Text, Transcription, and Translation* (Stockholm: The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, 1950), p. 158. In the context of the procession in which Zeng Zhao and Su Shi had participated, the metaphorical dust of the ode takes on literal meaning.
19. This line borrows all its diction from the "reminder" himself (Du Fu). In "Remembering the Past" (Yixi), written in 764, Du recalled his earlier service in Chang'an: "I formerly was in close attendance, recklessly assuming the task of escorting the carriage" (*Du Shaoling*, *juan* 13, p. 48); and two years earlier, in "Respectfully Requiring the Work Sent by Mr. Yan to Inscribe on My Rustic Pavilion" (Fengchou Yan gong . . ., *ibid.*, *juan* 11, p. 48), he had already devised the service-retirement juxtaposition that was to be the foundation of Su Shi's couplet, although Du is *looking back* on the service part of it: "Escorting the carriage, I presumptuously rode a horse from the Sandy Park [Stable]; perched in obscurity, I actually angle for fish in the Brocade River." The words translated "recklessly assume" and "presumptuously" in these lines are, of course, formal self-deprecatory expressions.
20. Bo Juyi was given the prestigious title "detached junior mentor" to the heir apparent in 853 when he was in Luoyang (Zhu, *Bo Juyi nianpu*, pp. 235-254). He closes his poem "Village of the Zhu and Chen [clans]" (Zhu-Chen cun) (*JTS*, 433, p. 4780) by saying he "envies" the people of that ideal society. Arthur Waley dates the poem to 811 (*Translations from the Chinese* [New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1941], p. 157). In 811 Bo might have passed through Xuzhou, the district where this village was located, to bring his father's body from Xiangyang, where he had died in 794, for reinterment with his mother near the capital (Zhu, *Bo Juyi nianpu*, p. 55, says only that he reburied his grandfather and father there, but not where they had been buried previously). In any case

Bo did make attestable journeys through the area in other years and did not even have to be there to write such a poem. The exact date of "Village of the Zhu and Chen [clans]" does not matter; Su Shi is simply saying that Bo Juyi looked on the tradition-bound, simple life of that village as an ideal one.

21. The couplet is cited in "Western Purity [Chamber] Poetry Talks" (Xiqing shihua) as "When I finish reading your poem, what is it like? / pounded ginger and cinnamon retain some spiciness," and Su Shi is quoted as saying this means that Zeng Zhao's original was "spicy hot." Zhao Cigong seems to be quoting this comment in his note in *SBCK*. Guo Shaoyu, however, notes that these poetry talks are possibly by Cai Tao (?-after 1147), the son of Cai Jing (1048-1126), leader of the movement to crush the "Yuanyou faction" after the turn of the century; although this book does treat the Su family and Huang Tingjian as worthy of attention and respect, other writings by Cai Tao show him to be not at all opposed to his father's views, and his poetry talks do indeed contain critical remarks on Su Shi and figures associated with him and "alterations of the facts," as in the case of this couplet. In any case, both the authorship and the textual integrity of the "Western Purity [Chamber] Poetry Talks" are clouded with doubts. There is no reason to take its version of our couplet seriously. See Guo's *Song shihua kao* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), pp. 20-22.
22. "Presented to Daoist Li" (Zeng Li Daoshi), *Qianji*, 17, p. 232; *SBCK*, 4, p. 105b; *Su Shi shiji*, juan 29, p. 1533.
23. See Du Fu's poem describing General Cao, "Song on Painting" (Danqing yin), *Du Shaoling*, juan 13, p. 40. Here and on the other two occasions in 1087 when Gu Kaizhi is mentioned, it is always by his youthful appellation, Tiger Head. At the end of the second of two "Guo Xi's Autumn Mountains in Level Distance," Su Shi uses Tiger Head Gu in an allusion-of-substitution to stand for Guo Xi. In another poem, for the avid collector of calligraphy Mi Fu (1052-1107), who arrived in the capital in the sixth month, Su alludes to Mi's penchant for obtaining valuable paintings or works of calligraphy by various devious means, then asks, who could be as insouciant as addlepated Tiger Head was about having his art stolen? Gu Kaizhi lent a chest of valuable paintings to Huan Xuan (369-404); when the chest was returned empty, though still sealed, Gu did not get angry but merely joked that "wondrous paintings communicate with the numinous; they transformed themselves and departed, indeed, like people becoming immortals" (*Jin shu*, 92, p. 2405). Su Shi is either warning Mi Fu that people no longer take such a relaxed attitude toward the theft of art, or gently chiding him for being in his covetousness unlike Gu Kaizhi. "Two Poems Following the Rhymes of Mi Fu's Postscript-colophons at the End of Calligraphy by the Two Wangs" (Ciyun Mi Fu er Wang shu bawei ershou), *Qianji*, 17, p. 232; *SBCK*, 11, p. 227a; *Su Shi shiji*, juan 29, p. 1536.
24. "Letter on Sheng Xiaozhang" (Lun Sheng Xiaozhang shu), *Wen xuan* 41.
25. Mather, *Shih-shuo hsin-yü*, p. 26.
26. "Poem on a Portrait of the Retired Scholar of Xiangshan" (Xiangshan jushi xiezhen shi), *QTS*, 459, p. 5222.

27. "Ciyun Zhang Changyan 'Xiyu,'" *Qianji*, 16, p. 229; *SBCCK*, 7, p. 152a; *Su Shi shiji*, *juan* 28, p. 1510.
28. *QTS*, 424, pp. 4653-4654.
29. This, in his important "Letter to Yuan the Ninth" (Yu Yuan Jiu shu) of 815, Hiraoka Takeo and Imai Kiyoshi, eds., *Hakushi monshu*, 2 (Kyoto: Kyōtō Daigaku jinbun kagaku kenkyūjō, 1972), text no. 1486, p. 206. See Gu and Zhou, *Bo Juyi shixuan*, pp. 351 and 355, for the dates of the poem and letter.

GLOSSARY

- | | |
|---|---|
| Banri Shūku 万里集九 | Gu Kaizhi 顧愷之 |
| Bo Juyi 白居易 | Guo Shaoyu 郭紹虞 |
| Cai Jing 蔡京 | Guo Xi hua qiushan pingyuan 郭熙
畫秋山平遠 |
| Cai Tao 蔡條 | He Wang Jinqing 和王晉卿 |
| chang 長 | Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅 |
| Changqing 長卿 | Huangzhou 黃州 |
| changshi 常侍 | Huan Xuan 桓玄 |
| Chengde 成德 | Ikkan Chikō 一韓智翹 |
| Ciyun Liu Gongfu shuzhi hujia 次韻
劉貢父叔姪扈駕 | Jiangzhou 江州 |
| Ciyun Mi Fu er Wang shu bawei ershou
次韻米黻二王書跋尾二首 | jianyao qingtong 簡要清通 |
| Ciyun Zhang Changyan Xiyu 次韻
張昌言喜雨 | Ji Letian xiye tong dongsheng shi 寄
樂天西掖通東省詩 |
| Ciyun Zhang Shunmin zi yushi chu
cui Guozhou liubie 次韻張舜民
自御史出倅虢州留別 | jisheng 騎省 |
| Ciyun Zizhan ti Guo Xi hua shan
次韻子瞻題郭熙畫山 | Jiuyue shiwuri 九月十五日 |
| Danqing yin 丹青引 | jueju 絕句 |
| Dengzhou 登州 | Kong Rong 孔融 |
| Dongpo 東坡 | Kong Zhongni 孔仲尼 |
| Du Fu 杜甫 | Letian 樂天 |
| Fengchou Yan Gong ji ti yeting zhi zuo
奉酬嚴公寄題野亭之作 | Li Derou 李得柔 |
| | Li Jian 李建 |
| | Liu Ban 劉放 |
| | Li Ying 李膺 |
| | Lun Sheng Xiaozhang shu 論盛孝
章書 |

- Meishan 眉山
 Mei Sheng 牧乘
 Mi Fu 米黻
 Pan Tuiguan mu Li shi wanci 潘推官
 母李氏挽詞
 Pei Kai 裴楷
 Shika jikkai 四河入海
 shilang 侍郎
 Shi Su 施宿
 Shi yi qusui chunxia shili Erying
 軾以去歲春夏侍立邈英
 Shuangjing cha song Zizhan 雙井茶
 送子瞻
 Sima Xiangru 司馬相如
 Su Shi shiji 蘇軾詩集
 Su Shi wenji 蘇軾文集
 Wang Rong 王戎
 Wang Wen'gao 王文誥
 Wendeng 文登
 Xiangshan 香山
 Xiangshan jushi xiezhen shi 香山居
 士寫真詩
 Xiangyang 襄陽
 xianshi 閑適
 Xiqing shihua 西清詩話
 Xixia 西夏
 Xiye 西掖
 Yin Xi 尹喜
 Yixi 憶昔
 yong 永
 Yuanhe 元和
 Yuanyou 元祐
 Yutang 玉堂
 Yutang caihua, Zhou Zhengru you shi,
 ciyun 玉堂裁花周正孺有詩次韻
 Yu Yuan Jiu shu 與元九書
 Zai he 再和
 Zeng Gong 曾鞏
 Zeng Li Daoshi 贈李道士
 Zeng Zhao 曾肇
 Zhang Wen 張問
 Zhao Cigong 趙次公
 Zhongzhou 忠州
 Zhu-Chen cun 朱陳村
 ziwei 紫薇
 Ziwei 紫微
 Zou Yang 鄒陽
 Zuikei Shūhō 瑞溪周鳳

Misty River, Layered Peaks

Decoding Landscape Imagery

ALFREDA MURCK

Late in 1088, Su Shi (1037–1101) wrote an ancient-style poem for a landscape entitled *Misty River, Layered Peaks* (Yanjiang diezhang) painted by his friend Wang Shen [Jinqing] (ca. 1048–ca. 1103). Wang Shen responded by rhyming Su's poem, that is, by using the same character at the end of each couplet. Delighted and moved, Su wrote another poem, and Wang Shen again responded, thanking Su with the fourth and final poem in the series. This paper offers a new interpretation of the four *Misty River, Layered Peaks* poems based on the observation that Su Shi's original rhyme characters were selected from an extended regulated verse by the literary giant Du Fu (712–770). Writing during a period of political chaos, Du Fu had criticized the emperor and the men in control of government. It was this poem that three centuries later inspired Wang Shen to paint the landscape that he named *Misty River, Layered Peaks* and gave to his friend Wang Dingguo (Wang Gong, 1048–after 1104). Su Shi was asked to compose a colophon, which he did, artfully referring both to the landscape painting and to the Du Fu poem, but in a highly indirect way, specifically by using Du Fu's rhymes without stating that he was doing so. There were good reasons to avoid eliciting adverse political reactions; all three friends had previously been exiled in a sedition case involving Su Shi's poetry.¹

Created at a time when scholar-officials were turning to painting as a serious form of self-cultivation, *Misty River, Layered Peaks* is the kind of conceptual landscape that eventually propelled painting into the forefront of literati culture. The four poems and the painting form an artistic whole that demonstrates how two prominent members of the educated elite drew on Tang poetry for inspiration. The process was triggered by reading a poem that spoke to a mood and condition of a personal and political crisis. Approval of the poem's sentiments was conveyed by visually alluding to the poem in a landscape painting and verbally alluding to it in the four-character painting title. For *Misty River, Layered Peaks*, Su Shi and Wang Shen went further by creating verbal allusions in their own poems, a process that allowed them to lament recent events, criticize their detractors, and discuss the art of painting. By way of introduction, the paper summarizes the historical events preceding December 1088 and Du Fu's long poem. Two landscape handscrolls entitled *Misty River, Layered Peaks* in the Shanghai Museum, both attributed to Wang Shen, are considered here in light of the Du Fu poem and in the context of the poems composed by Su Shi and Wang Shen.²

THE HISTORICAL SETTING

The two decades prior to 1088 were marked by intense political controversy that revolved around the policies of the young emperor Shenzong (Zhao Xu, 1048–1085), who reigned from 1068 to 1085. Determined to regain northern territories lost during the founding and early decades of the Song dynasty (960–1278), he envisioned aggressive military campaigns against the Tangut Xixia and the Khitan Liao. The ambitious official Wang Anshi (1021–1086) advised him first to fill the state's coffers to fund the expensive battle plan, and toward that end Wang proposed a set of economic reforms that were called the New Policies. Wang Anshi persuaded Shenzong to support the New Policies unequivocally, arguing that to consider every divergent opinion would only lead to indecision and inaction. Opponents of the policies were systematically eliminated from positions of influence. Many of the most renowned statesmen of the age retired in frustration or were cashiered or exiled.³

Shenzong's death in the third month of 1085 precipitated a dramatic reversal. The eight-year-old Zhao Xu (1077-1100) ascended the throne as Zhezong under the regency of his grandmother Gao. Sharing the political views of the conservative opposition, she persuaded many of the Conservatives to return to court. To set about dismantling the New Policies, which they saw as the cause of the previous decades' economic chaos, the Conservatives, with the Grand Empress Dowager's support, battled for a year to oust the Reformers from positions of power. Thus began the Yuanyou era (1086-1093) which, in historical recollection, glows brilliantly from the array of talent assembled in the capital. In reality it was a period of bitter political feuds and personal conflicts that made the functioning of government difficult. For Su Shi, 1088 was an increasingly contentious year. As Ronald Egan has shown, in the spring Su Shi wanted to retreat from the prominence of his position as Hanlin academician; by the end of the year, to avoid vicious attacks, he requested a posting outside the capital.⁴

Both Wang Shen and Wang Dingguo, the recipient of *Misty River, Layered Peaks*, were long-time friends of Su Shi.⁵ Their lives were linked by shared political views. Wang Shen was married to Emperor Shenzong's younger sister, the princess Shuguo (1051-1080). Although he was thus brother-in-law to the emperor, Wang had little sympathy with Shenzong's politics. In the 1070s Wang Shen compiled and circulated an anthology of Su Shi's poems written in Hangzhou, many of which contained criticism of the New Policies. In 1079 Su Shi was arrested for lese majesty with the anthology forming a critical part of the incriminating evidence in the subsequent trial, later called the Crow Terrace Poetry Case. In January 1080, shortly before the lunar new year, when Su Shi was convicted of "great irreverence" (*da bujing*), the names of Wang Shen and Wang Dingguo topped the list of twenty-nine conspirators. Opponents argued that Wang Shen should be executed along with Su Shi, but in the end Su was exiled and Wang demoted. The following year, however, Wang Shen was banished to Junzhou on the Han River (Hubei Province) for three years on charges of sexual indiscretions during his wife's terminal illness.⁶ The historical perception has been that the exile was politically motivated.

Wang Dingguo fared less well, perhaps because he lacked Wang

Shen's imperial family connections. Without explanation, Wang Dingguo was exiled far south to the salt-monopoly office in the remote town of Binzhou in the tropics of modern Guangxi Autonomous Region, about one hundred *li* from the southern coast of China. Illness plagued his family: two children died, and Wang himself was once near death. Far less life threatening by comparison was the exile of Su Shi to Huangzhou on the Yangtze River. Early in their respective exiles, Su Shi wrote in a letter to Wang Dingguo:

To begin, the crime was severe, but your responsibility light. Receiving this [your letter] I am indeed fortunate, and never before so moved by compassion. But I know that several tens of men are criminals because of me, and that in certain respects it is especially hard for Dingguo, drifting afar thousands of *li* from the capital,⁷ distantly separated from family and friends. Every time I think of it, my heart and lungs feel the more scalded and pierced.⁸

Su Shi also wrote to Wang Dingguo, "My actions have entangled you."⁹ Clearly Su felt personally responsible for his friends' punishment and was eager to avoid a repetition of the calamity. On returning to the capital in 1085, the three men renewed their friendship, now deepened by the shared experience of political disgrace. When Wang Shen gave Wang Dingguo the landscape *Misty River, Layered Peaks*, there is no doubt that he was empathizing with his more than four-year ordeal in Binzhou.

A POEM FOR PAINTERS: DU FU'S "AUTUMN DAY IN KUI PREFECTURE"

For his superb poetic craft, for the generosity of his spirit, and for his manifest sense of social conscience, Du Fu earned the unlimited admiration of Su Shi and his contemporaries. If Du Fu occasionally was intemperate in his criticism of the emperor (leading to his rapid dismissal from imperial service), that only further endeared him to those eleventh-century officials who had been cashiered from Shenzong's court. Enthusiasm for Du Fu was not limited to the scholar class; even soldiers and elderly women reportedly could recite his famous couplets. Moreover,

the educated elite had a keen appreciation of Du Fu's rhetoric, finding, as Huang Tingjian (1045-1105) said, a classical antecedent in every phrase.¹⁰

Du Fu's "Autumn Day in Kui Prefecture, a Song Submitted to Supervisor Zheng and Adviser to the Heir Apparent Li, in One Hundred Rhymes," abbreviated as "Autumn Day in Kui Prefecture," was the source of Su Shi's fourteen rhyming characters.¹¹ In the fall of 767, in response to their inquiries about life in Kui Prefecture, Du Fu wrote to two friends describing the landscape and customs, occasionally using local dialect. More important for eleventh-century readers, Du Fu sharply criticized the disorganized government and the ineffectual military, and poignantly recollected a magnificent imperial era that was recently lost. Du Fu's two-hundred-line poem, which flows effortlessly from topic to topic, was divided by later annotators into ten sections of roughly even length, which are briefly summarized below.

In section one, Du Fu gave his reasons for writing about the remote place where, having fled rebellion and warlords, he had been stuck for three years. He hoped soon to travel through the Three Gorges down the Yangzi River and return to the capital. Frustrated at not having a role in government, he lamented that his influence in "molding and shaping" the world was limited to the medium of poetry.

Section two describes in greater detail the dramatic scenery of the Yangzi River just above the gorges. The superb language inspired the Qing-dynasty annotator Qiu Zhaoao (late 17th-early 18th century) to declare, "Line after line can be put into painting."¹² It is not as though a painter could easily capture the couplet's rapidly shifting focus — the lines alternate between phenomena overhead (sky, precipitous mountains) and things below (flora, fauna, water). Lines 19 and 20, which strongly appealed to Northern Song readers, contain a typical focal leap: "At times I am startled by layered peaks, / Where can one glimpse a level stream?" In section two Du Fu also described local practices, such as boiling alkaline well water to make salt, a theme relevant to Northern Song controversies over the government salt monopoly under the New Policies.

Section three contains one of those astonishing shifts of subject

matter that the Du Fu scholar Eva Shan Chou defines as “juxtaposition.” With surprising discontinuity of mood, language, content, and style, “juxtaposition” features a move from straightforward description or narration to emotionally intense reflection or distress. The change is dramatic enough to make the reader feel that the narrative and reflective lines are from different poems.¹³ Often considered a negative characteristic, these abrupt shifts are precisely what made many of Du Fu’s late poems ideal for painters: the landscape images could serve as a mnemonic for the political and social commentary that followed.

The juxtaposition in section three moves from misty landscape to an anguished moment of enlightenment. Autumn winds swept away the mist that had obscured the river valley all summer, allowing Du Fu to see clearly: “[The wind] blows open my collar, drives off poisonous vapors, / It brightens my eyes, it sweeps away clouds and mist” (lines 39–40). What the poet saw, however, was not just the landscape, but that the orderly past was irretrievably lost. Du Fu presented this realization by recalling a banquet where he heard court music played by the Pupils of the Pear Garden (*Li yuan dizi*), musicians who had been personally selected and trained by emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–756). The music exemplified the harmony and stability of the empire at its peak of power before the disastrous An Lushan rebellion of 755:

In the Southern Inner Palace: Kaiyuan melodies,
At that time: Pupils [of the Pear Garden] were taught;
When the sounds of the Dharma Song changed,
From every seat tears coursed down in streams.¹⁴

Sensing the permanence of the loss, the banquet guests wept in unison.

Dispersal of mist thus was a metaphor for clarity of understanding. This usage is implied in Wang Shen’s four-character painting title which contrasts a mist-shrouded river and visible mountain peaks. By choosing “clouds and mist” for his first rhyme in the poem translated below, Su Shi further emphasizes the idea of clouds obscuring vision (and understanding).

Section four of “Autumn Day in Kui Prefecture” is an angry critique of the mid-760s government. Du Fu was irate that the emperor

had wrongly given authority to shameless toadies with no talent and no appreciation of ritual. Stung by the state's repeated humiliations in border conflicts and by the Tibetans' sack of the capital in 763, Du Fu took a hawkish position, advocating swift and thorough punishment of the enemy. He gave credit to the court for the humanitarian reduction of taxes and harsh laws that had caused untold suffering. In a further rebuke to the emperor, however, he named eminent rulers who resisted flatterers and wisely employed superior men.

Beginning with music as a symbol of a harmonious world, section five is a cheerful contrast to the preceding and following passages. Du Fu roundly praised the talent of Li Zhifang (d. 768) and Zheng Shen (mid-eighth century), the recipients of his song, one of whom was in exile, the other in semiretirement. For Du Fu, Li and Zheng represented the ideals of dedicated official and lofty recluse, the kind of rare statesmen who ought to be running the government.

Deep melancholy and a sense of desolation pervade section six. Du Fu alluded to the military disasters that were besetting the empire. In addition to rebellions within the state, the Tang court was facing border conflicts in the northeast and the threat of Tibetan invasions from the west. Du Fu thought of Tibetan troops looting and burning Chang'an in the winter of 763-764, which forced the imperial court to flee. Then he recalled Luoyang, which in 762 was plundered for three months by both Uighur and Chinese forces.¹⁵ He bemoaned his isolation and his lack of influence.

Daily life in Kui Prefecture is the ostensible subject of section seven. Impoverished and in rustic surroundings, Du Fu supplemented his meager income by occasionally selling a piece of his wife's jewelry. He bought fresh produce at a nearby market that was located on a hilltop. The market was above a mountain torrent that in local dialect was called a "*nang*," which Du Fu glossed as a mountain river that connects deep mountain valleys with the Yangtze. He also explained the local word "*shiji*" as a landing where boats moor for the market.¹⁶ In a series of couplets, he wondered whether retirement in this remote place wasn't preferable to the heart-wrenching duties of office.

Section eight continued the theme of serving or not serving, an

issue that was important to any responsible scholar. Du Fu offered comfort to his friends out of office by enumerating the advantages of reclusion. He asked, "How is attending morning audience superior to the security of drunken sleep?" We are meant to respond, "It's not!" But Du Fu immediately undercut his own argument with fervent wishes for his friends' unqualified success in government in the near future. Imperial recognition and appropriate employment clearly were preferable to rustic countryside life. Du Fu reassured his friends with the comment that military heroes may have momentary glory as their portraits are painted on palace walls, but when historical records are compiled, his friends (and presumably the poet himself) would receive lasting recognition.

In section nine, Du Fu restlessly mapped out a journey toward enlightenment, viewing the study of Buddhism as a possible solution to his dilemma. His thoughts moved between his intention to give himself over to Buddhist meditation and his eagerness to travel down the Yangtze River toward the capital and shake off the lethargy that had characterized his stay in Kui Prefecture.

The proposed journey of section nine turns into an imaginary flight in section ten. The bizarre destinations (land's end, the Milky Way) recall the fanciful journey in the ancient poem "Encountering Sorrow."¹⁷ In the end, however, Du Fu's thoughts returned firmly to earth, and the solace of Buddhism was rejected. Du Fu reprised the theme of sight and understanding that formed a turning point in section three but gave it a significant twist. Referring to a Buddhist parable about removing cataracts with a golden scalpel, he concluded that for him the operation would be in vain. In a second epiphany, he realized that he was too deeply concerned with the world with all of its imperfections to escape through religion or flights of fancy.

For the scholar-officials of the 1070s and 1080s the similarities between the turmoil described in Du Fu's "Autumn Day in Kui Prefecture" and their own political crises were painfully evident. Su Shi and his friends found in Du Fu's poem not only penetrating thoughts on a disrupted society, but a biting critique that could be redirected at the Song court and their detractors. In summarizing the poem, Susan Cherniack

wrote that Kui Prefecture is “a place where disharmony reigns in place of the harmony that traditionally governs the Chinese world-view.”¹⁸ Alluding to Du Fu’s “Autumn Day in Kui Prefecture” was a way to lament the loss of a more civilized time.

MISTY RIVER, LAYERED PEAKS HANDSCROLLS ATTRIBUTED TO
WANG SHEN

Although unsigned and without seals of either Wang Shen or Wang Dingguo, a landscape handscroll in the collection of the Shanghai Museum is quite possibly the *Misty River, Layered Peaks* that Wang Dingguo owned (figure 1). The scroll is rendered in ink and colors on silk, and the style of the mountains and trees fits well the representational approach of the late eleventh century. Although accomplished, the carefully rendered motifs still reveal touches of an amateur hand.

A curious feature of the composition is the virtually unpainted first half. The absence of landscape forms is a striking contrast to the dense peaks to the far left of the composition. The unpainted and painted halves of the picture are a visual presentation of the title *Misty River, Layered Peaks*. Wang Shen’s picture begins with two small spits of land in the foreground on which grow a few trees and shrubs. Those minor motifs together define the shore of a mist-hung river that expands to fill more than half the composition. The surface of the river is undefined except for two barely visible open boats. As we move to the left through



1. *Misty River, Layered Peaks*, handscroll, ink and color on silk, attributed to Wang Shen, Shanghai Museum

the second half of the composition, mountains gradually become visible in the far distance and then emerge with clarity in the middle ground.

As the mist parts, we see on a middle-distance mountainside not far from the river multistoried buildings protruding from thick clouds, perhaps evoking Kui Prefecture. Closer to the foreground, over the shoulder of a small hill, two men moor a boat, possibly a reference to Du Fu's gloss on a boat landing for a market, although no market is depicted. Finally, as the viewer moves to the left, a massive mountain with multiple peaks and a second smaller peak emerge, their faceted structure an evocation of the title's phrase "layered peaks." Between the two peaks waterfalls cascade. At the foot of the larger peak a man carrying a single parcel on a shoulder pole approaches a bridge that spans another mountain torrent. Thick scrolling clouds lace the mountains. Orange foliage indicates that the season is indeed autumn. The fuzzy halos of trees surrounding the mountain summits may have been an effort to represent Du Fu's line "Where cliffs line up, old trees encircle" (line 14).¹⁹

As explained above, in Du Fu's poem thick mist was a metaphor for hindered vision and lack of understanding. In Wang Shen's painting, the motif of mist surely served the same function, signaling incomprehension and providing a contrast with the visible second half of the landscape. The composition is thus not an illustration of Du Fu's poem but, as suggested by the title, a lyric distillation of a central concept from section three in which autumn winds blew away the mist that had obscured the river valley, allowing the poet to see clearly and to grasp the reality of recent history.

The colored version of *Misty River, Layered Peaks* entered the collection of the Huizong emperor (r. 1100–1125). The painting has a full complement of seals of the Xuanhe era (1119–1125), as well as a title that Huizong inscribed in his distinctive slender-gold (*shou jin ti*) calligraphy immediately to the right of the painting.²⁰ The inscription is on tawny-colored silk of the type that was used in imperial mountings of that era. The painting entitled *Misty River, Layered Peaks* in the Xuanhe imperial catalogue is very likely this scroll.²¹

The Shanghai Museum has in its collection a second landscape handscroll attributed to Wang Shen with the same title (figure 2). Like the painting described above, this *Misty River, Layered Peaks* is on silk and



2. *Misty River, Layered Peaks*, handscroll, ink on silk, attributed to Wang Shen, Shanghai Museum

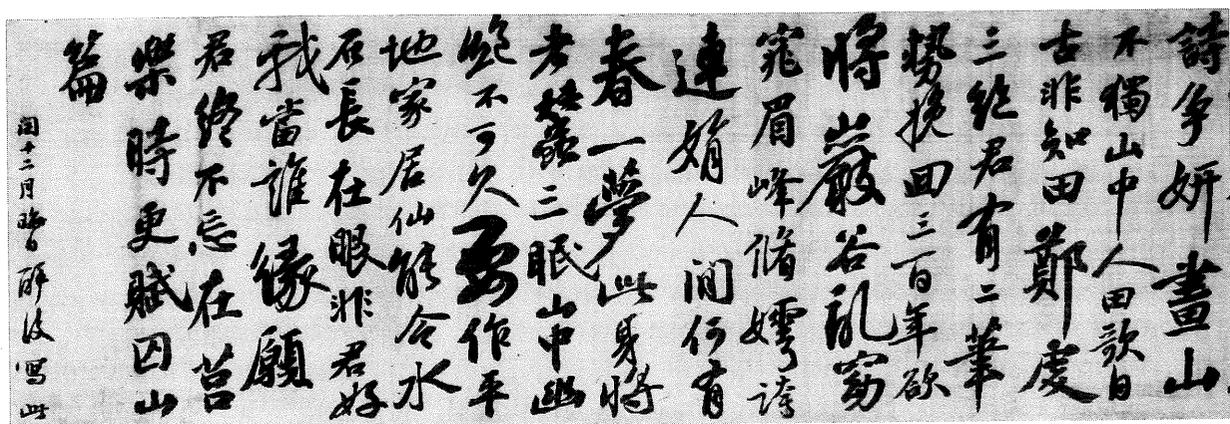
is unsigned and unsealed. This painting, however, is monochromatic, rendered largely in ink line, and smaller (26.2 cm. high as opposed to the 45.2 of the colored landscape). The monochrome composition opens on the right with tiered peaks and three travelers on a foreground path that leads onto a small winding bridge. The mountainous landscape gives way to gently sloping hills with trees growing in long lines. Another queue of trees grows on a spit extending into a broad river. Beyond an expanse of misty river, the composition concludes with a foreground bank where six or seven craggy trees cling to rocky soil. Opening with mountains that give way to a mist-shrouded river is roughly a reversal of the colored composition. The ink version, which is somewhat stiffly painted and less accomplished than the colored landscape, is on tightly woven, undamaged silk. Although the monochrome version may preserve a Wang Shen composition, its authenticity is yet to be established.²² What then of the Su Shi and Wang Shen poems that are attached to it?

A MANUSCRIPT OF THE FOUR POEMS

Shanghai's ink version of *Misty River, Layered Peaks* is followed by the four "Misty River, Layered Peaks" poems. On silk more loosely woven than the monochrome painting and showing considerably more damage, Su Shi and Wang Shen wrote out their respective poems. The calligraphy is the focus of a study by the museum's researcher Zhong Yinlan, who argues for its authenticity. Opinions vary, however, because the authenticity is not instantly apparent.²³ At some point, the backing paper of the calligraphy was removed from the loosely woven silk, resulting in the loss of ink tone. Where open spaces in the weave were apparently too



3. Reading from right to left, poems one and two: Su Shi, "Inscribing Wang Shen's *Misty Layered Peaks* attributed to Wang Shen (see figure 2)



4. Poem three: Su Shi, "Rhyming Wang Shen, with preface," ink on silk, following *Misty*

obvious, strokes were touched up with ink that obscures the original contours. Further, the profile of some characters has been altered by poor alignment of the silk. Looking beyond these distortions, the brush lines are fluid and robust, with the idiosyncratic brush habits of Su Shi fully apparent. Therefore, the Shanghai calligraphy can be accepted as one of the originals written at the end of 1088 and the beginning of 1089. That more than one copy of the poems circulated is to be expected; presumably both authors, as well as the painting's owner, Wang Dingguo, would have wanted copies.

江上愁心千疊山，浮空積
 如管煙山耶雲耶，遠莫知
 空雲散山依然，但見兩崖
 關絕谷中有百道，飛來泉
 林絕石隱溪見下，赴谷口為
 川，平山關林麓，新七橋野
 橋山前行人，衣冠高木。
 一葉江吞天，使君何從得此
 路，綴臺末分清，妍不知人間
 雲有此景，境徑欲一，明日
 若不見武昌樊口，幽絕東坡
 先生留五年，春風搖江天漢，
 莫雲卷雨山，娟一舟楓，翻鴉伴
 水宿長松，落雪驚，醉眠枕石
 流水在人世，武陵堂，空暗神仙江
 山清空我，塵土雜有，古路尋無
 緣，逐君此畫，三歎息，山中故人
 應有招我歸，來篇

右書晉卿所畫煙江疊嶂
 圖一首
 元祐三年三月十五日于膳書

帝子相從玉斗邊，洞簫忽
 斷散，非煙平生未省山水窟

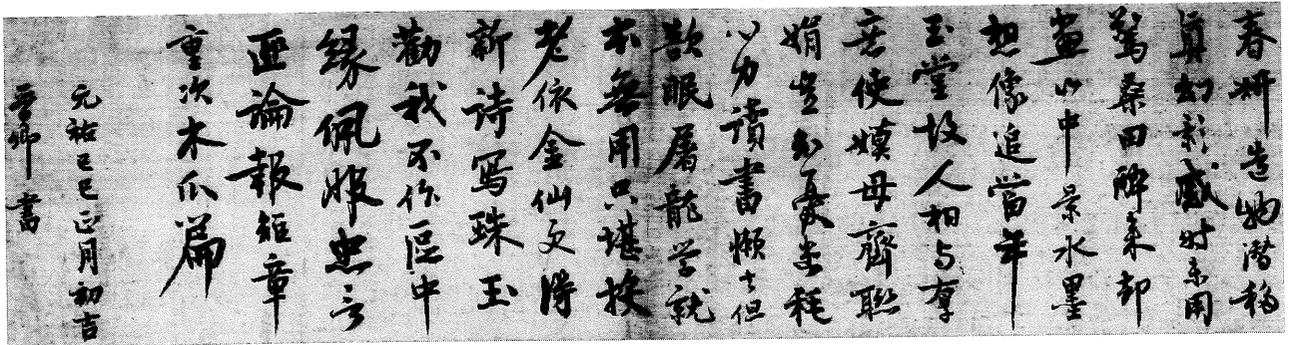
River, Layered Peaks,” and Wang Shen, “Rhyming a Poem,” ink on silk, following Misty River,

晉卿作煙江疊
 嶂圖，傑為作
 詩十四韻，而晉
 卿和之，語持奇
 麗，因復次韻
 非獨紀其詩畫
 之美，亦為道其
 出處契闊之
 故而終之以不
 忘在莒之戒
 亦朋友忠愛
 之義也

青於前
 却因病瘦出奇
 骨隨車之危字
 非天風浪文采磨
 不盡水墨自興

River, Layered Peaks attributed to Wang Shen (see figure 2)

The neat uniformity of the first two poems suggests that they were relatively routine fair-hand copies (figure 3). The calligraphy of the third poem, in a larger, bolder running script, has eccentric passages that may be attributed to Su Shi's self-confessed inebriation (figure 4). The freedom of the brushwork suggests that Su Shi was in an exuberant mood as he transcribed his poem in large regular-running script punctuated with dramatic flourishes. Whereas the columns of the first two poems contain ten or eleven characters, in the last two poems each column contains only five to seven characters. Although less accomplished than Su Shi's



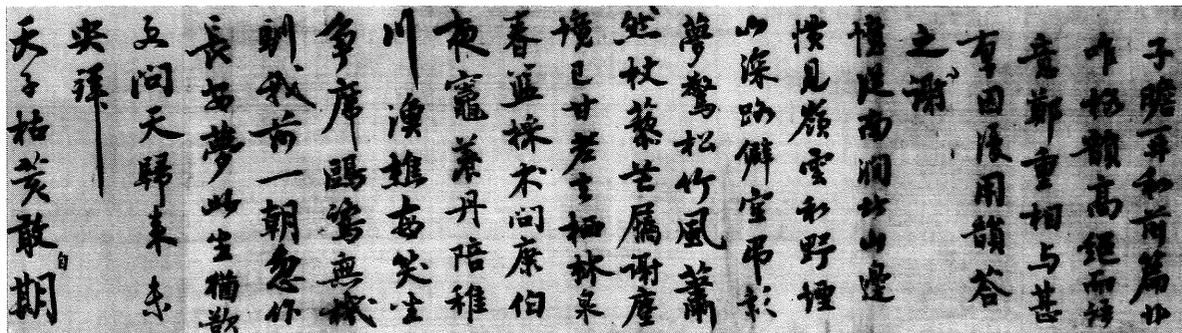
5. Poem four: Wang Shen, "Again Rhyming," ink on silk, following *Misty River, Layered*

calligraphy, Wang Shen's boldly brushed poem (figure 5) stretches horizontally nearly three times as far as either the first or second poem.²⁴

The First Poem: Su Shi Inscribes Misty River, Layered Peaks in the Collection of Wang Dingguo

When Su Shi wrote a poem for Wang Shen's landscape, he was empathizing with his friends' ordeal of exile. His overt message, accessible to any literate reader, was the positive side of banishment: the benefits of living in the countryside and the landscape's changing beauty through the four seasons. Su Shi communicated a second layer of meaning, less obvious but still accessible to the well-educated reader through references to earlier poets such as Tao Qian (365–427). Tao Qian, who preferred a life of rural poverty to the onerous duties of officialdom, helped Su articulate one of his main themes: the prestige of serving as an official at court was not necessarily desirable. A third layer of meaning was accessible only if the reader recognized the source of the rhyme characters. This largely covert level of Su's poem drew on Du Fu's "Autumn Day in Kui Prefecture" to provide deeper, more sardonic meanings. The verbal barbs reveal that Su was writing about current events as well as the years that he, Wang Shen, and Wang Dingguo spent in exile.

In the translations below, capital letters are used for words and phrases that originated from the end of lines of "Autumn Day in Kui Prefecture." Translations of the same character occasionally vary from poem to poem in an effort to catch the sense of the original. The rhyme



Peaks attributed to Wang Shen (see figure 2)

characters by themselves were unimportant. Indeed for the most part they are ordinary, frequently used characters. The significance of the rhyme words lies in the Du Fu couplets from which they came and which presumably Su chose because he appreciated the content.²⁵ Su Shi begins with a description of the landscape:

- On the river, anxious mind, a thousand layered mountains,
 Patches of green float in space like CLOUDS AND MIST;
 Are they mountains? Are they clouds? Too far to tell;
 4 When mist parts and clouds scatter, the mountains are just
 AS ALWAYS;
 But what we see are two rugged green cliffs shading a deep
 valley,
 In it hundreds of SPRINGS cascade in waterfalls,
 Winding through woods, wrapping around rocks, lost and
 seen again,
 8 Falling to form swift STREAMS at the valley's mouth,
 The river calms and mountains part, the foothill forest
 ends,
 A small bridge and country shops nestle BEFORE the moun-
 tain;
 Few travelers cross beyond the tall trees;
 12 A fishing boat like a leaf where the river swallows the SKY,
 Tell me sir, what was your source?
 Delicately detailed with brush tip, painted with purity and
 BEAUTY;

- I don't know where among men there is such a scene;
 16 I'll go at once and buy some FIELDS,
 You sir have not seen Wuchang and Fankou, the remote
 and inaccessible places
 Where Master Dongpo lived for five YEARS.
 Spring wind shook the river, the sky was BOUNDLESS,
 20 Evening clouds rolled up rain, the mountains were LOVELY,
 In scarlet maples crows fluttered, companions to a water-
 side dwelling,
 From tall pines snow fell, startling my DRUNKEN SLEEP,
 Peach Blossom stream is in the world of men,
 24 How could Wuling be only for IMMORTALS?
 River and mountains are pure and empty: I am in the dust,
 Although roads lead there, it is not my FATE to follow
 them;
 Returning your painting, I sigh three times,
 28 Old friends of the mountains should summon me with
 POEMS of return.²⁶

The multiple referents that make this and the following poems a challenge to modern readers are precisely what made the poetic exchange exciting for Su and his friends. (For those of us who do not have Du Fu's two-hundred-line song committed to memory, the appendix contains a juxtaposition of Su's poem with the Du Fu couplets he was rhyming.) The first twelve lines appear to be a straightforward word picture of the painting Su was viewing. Many details correspond to the colored handscroll in the Shanghai Museum, suggesting the possibility that Su was looking at the painting. The correspondence, however, may also be attributed to Wang Shen and Su Shi working from the same literary source. Painter and poet both were inspired by Du Fu's word pictures of the steep valleys of Kui Prefecture and its torrential streams, of a landscape obscured by mist, and of Nangxi village where he was living. Thus, Su's question on the origin of Wang Shen's landscape (line 13) is playfully disingenuous. Su, Wang Shen, and Wang Dingguo all knew the poetic origin.

The character *ran* that Su Shi rhymes in line 4 is particularly

common; it often functions to turn a noun or verb into an adverb. Du Fu's couplet from which it came was no doubt meaningful for Su and his friends: "Amid turmoil and separation my mind cannot relax, / Growing old, my days pass drearily." Although Su's days could hardly be considered dreary, the continuing attacks by enemies at court surely would have made 1088 a time of turmoil for him. Just two months before the "Misty River, Layered Peaks" inscription, Su Shi wrote that in the 1070s his poems had indeed contained policy criticism, but in 1088 he was being accused of defaming the emperor through an examination question and an appointment decree, neither of which contained political protest.²⁷

In line 14 Su Shi admires the fresh elegance of Wang Shen's painting. In "Autumn Day in Kui Prefecture" the same rhyme (*yan*) ends a couplet in which Du Fu was contrasting his own ineffectiveness with the talents of his two illustrious friends: "Mist and rain have corroded my silver seal of office, / But the Painted Bureau through [your] fragrance retains its BEAUTY." The Painted (or Powdered) Bureau was a nickname for the Secretariat derived from its whitewashed walls. "Fragrance" (*xinxiang*) refers to a perfume that gentlemen of the Secretariat made by crushing orchids, thus lending themselves the aura of that exemplary flower, symbol of loyalty and refinement.²⁸ Du Fu's two friends, and by extension Su Shi's friends Wang Shen and Wang Dingguo, were the sort of men who could impart an air of elegance and integrity to the Secretariat if they were given the opportunity. Su's line 18 ("Where Master Dongpo lived for five YEARS") echoes Du Fu's complaint that he has been trapped in a remote place: "Swept along by winds a mere one hundred li, / Quenching thirst, already three YEARS" (lines 3-4).

Su Shi's allusion to "Autumn Day in Kui Prefecture" is especially evident in lines 19 and 20, in which he quotes a pair of uncommon reduplicatives (*momo* and *juanjuan*), which are translated above as BOUNDLESS and LOVELY. Outwardly Su Shi is appreciating aspects of seasonal change during his years of exile. The source — Du Fu's lines 115-116 from section six — provides a substantial subtext: "Soldiers and spears: dust is BOUNDLESS, / Over the Jiang and Han: the moon is LOVELY." From many of his poems we know that Du Fu felt qualified to advise the emperor on national policy and resented the fact that his opinion was not

being sought. Distressed by humiliating losses and indecisive battles with Tibetans and Uighurs, Du Fu was lamenting his lack of influence; he should have been advising the throne, but had only the luminous moon with which to talk. In 1088 Su Shi held a high position at the Hanlin Academy, but like Du Fu, he felt the court was listening to the wrong men. Speaking out and offering alternative points of view was central to Su Shi's view of his role in government, but during 1088 he was under attack from a variety of enemies, some of whom, like the censor Zhao Tingzhi (1040-1107), harbored personal animosity toward him.²⁹ If we keep Du Fu's couplet in mind, Su's couplet takes on an ironic tone.

Continuing his description of the four seasons, Su Shi evokes autumn and winter: "In scarlet maples crows fluttered, companions to a waterside dwelling, / From tall pines snow fell, startling my DRUNKEN SLEEP" (lines 21-22). Now, although crows could represent filial respect and auspiciousness in Chinese literature, by the Song dynasty they had acquired a disreputable aura: they sought easy meals and flocked together, finding comfortable perches (positions) in the forest (Hanlin) of the central government.³⁰ In this poem Su's autumn grove is set upon by inauspicious crows. Given Su's penchant for imbibing, "DRUNKEN SLEEP" of line 22 is fully within his own poetic vocabulary. Here, however, Su's drunken slumber is abruptly ended by falling snow, indicating a fright, or a moment of realization, or both. Comparison with Du Fu's lines 145-146 lets us see clearly that Su's landscape image is referring to the theme that retirement is preferable to the liabilities of service at court: "Would you please explain: incessantly attending morning audience — / How can that compare to the security of DRUNKEN SLEEP?" Du Fu was offering solace to two friends whose talents were not being properly used. Similarly, Su was sympathizing with his two friends. If exiled reclusion was preferable to the high status of a position at court, the reason was security from dangerous conflicts in the capital.³¹

In line 24 Su mentions the ideal community described in Tao Qian's preface to "Peach Blossom Spring."³² Elsewhere Su argued that the inhabitants of Peach Blossom Spring were not transcendent immortals (as had often been assumed), but ordinary people who happened to have been cut off from the world and were happily living in harmony.³³ Here in the "Misty River" poem he seems to be making a related point:

a life of peace and harmony is surely not exclusively for immortals. Su was rhyming lines from section three of “Autumn Day in Kui Prefecture” in which the recollection of court music from Emperor Xuanzong’s glorious reign was part of a painful realization: “The zheng’s sad music makes the elderly [guest] grieve, / The splendid hall makes IMMORTALS envious” (lines 43–44). Du Fu realized that the splendor of that recently past era was lost. The urban sophistication of Xuanzong’s court was part of a world of harmony and beauty that had existed in addition to Peach Blossom Spring. Another was the world that Su Shi had enjoyed as a talented young man under the emperor Renzong (r. 1022–1063). What these three worlds had in common was not only their harmony, but their disappearance from experience and the near impossibility of recovering them.

Addressing the question of his fate (line 26), Su rhymes a character from a couplet in which Du Fu complained about having to curry the favor of others in order to advance, literally to creep and climb: “But at the melon season, I am again sojourning, / Floating like duckweed, bitter at having to creep and CLIMB.”³⁴ Su Shi no doubt shared Du Fu’s revulsion at having to forge working relationships with men he disliked and distrusted. He notes, however, that his fate is to toil in the dusty world rather than to take roads that led to beautiful rivers and mountains.

Su Shi closes his poem for *Misty River, Layered Peaks* with the rhyme word *pian*, a poem or a section of a literary work. Su writes, “Friends of the mountains should summon me with poems of return.”³⁵ The line recalls both the theme of summoning a recluse to service at court and the famous poem “Returning Home,” in which Tao Qian celebrated resigning his onerous official position in favor of a simpler rural life. As to serving or retiring, Su seems to side with Tao Qian: rather than being summoned to court, Su urges friends to call him back to the mountains. Du Fu’s couplet ending with the same rhyme gives a different reading, resonating as it does with the conviction that literature has the power to shape and transform: “Climbing [mountains] and facing [water], variety is bountiful, / In molding and smelting, I rely on poetry.” “Molding and smelting” was a metaphor for the transforming power of effective government. In 1079, in the sedition case brought against Su Shi, censors cited his use of “to mold and to smelt” in a poem

about Sima Guang's (1019–1086) Garden of Solitary Pleasures. In 1077 at the time of Su's poem, Sima Guang was living in genteel exile in Luoyang. During the trial, Su Shi allowed that although much of the poem was innocent, the following lines contained criticism: "Why have you alone nothing to do, / when the four quarters wish you to mold and to smelt?" In his confession Su Shi explained, "[This poem] says that all the people want Sima to take charge of the government and to 'mold and smelt' the empire. By this I satirically imply that those in charge of government are not the right people."³⁶ Su Shi acknowledged that later in the poem he expressed the hope that Sima Guang would return to court and once again attack the New Policies. Thus, in his colophon for the painting *Misty River, Layered Peaks*, Su uses Du Fu's line to suggest the purpose of their literary endeavors and to affirm the potential of literature to shape political events.

The Second Poem: Wang Shen Rhymes a Response

Intrigued and clearly entertained by Su Shi's poem with concealed messages, Wang Shen wrote a poem using the same rhymes in the order established by Su. Wang Shen played on some of Du Fu's meanings, selecting one additional rhyme character from "Autumn Day in Kui Prefecture" to end his first line and incorporating further allusions. He quoted liberally from other authors as well.

Here a digression on these poets' elegant use of synecdoche is in order. Preferring not to name a thing directly, Chinese poets reveled in figures of speech in which a part stands for the whole ("jade steps" for the court and by extension the emperor), or the whole stands for the part ("north plain" or "central plain" for the Tang-dynasty capital, Chang'an, which was located there). In the Northern Song, when the court was located at Kaifeng, Chang'an in turn became a figure for the Song capital. In addition to being referred to with laudatory phrases akin to "his gracious majesty," the emperor was metaphorically spoken of as the sun, the pole star, and Wang Shen's "Jade Dipper," which occurs in the poem below. These substitutions were recognized as easily as we register "the White House" for the American presidency. The translation of Wang Shen below leaves the literal word in place, allowing the reader to make the appropriate metaphorical substitution.

- Imperial pupils obeyed BESIDE the Jade Dipper,
 The bamboo flute was suddenly broken, [they] scattered
 without even MIST;
 All my life I had not reflected on landscape caverns,
 4 Once I myself arrived, I was STARTLED!
 Chang'an's sun was distant, when to be seen again?
 Digging earth, how do you know if you will hit a SPRING?
 Floating on the Han River for many years,
 8 Grief for the long RIVER that flows east without ceasing;
 Mountains tiered and water distant, scenery without end,
 Kingfisher curtains and golden screens opened BEFORE my
 eyes;
 Clearing clouds were BOUNDLESS: dawn surrounding the
 hills,
 12 Green peaks were expansive: spring stretching to HEAVEN;
 The four seasons supply my painting SOURCE,
 Ingenuity naturally ebbs and flows, ugly and BEAUTIFUL;
 In my mind I first composed the idea of distant rivers,
 16 Then my brush tip plowed the FIELDS of the western
 mountains;
 With aged face and greying hair, what can I bequeath?
 Resorting to ink-play, I will forget my remaining YEARS:
 The General's colorful mountains arising from gold and
 green,
 20 Xiaolang's emerald bamboo boasting graceful LOVELINESS,
 Drifting about a thousand ages without a Tiger Head,
 Today of the truly miraculous, I recommend LongMIAN.
 How could I plan for these vulgar strokes to display a lofty
 song?
 24 From this I will gain fame, like a Banished IMMORTAL;
 It is my nature to love both poetry and painting,
 While Master Wangchuan doubted his KARMA;
 When we meet, I ought to paint again a length of mist and
 rosy clouds
 28 To further reciprocate the drunken brush of Jade Hall
 splattering a long POEM.

Wang Shen begins with a reference to the Pupils of the Pear Garden, but instead of Du Fu's "pupils" (*dizi*) he used the homophonic "imperial pupils." The choice of words also recalls the first line from "Lord of the Xiang," one of "The Nine Songs," in which the spirits of the daughters of Yao descend to the shore of the Xiang River and offer silent solace to the slandered loyal minister Qu Yuan (ca. 343–ca. 277 BCE).³⁷ In this symbolically laden first line, Wang Shen introduced an additional rhyme character, BESIDE (*bian*) from Du Fu's first couplet: "Remote pass north of the Raven tribes, / Solitary city BESIDE White Emperor." Du Fu was situating his poem by using a nearby mountain citadel, White Emperor City, in which the word "emperor" happened to appear. Playing on the name, Wang Shen indirectly referred to the sovereign himself with "The Jade Dipper."³⁸

Adapting the Pupils of the Pear Garden story, Wang Shen refers to music performed not on the stringed *zheng* as in Du Fu's poem, but on the more informal bamboo flute. Perhaps Wang Shen was thinking of the time Wang Dingguo called on Su Shi in Pengcheng (Xuzhou). During the ten-day visit, they composed hundreds of poems, went boating, enjoyed the moon, drank quantities of wine, and played the flute. As they returned, the sound of the flute filled mountains and valleys, prompting Su to declare that not since the death of Li Bai (701–762) three hundred years before had the world known such happiness.³⁹ The joyful outings took place in 1078, a year before Su's arrest and trial, the event that stopped the music for these three men. Wang Shen's first couplet ends with "scattered not even MIST," probably an allusion to another Du Fu lament for a great era lost: "Stormy waves of war have wrapped our royal house in gloom, / The Pupils of the Pear Garden scattered like disappearing mist."⁴⁰ Wang Shen's couplet suggests an allegorical summary of the events of the 1070s, when one official after another left the court as opposition to the New Policies was no longer tolerated.

Lines 3 and 4 embrace two interesting readings. The first is that, having not previously thought about landscape, Wang Shen was surprised by the physical beauty of his place of exile. Perhaps preferable is the explanation that when he reflected on the metaphorical potential of landscape imagery, Wang Shen was startled. In the subsequent lines he

demonstrates his proficiency in using landscape images for indirect discourse. Through landscape metaphors he wonders how long estrangement from the emperor (Chang'an's sun) will last (line 5). In line 6 ("Digging earth, how do you know if you will hit a SPRING?"), he alludes to the story of the duke of Zhuang who in a fit of anger swore he would never again see his mother until they were reunited at the Yellow Springs of the underworld. Later regretting his oath, he dug a deep hole and created a tunnel where they could meet by a spring.⁴¹ During their long exiles, Wang Shen may have doubted the possibility of a reunion with the emperor Shenzong and his friends.

In lines 7 and 8 Wang Shen artfully evokes his grief at the years lost while in exile and at the inexorable passage of time by adapting a familiar and poignant line from the *Analec*s: "While standing by a river, the Master said, "What passes away is, perhaps, like this. Day and night it never lets up."⁴²

Line 11 contains the reduplicative *momo* (vast, boundless) from the end of Su Shi's line 19, which in turn was taken from Du Fu's "Soldiers and spears: dust is BOUNDLESS." With the phrase "surrounding [literally, caging] the hills" Wang Shen may have been cleverly paraphrasing a passage from Liu Zongyuan's (773-819) preface to "Imprisoning Mountains" (*Qiushan fu*), written during Liu's ten-year exile to Yongzhou in modern Hunan.⁴³ Characterizing the mountains as his cell, Liu observed "There are those who consider court and market a cage, but I have never before heard of someone considering mountains and woods a cage (*fanlong*)." Recalling Liu Zongyuan's "imprisoning mountains," Wang Shen has the morning sun enveloping or encasing the hills (*long xiu*). Su Shi was picking up this thread when in the fourth poem he urged Wang to reread "Imprisoning Mountains."

Of importance to the then emerging theory of literati painting, Wang Shen's poem discusses the art of painting as a means of expression for educated men. Answering the question on the origin of his landscape posed in Su's thirteenth line, Wang Shen adopted Su Shi's end character for his own line 13. Having just alluded to great literary sources, Wang Shen, as disingenuous as Su, declares that the four seasons are his inspiration. Wang asserts that his artistic creations could be ugly as well as beautiful. A well-established principle of early aesthetics, the avoidance

of overly pretty effects, appears in evaluations of literature in the Six Dynasties period (220–581). For Wang Shen, an example of the juxtaposition of ugly and beautiful was immediately at hand: in “Autumn Day in Kui Prefecture,” Du Fu combined lofty sentiments and stunning landscape lines with the disturbing themes of warfare, death, poverty, and the misguided actions of the emperor.⁴⁴ From the aesthetic premise that art at times may be deliberately disturbing, Wang Shen described the process of visualizing an image before touching brush to paper, a technique the official Wen Tong (1019–1079) had taught Su Shi.⁴⁵

In lines 17 and 18 Wang Shen asks what he, an aging, white-headed scholar, has to contribute to humanity and replies that his bequest will be the practice of ink painting. He then lists illustrious predecessors, great intellectuals and scholar-officials who were also accomplished painters. He begins with “The General,” Li Sixun (651–716?), a member of the Tang imperial family who rose to the position of senior general of the Left Imperial Warrior Guard. As a painter, Li is credited with being the first to use the gold and green style of landscape.⁴⁶ Indirectly returning to the theme of visualization before painting, Wang next names Xiaolang, the early-ninth-century official Xiao Yue, who rose to the rank of chief musician (*xie lü lang*). He is known solely from four poems that the poet-official Bai Juyi (772–846) wrote in praise of his painting. Characterizing Xiao Yue as a man of integrity who had known hunger and hardship, Bai Juyi anticipated the Northern Song aesthetic approach in these lines:

Others paint the bamboo thick and gnarled;
 Xiao paints each spear lean and sturdy.
 Others paint the bamboo tufts lifeless, limp, and drooping,
 Xiao paints the branches alive, as if each leaf were seen to move.
 Without roots, these bamboos grow from his mind;
 Without shoots, these bamboos are shaped by his brush.⁴⁷

Bai Juyi’s image of the bamboo growing from the painter’s mind, as mentioned above, represents the process of visualization that Su Shi identified as Wen Tong’s technique for painting ink bamboos.⁴⁸

Tiger Head of line 21 is a nickname of the Eastern Jin painter Gu Kaizhi (ca. 345–ca. 406), whose genius and eccentricity contributed to

the excellence of his renowned paintings. Gu's contemporary, the official Xie An (320–385), had this unqualified praise for Gu's painting: "Since the birth of man, there has never been anything like this." Like Su Shi and Wang Shen, Gu Kaizhi took inspiration from poetry. Gu admired the four-meter poems of Xi Kang (223–262) and grappled with the problem of converting poetic images into paintings.⁴⁹

For the next example of perfection in painting, Wang Shen makes a felicitous use of *mian*, the rhyme word SLEEP (line 22), by citing the style name Dragon Sleep (Longmian) of his contemporary Li Gonglin (ca. 1041–1106). In the spring of 1088, Su Shi had invited Li Gonglin to serve as an assistant for the imperial examinations that Su was administering. During the weeks that the examinations were held and graded, they took advantage of leisure moments to exchange poems. A stomach-ache moved Li to paint a horse rolling in the dust which in turn inspired a new poetic flood. A superb draftsman, Li was by far the most accomplished scholar-painter in Su Shi's and Wang Shen's circle.⁵⁰

Wang Shen realized that his painting skills were no match for Li Gonglin's. In line 24, he rhetorically asks how his amateur landscape could communicate lofty sentiments, and responds that if fame comes, he will be continuing the tradition of a "banished immortal." The accolade "banished immortal" was applied to prodigious talents who were condemned to live among people of inferior accomplishments. In the Song dynasty "banished immortal" often indicated the poet Li Bai, but here Wang Shen was using it to credit Du Fu for infusing the painting with lofty poetry.

Last in Wang Shen's list of scholar-painters is Master Wangchuan, the Tang official Wang Wei (701–761), who retired from officialdom to build a villa retreat by the Wangchuan River. In his lifetime he was famous for poetry infused with Buddhist philosophy, but in the eleventh century, Wang Wei became celebrated for his painting as well, especially for his monochromatic ink painting. Wang Shen's comment that Wang Wei "doubted his karma" referred to a poetic couplet by Wang Wei in which he supposed that he had been a painter in a previous existence.⁵¹ For Wang Shen there was no ambivalence: he loved both arts equally.

When returning the painting to Wang Shen, Su Shi had sighed in admiration (Su, line 27). Wang responded in the same numbered line

that he would paint another scroll of misty landscape in thanks for the poem from Jade Hall (an honorific name used for any Hanlin academician, here of course indicating Su Shi). The line suggests that Wang Shen very likely painted more than one version of misty-river-layered-peaks landscapes. Instead of using the character *jing* for a landscape scene, he instead used *jing*, mental images, giving emphasis to the interiority of his landscape construct.

The “Misty River, Layered Peaks” poems are written in “old style verse” (*gu ti shi*), a form that gave authors more latitude than the strictly parallel, extended regulated verse that Du Fu had used. In old-style verse, the convention was to avoid parallel couplets, making the form as different from regulated verse as possible. During the Northern Song, typically one or two parallel couplets were included in an old-style verse, often reinforced with reduplication. The number of lines was variable, as was the length of the line: the poet chose five- or seven-character meter, or used a flexible length. Su’s first poem has a meter of seven characters per line, except for four (lines 5, 15, 17, and 28) that are longer. Wang Shen reduced the number of long lines to two (27, 28). In his response, Su eliminated all long lines, maintaining a seven-character meter throughout.

The Third Poem: Su Shi Writes after Drinking

Continuing the playful exchange of poems, Su Shi repeated the rhyme words to write back, sometimes responding to the content of Wang Shen’s lines. In a preface Su acknowledged the debt he felt to the friends who were punished as accessories to his crime of writing seditious poems:

Wang Jinqing made *Misty River, Layered Peaks*, and I wrote a poem of fourteen rhymes. Jinqing rhymed it with language that was uniquely strange and elegant. Therefore I again am writing to this rhyme, not only to remember the beauty of his poetry and painting, but also in order to tell the reasons for advancement and retirement, and the separation of friends. And finally [this is written] in order not to forget either deprivation in extremity, or the meaning of friends’ loyalty and love.

What is translated here as “extremity” was in the Warring States period (481–221 BCE) the name of a city in the nearly annihilated state of Qi. After the king of Qi was able to win back his territory, his minister urged that they never forget their darkest moment when they had been close to extinction in the city of Ju.⁵² Su Shi’s remorse for his friends’ unjust punishment, which is evident in the preface, is further woven into the poem. In the first line of the poem, Su Shi uses the word “BESIDE,” which Wang Shen had introduced in the first line of poem number two, saying still more clearly “beside the emperor.”

- In the mountains, we raised our heads and looked BESIDE
the sun,
Chang’an could not be seen, only CLOUDS AND MIST;
Having returned to Chang’an, looking on the mountains
4 Times have moved and things have changed enough to
make one weep;
Pipes and strings completely gone, the guests have scat-
tered,
There only remains a horse paddock forming golden
SPRINGS,
Wowa originally gave rise to Thousand-league hoofs,
8 Wanting full-measure of wind and snow, they disregard
mountains and STREAMS;
Just live in submission in splendid rooms, chewing on
sweetened dates,
Ten years of bowing and rising BEFORE the dragon flags;
Because he is skinny and sick, extraordinary bones pro-
trude,
12 Would that the salt carts’ distress is not from HEAVEN!
Elegant style and cultural brilliance are never completely
polished,
Ink painting naturally competes with poetry in BEAUTY;
To paint mountains, do you have to be a man of the
mountains?
16 Since antiquity [composers of] field songs did not know
FIELDS;

- Of Zheng Qian's Three Perfections, you Sir have two,
 The force of your brush will bring back three-hundred
 YEARS;
 Wanting to capture [in painting] chaotic cliffs and valleys
 far and deep;
- 20 Peaks of Emei are attractive, boasting continual LOVELINESS,
 What man has only dreams of spring,
 This body is getting old, the silkworms' third SLEEP,
 Mountain life is too remote: "cannot stay long";
- 24 I want to live on level-ground [among people], yet have an
 IMMORTAL dwell,
 You can command water and rocks to grow before my
 eyes,
 If not for your kindness to me, how could I have this
 FATE?
 I hope you, Sir, will never forget being among the
 brambles,
- 28 In happy times, recite again the "Imprisoning Mountains"
 PIECE.

Su Shi opens his poem by contrasting life in exile and at court. He uses "in the mountains" in line 1 and "mountains and streams" in line 8 metaphorically to imply living "in the wild," that is, living out of office, in exile or retirement. When he returned to the capital, he looked back at the mountains of his exile, perhaps implying that the mountains looked good compared to the lamentable situation at court. Another reading is suggested by the well-established image of a mountain surrounded by flanking peaks for the hierarchy of the court, with the highest peak representing the sovereign. Thus "on the mountain" also might hint that what makes Su Shi weep (line 4) is looking at the ranks of officials in the power structure of the imperial court. Whether referring to mountain wilderness or to court bureaucracy, Su Shi is clearly bemoaning the political circumstances of the capital. Reinforcing the idea that things have changed for the worse, Su's line 2 ("only CLOUDS AND MIST") and line 5 on the music ceasing and guests scattering both recall Wang Shen's couplet "The bamboo flute was suddenly broken, /

[they] scattered without even MIST" (appendix, II, line 2), which in turn echoes Du Fu's description of the Pupils of the Pear Garden having scattered like the mist.

Introducing the theme of horses in line 6, Su Shi interweaves equine stories for a total of seven lines, drawing on the tradition of horses in all their variety representing the range of human talent available to an emperor.⁵³ The last five characters of Su's line 6 all appear in the biography of Wang Ji of the Western Jin (265–317). Out of love for his horses, Wang Ji purchased an expensive piece of land on which he built a paddock, lining it with coins, thus inspiring the nickname golden paddock.⁵⁴ The story implied self-indulgent excess, but for a worthy cause: horses (that is, talented men) were being appreciated and well cared for. The coins in the story suggest that in line 6 the rhyme word "spring" in this context should be understood in its more obscure sense of wealth. Thus Su's line could be read, "There only remains a horse paddock arranged with golden wealth." This interpretation, however plausible, was most likely a brilliant bit of camouflage on Su's part, because when we look again at "Autumn Day in Kui Prefecture" a more colorful reading is suggested.

In section four of "Autumn Day in Kui Prefecture," in a diatribe against the powers in the capital, Du Fu created a new synecdoche for the imperial court, one that was too risky to find wide use. In strong language even for an angry poet far from the capital, Du Fu likens the situation at court to the revolting smell of a horse stable: "From this day, may the Dragon Stable's water / never again be saturated with the barbarian's stench."⁵⁵ Du Fu attributes the foul odor to eunuchs and generals of foreign extraction at court, in his view incompetents who were wrongly given authority. In the context of using rhymes and phrases from "Autumn Day in Kui Prefecture," Su Shi's mention of a "horse paddock" surely would have caused Wang Shen and Wang Dingguo to think of Du Fu's impious line on the imperial stable. Connecting the stench in Du Fu's horse stable with manure and urine takes little imagination, but enlivening that image with "golden SPRINGS" took Su Shi's unusual skill and hubris. The notion of a refined scholar such as Su Shi describing the court in scatological terms may be startling, but the precedent in Du Fu's song raises the clear possibility.

The horse theme is developed further in line 7 with a reference to Sima Qian's (ca. 145–ca. 86 BCE) *Records of the Grand Historian*: "Once a spirit-horse came forth from the waters of the Wowa River."⁵⁶ The river's name became a synonym for the horse that could run a thousand *li*. When, however, the phrase "wowa" is taken literally, it means to moisten, to irrigate, or to dye ditches. The juxtaposition of the images in lines 6 and 7 encourages the bold reader to violate the traditional couplet-by-couplet reading. In this way the two lines could be construed to mean, "There only remains a horse paddock [with horses] making golden springs, / irrigating ditches that were from Thousand-league hoofs." This unconventional reading has Su Shi accusing inferior men then at court of defiling traditions that had been established over the centuries by much greater talents. If Su's friends read the lines in this way, one can imagine that Su's irreverence was equaled by the glee of his readers.

Su Shi's line 8 similarly invites more than one reading. The Thousand-league horse embraces adversity (wind and snow) and regards lightly the hardships of wilderness terrain (mountains and RIVERS). The line can also be read as a challenge: if you the Thousand-league horse want your fill of adversity (wind and snow), living in the wilderness (among mountains and RIVERS) is nothing. Really formidable adversity (supplied in the next couplet) is to live in luxurious submission. Su Shi uses the story of a man in the state of Chu who doted on a beloved horse, giving it embroidered silk robes, stabling it in splendid rooms with the finest mats, and feeding it dates soaked in honey. Under these unnatural conditions, the horse died of obesity.⁵⁷ The analogy with scholar-official life implies that an indulged but restricted life was no substitute for exercising one's natural bent. Indeed, the following line ("Ten years of bowing and rising BEFORE the dragon flags") says that official life was repugnant if a man had to pay for it with years of meek conformity to court protocol.

Su Shi's opening couplets contrasting life in exile and at court and on the fate of horses are potentially the most incriminating lines of the four poems. By accident or by design, they are missing from the calligraphy following the monochromatic landscape in the Shanghai Museum. The loss is not the result of age or wear, instances of which can be seen

in the worn silk of Su Shi's first poem in the handscroll and damage along the top and bottom edges of the silk. Su's preface to the poem is intact, as are lines 11 through 28. A straight vertical cut slices through the last line of the preface, and an uneven diagonal cut or tear passes through line 10 so that the third poem in the Shanghai scroll begins with the inoffensive "before the dragon flags" (figure 4). The loss of these potentially offensive nine and one-half lines is not confirmation of the above interpretations, but it certainly is consistent with the possibility that someone excised the lines.

Su Shi's steed of line 11 has not been pampered. Emaciated, it has strange bones protruding. The salt carts' distress of line 12 has an ancient association that points to the misuse of great talent. Using a thoroughbred horse to pull a salt cart was a metaphor for a talented man submitting under duress to menial labor.⁵⁸ The mention of salt carts, however, also would have prompted Su's readers to think of the ongoing controversy generated by the emperor Shenzong's highly profitable salt monopoly and the tens of thousands of peasants who were made "criminals" when private production of salt was banned as part of the New Policies.

Su Shi elegantly segues from horses to painting by paraphrasing a line from Du Fu's "Song of Painting" (Danqing yin) written for the renowned horse painter General Cao Ba (early 8th century).⁵⁹ Du Fu's praise for Cao Ba's talent ("Cultural brilliance, elegant style still today survive") is slightly muted in Su's observation that their literary skills are not completely honed. Su raises the claim that painting has all the emotive power of poetry, highlighting a hallmark of eleventh-century painting theory. The correlative was that an educated man did not paint from actual landscape but from knowledge of literature (lines 15-16). Thus, dwelling in mountains and sketching actual scenery were unnecessary for the literate painter, just as being a farmer was not necessary for composing agricultural songs such as those in the *Book of Songs*.

Su compares Wang Shen to Zheng Qian (d. ca. 761), a court official who presented the emperor Xuanzong a scroll of his poems handsomely written in excellent calligraphy and accompanied by his paintings. The emperor is said to have written in large characters at the end "Zheng Qian's Three Perfections."⁶⁰ Su's praise of Wang Shen, however, is guarded, for he declares that Wang has only two of the three

arts. Having already commended Wang's painting and poetry, Su presumably is implying that Wang's calligraphy was relatively inferior.

Line 20 contains unusual characters that would lead readers to a source other than Du Fu. The rhyme character is "lovely" (*juan*), which when applied to women, conveys a willowy, delicate sort of beauty. Su adds "continual" (*lian*) before lovely, and the verb "to boast" (*kua*), all of which figured in Han Wudi's prose-poem on Madam Li: "Her loveliness and slenderness cultivate superlatives."⁶¹ Su was praising the scenery of his home province and simultaneously complimenting Wang Shen while making irrelevant the original Du Fu line on the omnipresent dust of warfare.

At fifty-one years, Su was feeling his age and looked forward to a quiet life of inactivity. In line 22 "three sleeps" refers to silkworms sloughing off their skin, when they neither eat nor move and appear to be asleep.

Echoing a long tradition of laments, Su observes that distant mountains are no place to live. In the circa third-century BCE poem "Summoning the Soul," the phrase "cannot long stay" is a refrain that urges the departed soul not to linger in distant places, but to return home quickly. The prince of Huainan, Liu An (d. 122 BCE), rephrased this refrain for his "Summoning the Recluse," writing, "In the mountains you cannot stay long," a line that the banished official Liu Zongyuan quoted in his preface to "Imprisoning Mountains," a rumination on the frustration of unjust exile.⁶² If he should not linger in the mountains, then where would Su Shi live? Paying a fulsome compliment to Wang Shen, he says that he would like to live on level ground (that is, among people) and yet have an immortal (a transcendent creature that normally lives in remote mountains) live in his house. Su's line responds to Wang Shen's comment that credit for the distinction of his painting should be shared with a "banished immortal" such as Du Fu. Su gives him full credit by praising Wang Shen's suprahuman ability to make water and rocks grow before their eyes.

Reiterating the preface, Su concludes his poem by expressing his hope that during happy times his friend will keep in mind their shared experience of exile by rereading Liu Zongyuan's "Imprisoning Mountains." In this poem, Su vented his frustration with the factional politics

and personal attacks that were disrupting the orderly conduct of government. The poem contains strong opinions on politics, some barely veiled, some well disguised.

Recall that Su Shi's first poem was written on a date corresponding to December 30, 1088. At the close of the third poem in the Shanghai Museum handscroll is Su Shi's note, "Written after becoming drunk on the last day of the moon in the intercalary twelfth month." The next day, New Year's Day, Wang Shen replied with the fourth poem, which he signed as follows: "Inscribed by Jinqing on the first day of the first month of the *jisi* year of the Yuanyou reign," a date corresponding to February 13, 1089.⁶³ Thus, during the exchange of the four poems six weeks had passed.

The Fourth Poem: Wang Shen Responds with Gratitude

Wang Shen's preface graciously thanked Su for his kind words: "When [Su] Zichan again rhymed the previous poem, not only was every rhyme extremely lofty, but also the expression was earnest and profoundly generous. Therefore I again use the rhymes to respond to him with thanks." The Shanghai handscroll of poems suggests that Wang Shen took the challenge that Su Shi presented in the third poem above, that is, the implication that Wang Shen did not bring to calligraphy the same high standard that he brought to poetry and painting. This poem is brushed in an energetic running script far less restrained than Wang Shen's first poem.

Thoughts from southern cascades BESIDE the northern
 mountains,
 I'm accustomed to seeing mountain-top clouds and wilder-
 ness MIST;
 Deep mountains and remote roads, in vain grieving for my
 shadow,
 4 Dreams interrupted by wind blowing in pines and bamboo;
 With wisteria staff and rustic sandals: put to rest this dusty
 realm,
 I'm old and already willing to go roost among woods and
 SPRINGS,

- Plucking plants with spring basket: ask after Kangbo,
 8 Refining cinnabar in a night furnace: accompany Delicate
 STREAM.
 Fishermen and woodcutters laugh each time we contend
 for mats,
 Seagulls and egrets, without machinations, are docile BE-
 FORE me.
 One morning suddenly dreaming of Chang'an,
 12 I still want to ask HEAVEN about this life;
 Returning to Weiyang palace,⁶⁴ paying respects to the
 sovereign,
 Dry roots presume to take BEAUTY from the spring season,
 Creation moves unseen: truly mysterious shadows.
 16 Concern for the times is not yet of use: startled by Mul-
 berry FIELDS;
 As drunkenness comes, I want to paint "in-the-mountain"
 scenes,
 By imagining with water and ink I can recall those YEARS;
 Jade Hall's old friends are intimately associated,
 20 Your thoughts make this grotesque maiden endlessly
 LOVELY;
 How can they not know that worry destroys the mind's
 strength?
 Too lazy to read books, I want to SLEEP,
 Studying the butchering of dragons is basically of no use,
 24 Only old age is [my excuse] to retire and rely on the
 golden IMMORTALS;
 Then I can get new poems and write true gems,
 Urge me not to take the FATE of the central district;
 Admiring with appreciation loyal speech, unable to express
 my gratitude,
 28 [I give this] short poem to repeat many times the "papaya"
 POEM.

Whereas Su Shi's poem was overtly and covertly angry, Wang Shen's response is more tempered, perhaps intended to assuage Su with

the message that although Wang Shen was disappointed with his career, he nonetheless could accept his fate. Alternating references to imperial service with Taoist images and parables, he indicates his willingness to retire from the complications of court life.

Wang Shen's line 3 on communing with his shadow in a remote place echoes Du Fu's line "Grieving shadow, Kuizhou is remote."⁶⁵ The remoteness of distant exile is contrasted with sleep being disturbed by the sound of wind whooshing through pine trees and bamboos, a line that recalls Su Shi's first poem in which he was startled awake by snow falling from pines (poem 1, line 22). The pine and bamboo — two noble plants representing ideals dear to the educated elite — are being buffeted by the wind, an indication that great men are enduring adversity.

Wang Shen's reference to Han Kang (the Kangbo of line 7, mid-2d century) offers an instructive model for the famous. Hailing from an aristocratic family, Han Kang was determined to avoid prominence. For thirty years he gathered medicinal herbs in the mountains and sold them in the capital, always for the same price. When his identity and moral reputation were discovered, he retreated to the mountains, hotly pursued by nobles eager to engage his services. He reluctantly acquiesced to serve, and on his return journey to the capital in a humble cart he was mistaken for a farm laborer. Were it not for Han Kang's intervention, the man who innocently asked him to mount and guide an ox would have been executed. The incident convinced Han Kang that the best course of action was not to risk official service but to retire deep into the mountains. There he lived to a ripe old age.⁶⁶ Han Kang's story of self-preservation no doubt had resonance for the beleaguered Su Shi.

In line 8 Wang Shen pairs Han Kang with another intellectual who avoided the dangers of service. Ge Hong (283–343), style name Delicate STREAM (Zhichuan), like Han Kang was from an eminent family and, like Han Kang, rejected the official career available to him. Ge Hong chose, instead, to be a literary recluse, pursuing Daoist studies, including refining cinnabar, in order to avoid illness and perpetuate life. Su Shi was fascinated by Daoist alchemy and held a guarded admiration for Ge Hong.⁶⁷

Wang Shen imagined that the way men contended for rank and recognition was a source of merriment for fishermen and woodcutters,

rustics who were credited with a truer grasp of what is important in life (line 9). In the following line Wang uses a story to suggest that, under the circumstances, the best course of action was to empty one's mind of machinations and to be as innocent as the little boy who played with water birds. The boy had the complete trust of the birds who flocked to him by the hundreds. His father advised him to take advantage of their tameness to catch them. The next morning, however, when the boy went to the shore with that intention in mind, the birds wheeled overhead and would not approach.⁶⁸

Wang Shen's dream of Chang'an (line 11) suggests that he would have liked to be an active contributor at the court, and in asking HEAVEN (line 12) he begged to understand the bitter fate that has been dealt him. He juxtaposed a meditation on the mysterious ways in which creation unfolds with the frustrating realization that his concern for the state is of no use. The choice in line 16 of the phrase "Mulberry FIELDS" (the name of a battlefield on which a Warring States general defeated barbarian invaders) shows Wang Shen anxious about Song military defeats and ongoing border conflicts. He next despaired (line 23) that a masterly command of literature and cultivating the Way is of no use. His allusion was to the story of a man spending three years mastering the technique of butchering a dragon only to discover that the formidable skill was of no use.⁶⁹ Unable to use his literary skills in service to the state, Wang Shen was inclined to retire and rely on past great talents (golden IMMORTALS) to provide inspiration.

Wang Shen closed with a reference to *The Book of Odes*. A highly appropriate choice, the poem "Papaya" features repeatedly receiving a gift (a papaya) and reciprocating with a finer gift (a semiprecious stone). Han-dynasty commentary interprets the meaning as metaphorical: "Small gifts of kindness should be responded to with greater; but friendship is more than any gift."⁷⁰ By alluding to "Papaya," Wang Shen concludes the exchange of poems with an affirmation of the bond of friendship between himself and Su Shi.

For Su Shi, Wang Shen, and Wang Dingguo this extraordinary exchange of poetry and painting was a vehicle through which to sympathize with one another and to refer to poetry that contained caustic criticisms of the court, criticisms that would otherwise have been unwise

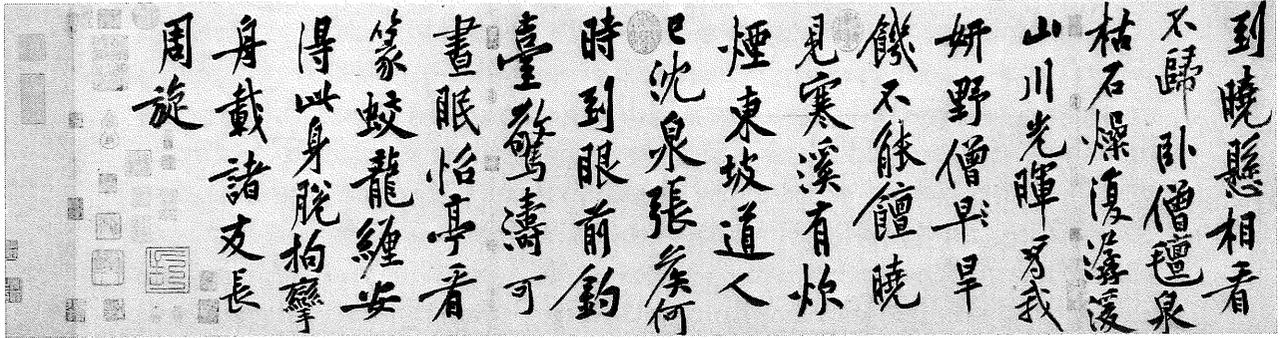
to voice. They intended the four poems solely for sharing with the several friends who recognized the textual allusions — by no means completely recovered here. Even with the help of Du Fu's "Autumn Day in Kui Prefecture" in deciphering them, the poems retain a quality of private conversation punctuated with personal jokes and elusive references. The audience was limited to those intimates who shared the same views, who "knew the tone" (*zhiyin*). Did Su Shi and Wang Shen manage to criticize with impunity? Although traditional annotators have not cited Du Fu's "Autumn Day in Kui Prefecture" as a source for the rhymes and allusive context of Su Shi's poem, it was a well-known song in the eleventh century, and some scholars of that era may have recognized and quietly appreciated the word play described above.

WIND IN THE PINES HALL

Su Shi and Wang Shen's unannounced use of Du Fu's rhymes and couplets was not an isolated case. In addition to the three principals (Su Shi, Wang Shen, and Wang Dingguo), Huang Tingjian (1045–1105) was likely one of those who "knew the tone." In 1102 he selected rhyme characters from "Autumn Day in Kui Prefecture" in composing a poem entitled "Wind in the Pines Hall" (*Song feng ge*). Naming his poem after a pavilion that Su Shi had enjoyed during exile at Huangzhou, Huang Tingjian was fully aware of the literary archetypes that informed the name: great men (pine trees) were meeting adversity (wind). He boldly brushed the twenty-one-line poem in large characters, a superb example of his calligraphic art (figure 6).

In 1100 officials associated with the Conservatives (by that date called the Yuanyou Party), were recalled to office. Su Shi died on his return from exile on Hainan Island. In 1102, when Huang Tingjian composed "Wind in the Pines Hall," the Conservatives were once again in disgrace. Huang Tingjian was waiting on the south bank of the Yangzi for the news from court. He was writing to his fellow official Zhang Lei (1054–1114), also a friend of Su Shi, who had just arrived at his newly assigned exile on the northern shore of the Yangzi River at Huangzhou, the place to which Su had been banished in the early 1080s.⁷¹

Whereas Su Shi borrowed rhyming characters from "Autumn Day

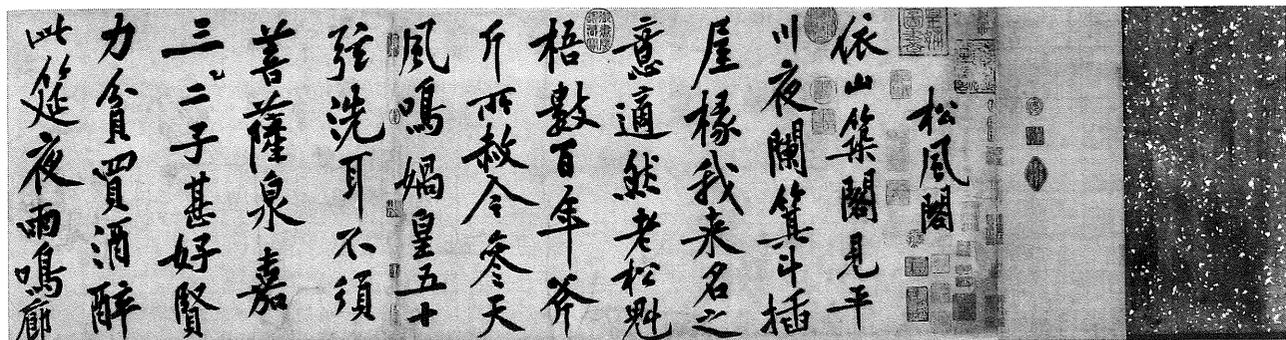


6. Huang Tingjian, *Pavilion of Wind in the Pines*, handscroll, ink on paper, Palace

in Kui Prefecture” for each even-numbered line, for “Wind in the Pines Hall” Huang Tingjian borrowed rhyme characters from Du Fu’s song for every line but one. A full analysis of the poem must await another occasion, but the following line illustrates how Huang Tingjian used one of Du Fu’s rhymes to remember his recently deceased friend Su Shi. Huang’s line “Dried spring, parched rocks, again have water flowing” presents an auspicious landscape image: a dried-up spring gives forth water, and a sun-parched stone becomes wet. “Autumn Day in Kui Prefecture” illuminates his choice of words. At the banquet where Du Fu heard the music of the Kaiyuan reign, the phrase “flowing” (*chan yuan*) described tears streaming down the cheeks of every guest. The Du Fu line supplies the meaning that Huang hesitated to state forthrightly. The stream of tears was for Su Shi — a man of literary brilliance and compassion.

CONCLUSION

When writing poetry became truly dangerous, expressions of dissent did not disappear; poets simply expressed themselves even more obliquely. If Su Shi and his friends learned anything from the 1079 conviction for satirical poetry, their near execution, and the ordeal of exile, it was a measure of discretion. One of the inspired uses of painting was as an alternative to poetry as a means to indirectly signal discontent and release frustration.⁷²



Museum, Taipei

For discontented scholar-officials, Du Fu's "Autumn Day in Kui Prefecture" was an ideal literary source. It combined vivid landscape imagery, moral integrity, and angry criticism. Thanks to Su Shi's rhyming of Du Fu, we can better understand how a painting could contain a poem. In this case, the painting's "poetic intent" (*shiyi*) did not mean a lyrical mood evoked with a mist-veiled scene, but rather reference to a specific poem that was within the tradition that saw complaint as an important function of poetry. For readers unfamiliar with "Autumn Day in Kui Prefecture," the *Misty River, Layered Peaks* poems were poignant ruminations on exile, reclusion, and the art of painting. For those who recognized the references to Du Fu and kept them in mind, Du Fu's meanings glimmered within the lines and, given the acrimonious political atmosphere of 1088, held significance greater than the beautiful surface meanings.

The elaborate indirection discussed above suggests that Su Shi and Wang Shen recognized the danger of direct — or even discreet — criticism. Full participation in an elite literary culture, including preoccupation with the life of official service, distinguished scholars' paintings from painting by less educated professional artists. The phenomenon of venting frustration through allusive painting and resonant poetry is surely one of the reasons that the birth of what we call literati painting is placed in the eleventh century.

APPENDIX: FOUR POEMS ON *MISTY RIVER, LAYERED PEAKS*1. *Su Shi, "Inscribing Misty Rivers, Layered Peaks in the Collection of Wang Dingguo," compared to lines from Du Fu's "Autumn Day in Kui Prefecture"*

蘇軾《書王定國所藏煙江疊嶂圖》 SU SHI, "MISTY RIVER, LAYERED PEAKS"	杜甫《秋日夔府詠懷》韻 SELECTED LINES FROM DU FU	
江上愁心千疊山 浮空積翠如雲煙 山耶雲耶遠莫知	[秋風] 開襟驅瘴癘, 明目掃雲煙	39-40
4. 煙空雲散山依然 但見兩崖蒼蒼暗絕谷 中有百道飛來泉 縈林絡石隱復見	亂離心不展, 衰謝日蕭然	7-8
8. 下赴谷口爲奔川 川平山開林麓斷 小橋野店依山前 行人稍渡喬木外	有時驚疊嶂, 何處覓平川	19-20
12. 漁舟一葉江吞天 使君何從得此本 點綴毫末分清妍 不知人間何處有此境	拂雲霾楚氣, 朝海蹴吳天	15-16
16. 徑欲往買二頃田 君不見武昌樊口幽絕處 東坡先生留五年 春風搖江天漠漠	馬來皆汗血, 鶴唳必青田	91-92
20. 暮雲卷雨山娟娟 丹楓翻鴉伴水宿 長松落雪驚醉眠 桃花流水在人世	飄零仍百里, 消渴已三年	3-4
24. 武陵豈必皆神仙 江山清空我塵土 雖有去路尋無緣 還君此畫三歎息	兵戈塵漠漠	115
	江漢月娟娟	116
	借問頻朝謁, 何如穩醉眠	145-146
	哀箏傷老大, 華屋艷神仙	43-44
	瓜時猶旅寓, 萍泛苦夤緣	35-36
	登臨多物色, 陶冶賴詩篇	11-12
28. 山中故人應有招我歸來篇		

II. Wang Shen's first poem rhyming Su Shi

王晉卿《和詩》

- | | | | |
|-----|--|---|-----|
| | 帝子相從玉斗邊
洞簫忽斷散非煙
平生未省山水窟 | 絕塞烏蠻北，孤城白帝邊
[秋風] 開襟驅瘴癘，明目掃雲煙 | I-2 |
| 4. | 一朝身到心茫然
長安日遠那復見
掘地寧知能及泉
幾年漂泊漢江上 | 亂離心不展，衰謝日蕭然
獵人吹戍火，野店引山泉 | |
| 8. | 東流不舍悲長川
山重水遠景無盡
翠幙金屏開目前
晴雲漠漠曉籠岫 | 有時驚疊嶂，何處覓平川
高宴諸侯禮，佳人上客前 | |
| 12. | 碧嶂溶溶春接天
四時爲我供畫本
巧自增損媿與妍
心匠構盡遠江意 | 拂雲霾楚氣，朝海蹴吳天
使君何從得此本，點綴毫末分清妍 ⁷³
霧雨銀章澀，馨香粉暑妍 | |
| 16. | 筆鋒耕出西山田
蒼顏華髮何所遺
聊將戲墨忘餘年
將軍色山自金碧 | 馬來皆汗血，鶴唳必青田
飄零仍百里，消渴已三年 | |
| 20. | 蕭郎翠竹誇嬋娟
風流千載無虎頭
於今妙絕推龍眠
豈圖俗筆挂高詠 | 兵戈塵漠漠，江漢月娟娟
借問頻朝謁，何如穩醉眠 | |
| 24. | 從此得名似謫仙
愛詩好畫本天性
輞川先生疑夙緣
會當別寫一匹煙霞境 | 哀箏傷老大，華屋艷神仙
瓜時猶旅寓，萍泛苦夤緣 | |
| 28. | 更應消得玉堂醉筆揮長篇 | 登臨多物色，陶冶賴詩篇 | |

III. Su Shi's second poem for Misty River, Layered Peaks, with title-preface

蘇軾：王晉卿作《煙江疊嶂圖》，僕賦詩十四韻，晉卿和之，語特奇麗。因復次韻，不獨記其詩畫之美，亦爲道其出處契闊之故，而終之以不忘在莒之戒，亦朋友忠愛之義也。

- | | |
|--|--|
| 山中舉頭望日邊
長安不見空雲煙
歸來長安望山上 | 帝子相從玉斗邊 ⁷⁴
開襟驅瘴癘，明目掃雲煙 |
| 4. 時移事改應潛然
管絃去盡賓客散
惟有馬埽編金泉
渥洼故自千里足 | 亂離心不展，衰謝日蕭然
既今龍廢水，莫帶犬戎羶 ⁷⁵ |
| 8. 要飽風雪輕山川
屈居華屋啗棗脯
十年俯仰龍旂前
卻因瘦病出奇骨 | 有時驚疊嶂，何處覓平川
高宴諸侯禮，佳人上客前 |
| 12. 鹽車之厄寧非天
風流文采磨不盡
水墨自與詩爭妍
畫山何必山中人 | 拂雲霾楚氣，朝海蹴吳天
文采風流今尙存 ⁷⁶
霧雨銀章澀，馨香粉暑妍 |
| 16. 田歌自古非知田
鄭虔三絕君有二
筆勢挽回三百年
欲將巖谷亂窈窕 | 馬來皆汗血，鶴唳必青田
飄零仍百里，消渴已三年 |
| 20. 眉峰修嫋誇連娟
人間何有春一夢
此身將老蠶三眠
山中幽絕不可久 | 兵戈塵漠漠，江漢月娟娟
借問頻朝謁，何如穩醉眠
劉安：山中不可以久留 ⁷⁷
杜甫：不可久留豺虎亂 ⁷⁸ |
| 24. 要作平地家居仙
能令水石長在眼
非君好我當誰緣
願君終不忘在莒 | 哀箏傷老大，華屋艷神仙
瓜時猶旅寓，萍泛苦貧緣 |
| 28. 樂時更賦囚山篇 | 登臨多物色，陶冶賴詩篇 ⁷⁹ |

IV. Wang Shen (Jinqing), "Again Rhyming" 王晉卿，《再次韻》

子瞻再和前篇，非唯格韻高絕，而語意鄭重，相與甚厚，因復用韻答謝之。

- | | |
|-------------|----------------------------|
| 憶從南澗北山邊 | |
| 慣見嶺雲和野煙 | [秋風] 開襟驅瘴癘，明目掃雲煙 |
| 山深路僻空弔影 | 弔影夔州僻 ⁸⁰ |
| 4. 夢驚松竹風蕭然 | 亂離心不展，衰謝日蕭然 |
| 杖藜芒屨謝塵境 | |
| 已甘老去棲林泉 | 獵人吹戍火，野店引山泉 |
| 春籃采朮問康伯 | |
| 8. 夜灶養丹陪稚川 | 有時驚疊嶂，何處覓平川 |
| 漁樵每笑坐爭席 | |
| 鷗鷺無機馴我前 | 高宴諸侯禮，佳人上客前 |
| 一朝忽作長安夢 | |
| 12. 此生猶欲更問天 | 拂雲霾楚氣，朝海蹴吳天 |
| 歸來未央拜天子 | |
| 枯荑敢自期春妍 | 霧雨銀章澀，馨香粉暑妍 |
| 造物潛移真幻影 | |
| 16. 感時未用驚桑田 | 馬來皆汗血，鶴唳必青田 |
| 醉來卻畫山中景 | |
| 水墨想象追當年 | 飄零仍百里，消渴已三年 |
| 玉堂故人相與厚 | |
| 20. 意使嫫母齊聯娟 | 兵戈塵漠漠，江漢月娟娟 |
| 豈知憂患耗心力 | |
| 讀書懶去但欲眠 | 借問頻朝謁，何如穩醉眠 |
| 屠龍學就本無用 | |
| 24. 只堪投老依金仙 | 哀箏傷老大，華屋艷神仙 |
| 更得新詩寫珠玉 | |
| 勸我不作區中緣 | 瓜時猶旅寓，萍泛苦貧緣 |
| 佩服忠言非論報 | |
| 28. 短章重次木瓜篇 | 詩經‘木瓜’：永以爲好也 ⁸¹ |

Su Shi, second poem
Only a horse paddock
arranged with gold coins

Du Fu
From this day, may
Dragon Stable's water
never again be saturated
with the barbarian's stench!

NOTES

1. Su's first poem, "Inscribing *Misty River, Layered Peaks* in the collection of Wang Dingguo" (Shu Wang Dingguo suocang Yanjiang diezhang tu), is dated the fifteenth day of the twelfth month of the third year of Yuanyou (December 30, 1088). All four poems are found in Wang Wen'gao, ed., *Su Shi shiji* (Collected Poetry of Su Shi), 8 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), *juan* 30, pp. 1607-1611. They are also reproduced in the appendix of this paper.
2. For analogous uses of poetry for another scholar-painting theme, see Alfreda Murck, "The *Eight Views of Xiao-Xiang* and the Northern Song Culture of Exile," *Journal of Sung-Yuan Studies* 26 (1996), pp. 113-144.
3. For the issues underlying the controversy, see Peter K. Bol, "For Perfect Order: Wang An-shih and Ssu-ma Kuang," chapter 7 of "This Culture of Ours": *Intellectual Transitions in T'ang and Sung China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), pp. 212-253; and Paul J. Smith, "Shen-tsung's Reign (1068-1085)," draft for the *Cambridge History of China*, vol. 5 (The Sung), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming.
4. In 1089 Su succeeded in getting an appointment as prefect of Hangzhou. Ronald C. Egan discusses Su's difficulties during 1088 and 1089 in *Word, Image, and Deed in the Life of Su Shi* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1994), pp. 98-101.
5. T'ong-wen Weng, "Wang Shen," in Herbert Franke, ed., *Sung Biographies* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1976), pp. 142-147. A one-line biography of Wang Shen follows that of his father, Wang Su, in *Song shi* (History of the Song) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), *juan* 255, p. 8926. A brief biography of Wang Gong appears in *ibid.*, *juan* 320, p. 10405.
6. For the sentencing in this case see Peng Jiuwan, *Dongpo Wutai shian* (The Dongpo Crow Terrace poetry case) in *Congshu jicheng xinbian* (rpt. Taipei: Xinwenfeng, 1985), 27, pp. 288-289; and Li Yibing, *Su Dongpo xin juan* (Taipei: Lianjing, 1983), 1, p. 309. Charles Hartman describes the events of the trial in "Poetry and Politics in 1079: The Crow Terrace Poetry Case of Su Shih," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 12 (1990), pp. 15-44.
7. Su used an ancient term *huangfu*, meaning frontier territory 2,000 to 2,500 *li* from the capital.
8. Su Shi, *Su Shi wenji* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992), *juan* 52, p. 1513.
9. First of "Six Poems Rhyming Wang Gong," *ibid.*, *juan* 21, pp. 1126-1131. See the discussion in Kathleen M. Tomlonovic, "Poetry of Exile and Return: A Study of Su Shi (1037-1101)" (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1989), p. 331. Su further blamed himself for Wang Dingguo's exile in "Preface to the Collected Poems of Wang Dingguo" (Wang Dingguo shiji xu), *Su Shi wenji*, *juan* 10, p. 318. See the translation by Tomlonovic, "Poetry of Exile and Return," pp. 329-331.
10. Huang Tingjian, quoted in *Du Fu juan*, ed. Hua Wenxuan, 3 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1964), 1, pp. 120-121. For Northern Song assessments of Du

Fu see Shan Chou, "Tu Fu's Social Conscience: Compassion and Topicality in His Poetry," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 51.1 (1991), pp. 5-53. In "Preface to the Collected Poems of Wang Dingguo," Su Shi acclaimed Du Fu the best of all poets, past and present. See the preceding note.

11. Du Fu, "Qiuri Kuifu yonghuai fengji Zheng jian Li Binke yibai yun," Qiu Zhaoao, ed., *Du shi xiangzhu* (Du Fu's poetry annotated; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), *juan* 19, pp. 1699-1717. The poem is translated and annotated by Susan Cherniack in "Three Great Poems by Du Fu" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1988), chap. 4. The summary and translations below have benefited from Cherniack's research.

Du Fu was using one hundred rhymes from the level-tone *xian* rhyme which contains about 570 characters. They are listed in Chen Pengnian (961-1017) et al., *Jiaozheng Song ben Guangyun* (Song edition of Expansion of Rhymes Annotated), 1011 (rpt. Taipei, *Da Song chongxiu Guangyun*: Yiwen yinshu guan, 1991), pp. 131-143. Traditional annotators of the "Misty River, Layered Peaks" poems have not commented on Su's technique of rhyming selected lines from Du Fu.

12. Qiu Zhaoao, *Du shi xiangzhu*, *juan* 19, p. 1700.
13. Eva Shan Chou, *Reconsidering Tu Fu: Literary Greatness and Cultural Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), especially chap. 3, "Juxtaposition I: A Structural Principle," pp. 107-160.
14. Lines 45-48. Hong Mai (1123-1202) identified this as one of two key moments of the poem. Cited in Qiu Zhaoao, *Du shi xiangzhu*, *juan* 19, p. 1716. The Dharma Melody was a medley of tunes that were regarded as quintessentially Chinese. The incorporation of popular, barbarian elements into the music was said to have contributed to the outbreak of the An Lushan rebellion, a belief that the poet Bai Juyi (772-846) vividly recorded in his song "The Dharma Melody." *Quan Tang shi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1990), *juan* 426, p. 4690. The changed music also denoted the loss of a special relationship between sovereign and courtier.
15. For accounts of the catastrophes of the 760s, see C. A. Peterson, "Court and Province in Mid- and Late T'ang," and Michael Dalby, "Court Politics in Late T'ang Times," in Denis Twitchett, ed., *Sui and T'ang China*, 589-906, part 1, *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).
16. This section was the probable inspiration for the Northern Song painting title *Mountain Market, Rising Mist*, one of the *Eight Views of Xiao-Xiang*. See Murck, "The *Eight Views of Xiao-Xiang*," pp. 127-132.
17. "Li Sao," attributed to Qu Yuan, in Zhu Xi (1130-1200), ed., *Chu Ci jizhu* (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), pp. 1-26. David Hawkes, trans., *Ch'u Tz'u: The Songs of the South* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 22-34.
18. Cherniack, "Three Great Poems," p. 218. For a more thorough analysis of "Autumn Day in Kui Prefecture" than provided here, see *ibid.*, pp. 216-256 and 263-299.

19. The painting is reproduced in color in *Shanghai Museum Exhibition* (Tokyo: Tokyo National Museum, 1993), catalogue no. 45, pp. 76–78. Richard Barnhart discussed the blue-green Shanghai Museum painting as an image of estrangement and exile in “Landscape Painting around 1085,” in Willard J. Peterson, Andrew H. Plaks, and Ying-shih Yü, eds., *The Power of Culture: Studies in Chinese Cultural History* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1994), pp. 195–205. My thanks to the staff of the Shanghai Museum for allowing me to study both of the *Misty River, Layered Peaks* handscrolls attributed to Wang Shen.
20. Slender-gold calligraphy refers to the emperor’s slender, elongated strokes, suggesting the tensile strength of gold wire.
21. *Xuanhe huapu* (Imperial Catalogue of the Xuanhe Era), *juan* 13, p. 134, in *Huashi congshu* (Compendium on the History of Painting) (Taipei: Wenshizhe, 1974), 1, p. 508. For a thorough discussion of Huizong’s habits in affixing seals, see Richard Barnhart, “Wang Shen and Late Northern Sung Landscape Painting,” in *International Symposium on Art Historical Studies*, 1983, Kyoto (Kyoto, 1984), pp. 61–70, and his “Three Song Landscape Paintings,” *Orientations*, 29.2 (1998), pp. 54–58.
22. The handscroll is published in *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu* (Beijing: Wenwu, 1987), 2, p. 22. Another version of the same composition, now in the collection of the Palace Museum, Taipei, is published in *Dafeng Tang yizeng mingji tezhan tulu* (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1983), catalogue no. 9, pp. 18–19, 83. Measuring 34.2 x 131.5 cm., the Taipei scroll is of different proportions than the Shanghai scroll of the same composition, which measures 26.2 x 139.6 cm.
23. Zhong Yinlan, “Dui Wang Shen shuimo Yanjiang diezhang tu ji Su Wang changhe shi de zai renshi” (New Understanding of Wang Shen’s Painting of “Misty River and High Mountains” and the Poems by Su and Wang), *Shanghai Bowuguan jikan*, no. 7 (1996), pp. 175–195. See also Xu Bangda’s discussion of the monochrome version in “Wang Shen 2: The Handscroll ‘Misty River and Layered Peaks with Poems’” (Wang Shen er, Yanjiang diezhang tu bing shi juan), in *Gu shuhua weie kaobian* (Nanjing: Jiangsu Guji chubanshe, 1984), pp. 213–216.
24. Xu Bangda’s argument that the calligraphy is a copy is based in part on his observation that in Su’s preface the word “special” (*te*) is written without the first stroke. See *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1987), 2, p. 346, n. 12. Zhong Yinlan counters that the silk is damaged in the area where the stroke would have been. Zhong, “Dui Wang Shen,” p. 177.
25. Poets often followed the order of rhyme words as they appeared in the source poem. Here Su Shi not only made a selection, but arranged the rhyme characters in a different order. Conventions of rhyming required the poet to give a new implication to the rhyme word.
26. The translation is based on Burton Watson, *Su Tung-p’o, Selections from a Sung Dynasty Poet* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1965), pp. 110–111, and on Ronald C. Egan, “Poems on Paintings: Su Shih and Huang

- T'ing-chien," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 43.2 (1983), pp. 428-429. Other translations of Su's poem include Jonathan Chaves in "Some Relationships between Poetry and Painting in China," *Renditions* 6 (Spring 1976), p. 87; and Tomlonovic, "Poetry of Exile and Return," pp. 444-445.
27. Egan, *Word, Image, and Deed*, pp. 100-101.
 28. Qiu Zhaoao, *Du shi xiangzhu*, juan 19, p. 1712.
 29. As Egan points out, having once been convicted of seditious writing, Su was vulnerable even to far-fetched accusations; *Word, Image, and Deed*, pp. 98-107.
 30. See Charles Hartman's thorough discussion of crows and related birds in "Literary and Visual Interactions in Lo Chih-ch'uan's *Crows in Old Trees*," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 28 (1993), pp. 129-167. Hartman cites a well-known poem by Du Fu entitled "Gazing over the Wild Plain" (Ye wang), in which he contrasted the flocking behavior (and mentality) of crows to the solitary nobility of the crane. *Du shi xiangzhu*, juan 8, pp. 619-620.
 31. In another poem Su rhetorically asked, "Who caused you to prefer the official's life and think nothing of leaving home? Now you have no way to become old as a fisherman or woodcutter." Translation by Tomlonovic, "Poetry of Exile and Return," p. 395, from Su's poem "Inscribed on the Sifei Pavilion near Baoji," *Su Shi shiji*, juan 4, p. 168. As Tomlonovic has demonstrated (pp. 177-179, 185-190), Su tried to picture his periods of exile as voluntary excursions that were a rejection of court life.
 32. Tao Yuanming (365-427), "The Peach Blossom Spring" (Taohua yuan ji bingshi), annotated by Yang Yong, *Tao Yuanming ji jiaojian* (Taipei: Zhongguo xiuzhen, 1971), juan 6, pp. 275-276. James Hightower, trans., *The Poetry of T'ao Ch'ien* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), pp. 254-258.
 33. Su Shi, "Preface to Poem Rhyming Tao's Peach Blossom Spring" (He Tao Taohua yuan bing yin), *Su Shi shiji*, juan 40, p. 2196. See Susan Nelson's account of the legend and debate in "On through to the Beyond: The Peach Blossom Spring as Paradise," *Archives of Asian Art* 39 (1986), pp. 23-47.
 34. The meaning of the melon season as a brief term of service comes from the story of two officials being assured that they would be relieved by the next time melons ripened. They were, however, not called back. *Zuo zhuan* (Duke Zhuang, eighth year). James Legge, trans., *The Chinese Classics*, 5 vols. (London: 1872; rpt. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960), vol. 5, pp. 81-82.
 35. Translated by Tomlonovic, "Poetry of Exile and Return," p. 445. Ronald Egan interprets the last line as a reference to Tao Yuanming's celebration of reclusion, "Returning Home," perhaps the interpretation that Su Shi expected readers would supply; "Poems on Paintings," p. 429.
 36. Translation, slightly modified, from Hartman, "Poetry and Politics in 1079," pp. 29-30. Su Shi, "Sima junshi Dule Yuan," *Su Shi shiji*, juan 15, pp. 732-733.
 37. "The Lady of the Xiang" (Xiang furen), *Chu Ci jizhu*, pp. 35-37. Translation from Hawkes, *Ch'u Tz'u*, pp. 38-39.
 38. Jade Dipper as a synonym for the Big Dipper emphasized the jadelike brightness of the stars. Li Bai used it in this sense in "Spending an Autumn Night at

- the Fragrant Mountain Temple at Dragon Gate" (Qiu ye su Longmen Xiangshan si), *Quan Tang shi*, *juan* 172, p. 1767.
39. Su Shi, "One Hundred Step Flood, Two Poems," *Su Shi shiji*, *juan* 17, pp. 891-894.
 40. The melancholy poem recollects the superb sword dance of Madame Gongsun, a celebrity at Xuanzong's court. "A Poem on Seeing the Sword Pantomime Dance of the Pupil of Madame Gongsun" (Guan Gongsun daniang dizi wu jianqi xing), *Du shi xiangzhu*, *juan* 20, pp. 1815-1817. See the translation in William Hung, *Tu Fu, China's Greatest Poet* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952), pp. 251-252.
 41. *Zuo zhuan* (Duke Yin, first year). Legge, trans., *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 5, pt. 1, pp. 1-6. See also Burton Watson, trans., *The Tso Chuan: Selections from China's Oldest Narrative History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), pp. 1-4.
 42. Confucius, *Lun yu*, 9, p. 17. D. C. Lau, trans., *Confucius, Analects* (New York: Dorset Press, 1979), p. 98.
 43. Liu Zongyuan, "Imprisoning Mountains," *Liu Hedong quan ji* (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1991), *juan* 2, p. 29.
 44. See Cherniack's discussion, "Three Great Poems by Du Fu," pp. 217-218.
 45. Su wrote, "In painting bamboo one must first have the perfected bamboo in mind. When one takes up the brush and gazes intently, one sees what one wants to paint. Then one rises hurriedly and wields the brush to capture what one sees. It is like the hare's leaping up and the falcons swooping down; if there is the slightest slackening, then the chance is gone. Yüke [Wen Tong] taught me in this way, and I could not achieve it but understood the way it should be done." Susan Bush, trans., "Record of Wen Yüke's Painting the Bent Bamboos of Yundang Valley," *The Chinese Literati on Painting: Su Shih (1037-1101) to Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555-1636)* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971), p. 37. See also Susan Bush and Hsio-yen Shih, eds., *Early Chinese Texts on Painting* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985), pp. 196, 201, 208-209.
 46. *Xin Tang shu* (New History of the Tang) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), *juan* 78, p. 3520.
 47. The excerpt is taken from Irving Y. Lo's full translation of Bai Juyi's "A Song on a Painting of Bamboo," Wu-chi Liu and Irving Lo, eds., *Sunflower Splendor: Three Thousand Years of Chinese Poetry* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1975), pp. 207-208. *Quan Tang shi*, *juan* 35, pp. 4815-4816.
 48. Su Shi, "Record of Wen Yüke Painting the Bent Bamboo of Yundang Valley," *Su Shi wenji*, *juan* 11, pp. 365-366. Translation in Bush and Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*, p. 207.
 49. The most famous example is Gu's comment that Xi Kang's line "The hand plucking five strings" was easy to paint, whereas "Eyes following wild geese on their homeward flight" was difficult. See Gu Kaizhi's biography in *Jin shu*, *juan* 92, pp. 2404-2406.
 50. On Li's life, see Robert E. Harrist, Jr., "The Hermit of Lung-mien: A Biogra-

- phy of Li Kung-lin,” in *Li Kung-lin's Classic of Filial Piety* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993), pp. 31–51. For an account of the stomach-ache, see p. 42.
51. Sixth poem in the group “Six Occasional Poems” (Ou ran zuo liu shou), *Quan Tang shi*, juan 125, p. 1254.
 52. Liu Xiang (ca. 79–ca. 6 BCE), “Miscellaneous Matters,” *Xin xu* (New Preface), juan 4, in *Congshu jicheng xinbian*, 18, p. 670.
 53. See Jerome Silbergeld’s informative discussion of the tradition in “In Praise of Government: Chao Yung’s Painting, Noble Steeds, and Late Yun Politics,” *Artibus Asiae*, 46.3 (1985), pp. 159–198.
 54. “Biography of Wang Ji,” *Jin shu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), juan 42, p. 1206. For another description of the cash-lined horse paddock, see “Treatise on Food and Produce,” *ibid.*, juan 26, p. 783.
 55. Lines 51–52 are one of the pairs of lines in “Autumn Day in Kui Prefecture” that are meant to be read as a continuous thought. Susan Cherniack’s translation is “Even today, the waters of the Dragon Stables / All carry the stench of the Dog Tribes” (“Three Great Poems by Du Fu,” pp. 222, 275–276). In the eighth century BCE the Dog Tribes were non-Chinese enemies of the Zhou dynasty.
 56. Sima Qian, *Shi ji* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1972), juan 24, p. 1178. The line introduced a Han-dynasty hymn on a deity. See Silbergeld, “In Praise of Government,” p. 162.
 57. Sima Qian, biography of Ku Ji, *Shi ji*, juan 126, p. 3200.
 58. See Annals of the Warring States, The State of Chu, 4, “Han Ming jian Chunshen jun,” *Zhan guo ce* (Tainan: Da dong shuju, 1971), pp. 200–201.
 59. *Du shi xiangzhu*, juan 13, pp. 1147–1152. The relevant line is on p. 1148. For the full poem see David Hawkes, *A Little Primer of Tu Fu* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), pp. 133–144.
 60. *Xin Tang shu*, juan 202, p. 5766. Su’s reference was historically apt because Zheng Qian was the uncle of Zheng Shen for whom Du Fu was writing “Autumn Day in Kui Prefecture.”
 61. “Prose Poem on Madam Li” (Li furen fu), as cited in *Su Shi shiji*, juan 30, p. 1610.
 62. “Summoning the Soul” (Zhao hun), attributed to Song Yü, in Zhu Xi, ed., *Chu Ci jizhu*, pp. 133–144, and Hawkes, trans., “Chao Hun,” *Ch’u Tz’u*, pp. 103–109. Liu An, the prince of Huainan, “Summoning the Recluse” (Zhao yinshi), *Chu Ci jizhu*, pp. 67–169. In a poem entitled “Reflected Light,” Du Fu used the phrase in an impassioned plea to be called back to the capital. Apprehensive about living in remote mountains, Du Fu wrote: “Amid the tumult of tigers and jackals I cannot linger long, / Here in the South there is indeed an unsummoned soul.” *Du shi xiangzhu*, juan 15, p. 1336. For “Imprisoning Mountains,” see Liu Zongyuan, *Liu Hedong quan ji*, juan 2, p. 29.
 63. The date is also recorded in Wang Wen’gao, ed., *Su Shi shiji*, juan 30, p. 1609.
 64. The name of a Han palace used here as a metaphor for the Northern Song court.
 65. “Autumn Day in Kui Prefecture,” line 49.

66. Biography of Han Kang, *Hou Han shu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1971), *juan* 83, pp. 2770–2771. In the Jin dynasty there was a man named Han Kangbo, but Wang Shen's "plucking plants" suggests that his allusion was to Han Kang, style name Boxiu, of the Latter Han.
67. A firm believer in immortality, Ge Hong recorded his observations on alchemy and Daoist beliefs in *Baopuzi*; see Ge Hong's biography, *Jin Shu*, *juan* 72, pp. 1910–1914. For Su Shi's interest in Daoist practice and his ambivalence about Ge Hong, see Egan, *Word, Image, and Deed*, pp. 237–245.
68. Lie zi, "Huangdi," as cited in *Liezi yizhu* (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji shudian, 1986), p. 39.
69. See Zhuang zi 32 ("Lie yu kou"), in *Zhuangzi yinde*, Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series, supp. 20 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1956), p. 89. Burton Watson, trans., *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), pp. 355–356.
70. "Papaya" (Mu gua), from *The Odes of Wei*, in *Maoshi yinde*, Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series, supp. 9 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1962), no. 64. Legge, trans., *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 4, pp. 107–109.
71. Zhang Lei, the recipient of Huang Tingjian's poem, had to have understood Huang's selection of rhyme characters to read Huang's poem correctly, and therefore must be included in the list of those who recognized the use of Du Fu. For Huang Tingjian's poem see *Shangu shi neiji zhu* (rpt. of 1895 ed. Taipei: Xuehai, 1979), *juan* 17, pp. 11–12 (pp. 927–929).
72. Fear of political reprisal was, of course, only one factor in the popularity of painting and calligraphy among Su Shi and his friends. As Ronald Egan points out, poems and paintings were exchanged as a show of friendship, as a way of declaring superiority over less sophisticated officials, and for the sheer pleasure of creation; see Egan, *Word, Image, and Deed*, pp. 306–309.
73. Su Shi, poem one, lines 13–14.
74. Wang Shen, poem two, line 1.
75. Du Fu, "Autumn Day in Kui Prefecture," lines 51–52, *Du shi xiangzhu*, *juan* 19, p. 1703.
76. Du Fu, "Song of Painting" (Danqing yin), *Du shi xiangzhu*, *juan* 13, p. 1148.
77. Liu An, "Summoning the Recluse" (Zhao yinshi), *Chu Ci jizhu*, p. 232.
78. Du Fu, "Reflected Light" (Fan zhao), *Du shi xiangzhu*, *juan* 15, p. 1336.
79. Following the text in the Shanghai Museum's monochromatic landscape is this note: *Run shieryue hui ri zui hou xie ci*.
80. Du Fu, "Autumn Day in Kui Prefecture," line 49, *Du shi xiangzhu*, *juan* 19, p. 1703.
81. Following the text in the Shanghai Museum's monochromatic landscape is this note: *Yuanyou jisi [1089] zhengyue chujì Jinqing shu*.

GLOSSARY

- An Lushan 安祿山
 Bai Juyi 白居易
 bian 邊
 Binzhou 賓州
 Cao Ba 曹霸
 Chang'an 長安
 chan yuan 潺湲
 Chen Pengnian 陳彭年
 Chu 楚
 da bujing 大不驚
 Danqing yin 丹青引
 dizi 弟子, 帝子
 Du Fu 杜甫
 fanlong 樊籠
 Fan zhao 返照
 Gao 高
 Ge Hong 葛洪
 Ge Zhichuan 葛稚川
 Guangxi 廣西
 Gu Kaizhi 顧愷之
 gu ti shi 古體詩
 Hainan 海南
 Han 漢
 Han Kang 韓康
 Han Kangbo 韓康伯
 Hanlin 翰林
 Hong Mai 洪邁
 Huainan 淮南
 huangfu 荒服
 Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅
 Huangzhou 黃州
 Huizong (Song dynasty) 徽宗〔宋〕
 Jiang 江
 jing (landscape scene) 景
 jing (mental image) 境
 jisi 己巳
 Ju 莒
 juan 娟
 Junzhou 均州
 Kaiyuan 開元
 kua 誇
 Kuizhou 夔州
 lian 連
 Liao 遼
 Li Bai 李白
 Li Gonglin 李公麟
 Li Longmian 李龍眠
 Li Sixun 李思訓
 Liu An 劉安
 Liu Xiang 劉向
 Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元
 Li Yibing 李一冰
 Li yuan dizi 梨園弟子
 Li Zhifang 李之芳
 Longmian 龍眠
 long xiu 籠岫
 Luoyang 洛陽
 mian 眠
 momo 漠漠
 nang 灤
 Nangxi 灤西
 Pengcheng 彭城
 Peng Jiuwan 朋九萬
 pian 篇

- Qiu Zhaoao 仇兆鰲
 Qu Yuan 屈原
 ran 然
 Renzong (Song dynasty) 仁宗 [宋]
 Run shieryue hui ri zui hou xie ci
 閏十二月晦日醉後寫此
 Shenzong (Song dynasty) 神宗 [宋]
 shiji 市暨
 shiyi 詩意
 shou jin ti 瘦金體
 Shuguo 蜀國
 Sima Guang 司馬光
 Sima Qian 司馬遷
 Song feng ge 松風歌
 Su Shi 蘇軾
 Su Zizhan 蘇子瞻
 Tao Qian 陶潛
 Wang Anshi 王安石
 Wangchuan 輞川
 Wang Dingguo 王定國
 Wang Gong 王鞏
 Wang Ji 王濟
 Wang Jinqing 王晉卿
 Wang Shen 王詵
 Wang Wei 王維
 Wang Wen'gao 王文誥
 Wen Tong 文同
 Wowu 渥洼
 Wudi (Han dynasty) 武帝 [漢]
 Xiang 湘
 Xiaolang 蕭郎
 Xiao Yue 蕭悅
 Xie An 謝安
 Xie lü lang 協律郎
 Xi Kang 嵇康
 xinxiang 馨香
 Xixia 西夏
 Xizhuang 西壯
 Xuanhe 宣和
 Xuanzong (Tang dynasty) 玄宗 [唐]
 Xu Bangda 徐邦達
 Xuzhou 徐州
 yan 妍
 Yanjiang diezhang 煙江疊嶂
 Yao 堯
 Yongzhou 永州
 Yuanyou 元祐
 Yuanyou jisi zhengyue chuji Jinqing
 shu 元祐己巳正月初吉晉卿書
 Zhang Lei 張耒
 Zhao Tingzhi 趙挺之
 Zhao Xu (1048-1085, Shenzong) 趙頊
 Zhao Xu (1077-1100, Zhezong) 趙煦
 Zheng 箏
 Zheng Qian 鄭虔
 Zheng Shen 鄭審
 Zhezong (Song dynasty) 哲宗 [宋]
 zhiyin 知音
 Zhong Yinlan 鐘銀蘭
 Zhuang 莊
 Zhu Xi 朱熹

Reading Su Shi in Southern Song Wuzhou

PETER K. BOL

During his lifetime Su Shi (1037–1101) gained a reputation as a politician and administrator, as a literary talent and calligrapher, and as a scholar and thinker. His writings were influential enough to be proscribed (together with the works of his disciples Sima Guang, 1019–1086; the Cheng brothers, Yi, 1033–1107, and Hao, 1032–1085; and a few others) when, in 1102, the proponents of Wang Anshi's (1021–1086) New Policies regained power at court. Today scholars are more willing than in the past to recognize that Su was a major intellectual and political figure of the eleventh century in addition to being a literary man. Yet I suspect we are also inclined to assume that Su's place in literati consciousness must have become far less central in Southern Song, for the rise of Neo-Confucianism marginalized the literary enterprise as a form of morally engaged scholarship and thus marginalized Su Shi, reducing him to a "mere" literary man. Or so I had thought.

How did Southern Song literati read Su Shi? He had been proscribed, perhaps effectively, during the last decades of the Northern Song. But by the middle of the twelfth century he was once again a presence — a famous character from the recent past, a figure of interest and entertainment. Writers of miscellanies and notebooks (*biji*) collected and spread a seemingly endless supply of anecdotes about Su, which have

in turn found their way back into well-known accounts of Su's life. In fact, Su's most devoted followers had already begun to collect Su Shi anecdotes during his lifetime.¹ Here we see Su the literary man and politician as wit and critic. This Su Shi wanted to be noticed, wanted to be different and stand out, and was so talented and clever that he naturally did. He was the sort of person one might talk about admiringly but would never dare to be.

There was also the literary Su Shi, and this, more than anything else, is the person who has come down to us. This is the person who is referred to as "the great Song poet Su Shi" or Su Dongpo. A body of literary work constituted this Su Shi, allowing the historical figure, the character of anecdote, to recede into the background as the life became a context for reading the work. Here the imitation of Su's language and style was possible and even desirable. Literati might read Su Shi because they wanted to write the way he wrote. In the process they might also get to know or imagine the man, just as they did when hearing an anecdote about him.

The literary work was important because Su was acknowledged as a great writer, even by those who did not share his ethic, and literati needed to learn how to write in the manner of the day. Su was a great writer of poetry in a wide range of styles, but one who was thought to bring a prose writer's attitude to bear on his poems. He was also one of the leading stylists in both the parallel style of formal court documents and the free expository style known as *yilun* writing. *Yilun* writing, as the name suggests, was writing that had a point to make about matters pertaining to politics and morality. Essays, treatises, letters, prefaces — a variety of genres — lent themselves readily to authors intent on expressing an idea or making a point. Writing in the thirteenth century about the norms for literary composition in his *Wenzhang zhengzong*, the Neo-Confucian scholar Zhen Dexiu (1178–1235) defined *yilun* writing in terms of its presumptive origins. His definition reflects something about actual practice: "There was originally no fixed form for *yilun*. It referred to what was expressed in meetings between rulers and ministers, in speeches and in questions and answers, to what was set forth in the advice of teachers and friends, and to whatever was written down as the product of thought. The original sources are the classics, the *Analects*,

and the *Mencius*.²² Many literati read and studied Su Shi's writing because the literati were involved in the examinations, for which writing was supposed to make a point. Those who took the traditional literary track at the examinations needed to compose poems, rhapsodies, essays (*lun*), and treatises (*ce*), all of which Su had written in abundance. Those who pursued the classics track that had been instituted under Wang Anshi — which required essays and treatises as well as a command of certain classics — also had a use for Su Shi.

In retrospect what seems obvious is that however interested Southern Song literati were in Su Shi the man or the writer, they were not interested in him as a spokesman for literati opposition either to the state's claim to authority over literati values or to the state's interference in local affairs. Nor were they interested in him as a philosopher or theorist. Although these roles had been characteristic of Su's public persona and his writing even when his faction held power, Southern Song literati who agitated against the powers at court promoted not the learning of Su Shi but of his contemporary Cheng Yi, a man lacking accomplishments in administration, literature, and historical scholarship. Su's ideas about antiquity, the sages, the classics, and the connection between the Dao of heaven and earth and human morality were not the grounds on which later generations built.

Yet there are signs that this picture cannot be entirely correct and that Su remained politically and intellectually relevant despite the leading role Daoxue Neo-Confucianism played in opposition politics. Leaders at court during the first century of the Southern Song, including the Gaozong emperor (r. 1127–1162) and the Xiaozong emperor (r. 1163–1189), gave posthumous honors to Su as well as to Sima Guang, Wang Anshi, and Cheng Yi. One might see in these honors an imperial desire to unite the literati factions and infer from this that Su Shi symbolized something to a segment of the literati public. But what was the Su Shi segment? Clearly the most important division was between the successors to the Northern Song New Policies regimes, such as Qin Gui (1090–1155, a grandson of Su Shi's follower Qin Guan, 1049–1100) and Wang Huai (1127–1190), and the advocates of Cheng learning, who presented themselves as successors to the Yuanyou-period (1086–1093) opposition to Wang Anshi's ideas and his New Policies. Su Shi, Sima Guang, and

Cheng Yi had all been part of the Yuanyou group, and occasionally some did claim that “Su learning” was on a par with the “learnings” or philosophies of Cheng and Wang.³ Yuan Xingzong (d. 1170) called for a synthesis of the three in an examination essay, contrasting his view with what he said was the general literati conviction that the three were mutually exclusive. Note that Yuan thought Su’s contribution was to “statecraft” (*jingji*), whereas Cheng had ideas about the moral nature and principles, and Wang had ideas about “systems.”⁴ Others, however, associated Su with *yilun* writing, in contrast to Wang’s classicism and Cheng’s study of innate morality.⁵

When factional struggles among the literati broke out again in the 1180s, the court attacked two opposition groups, led by Zhu Xi (1130–1200) and Ye Shi (1150–1223) respectively, neither of whom identified with Su Shi. In fact, well after these events some literati speculated with little evidence that Su learning had figured in this factionalism as the ideology of those in power at court. In one of the first skirmishes, the theory went, when Zhu Xi impeached the Wuzhou scholar Tang Zhongyou (c. 1131–c. 1183) as prefect of Taizhou and Chief Councilor Wang Huai (1127–1190, another Wuzhou man) defended him, what was really at issue was the court’s “Su learning” versus Zhu’s “Cheng learning.”⁶ It is striking that those literary scholars and critics who were at odds with those who controlled the court, and who had the kinds of literary and historical interests to which Su spoke better than either Wang Anshi or Cheng Yi, did not choose to identify themselves with Su Shi. Yang Wanli (1127–1206), Zhou Bida (1126–1204), and Lü Zuqian (1137–1181) all presented themselves as proponents of Cheng learning and tried to bring his ideas to bear on their scholarly pursuits.

WUZHOU, DAOXUE, AND SU SHI

How did Southern Song literati read Su Shi? I ask this question in a rather literal sense as a way of pursuing the larger sense of “reading” a person. And I want to ask it with reference to the specific context of literati society in one particular place. My example is Wuzhou, a prefecture centered on Jinhua County and surrounded by six other counties in mid-eastern Zhejiang. I first show one way in which Su Shi represented

a problem in Wuzhou and then turn to some concrete evidence of how his writing was in fact being read there.

Wuzhou became an intellectual center in the mid-twelfth century, thanks in part to the presence of Lü Zuqian, and remained so through the Yuan period (1279–1368).⁷ Lü's father had settled there after the loss of the north, and eventually Lü Zuqian and his brother Lü Zujian (d. 1200) established their own local ties. Lü Zuqian's interests in historical scholarship and literary traditions were well known. In 1163 Lü passed both the *jinshi* examination and the "broadly learned and of literary talent" (*boxue hongci*) imperially decreed examination. He continued those interests even after he began to ally himself with Zhu Xi and Zhang Shi (1133–1180) as leaders of the Daoxue camp. At imperial command Lü finished compiling the most extensive anthology of Northern Song poetry and prose, known today as the *Literary Mirror of the Song* (Song wenjian). The result, and the controversy that surrounded it, prompted Zhang Shi to write Zhu to complain about Lü's "liking to waste his energy on frivolous writing."⁸ Lü also helped students prepare for the examinations — gaining in the process a large following among Wuzhou literati — although he assured Zhu Xi (who questioned the value of this activity) that he used his appeal as an examination teacher to find students who were interested in self-cultivation.⁹ In the process Lü prepared literary anthologies for his students, to which Zhu also objected.¹⁰ Indeed, Lü is often wrongly credited with compiling precisely the sorts of literary and historical aids examination students would find useful.¹¹ His having written one such work is attested to by his brother; this is his digest of the writings of Ouyang Xiu (1007–1072), the *Ou gong benmo*.¹² After Lü's death in 1181 local supporters and local officials established a shrine to commemorate him; some thirty years later, this was transformed into the Lize Academy (Lize shuyuan).¹³ The shrine and the academy were educational centers and publishers.¹⁴ In some cases, however, the publishing was done elsewhere, as when local men paid Hangzhou carvers to prepare a text, as appears to have happened with Lü Zuqian's literary collection and some commentaries in 1204.¹⁵

Thus, Lü Zuqian contributed not only to the spread of Neo-Confucian moral philosophy in Wuzhou but, over the objections of his

ideological associates, to the rise of Wuzhou as a center of examination preparation. There were, of course, government schools in every county and private schools as well, although few other teachers approached Lü in stature.¹⁶ By the middle of the twelfth century the prefectural examination was one of the most competitive in the country with a pass-fail ratio of one to two hundred. By the end of the twelfth century, when the events of concern in this essay were taking place, Wuzhou men were taking about ten *jinshi* degrees every examination,¹⁷ a figure that suggests that many Wuzhou men must have had access to the special examinations that allowed them to bypass the local tests.¹⁸

Because thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Wuzhou literati asserted that they and their prefecture were Zhu Xi's true heirs, it is all too easy to forget that Wuzhou, like most other places, had other kinds of literati (such as the chief councilors Wang Huai; Ye Heng, 1123–1183; Qiao Xingjian, 1156–1241; and Fan Zhong, *jinshi* 1208) and other kinds of scholars (such as the classicists and writers on ancient institutions Tang Zhongyou and Fu Yin, 1148–1215). It has also drawn attention away from the fact that another migrant family had settled in Wuzhou after the loss of the north, descendants of Su Shi's brother Su Che (1039–1112).

Su Che's oldest son, Su Chi (12th century), served as prefect of Wuzhou in 1128, and, after he had secured a fifty-percent reduction in the silk textile tax quota and was honored by the locale with a "living" commemorative shrine (i.e., one built to celebrate someone still alive), he settled in Wuzhou and was buried in Lanxi County. His sons and grandsons included the eminent writers Su Jian (d. 1166), Su Zhou (1091–after 1160), and Su E (12th century). The Sus were successful officials who were rarely home for long, and the known members of this twelfth-century branch all entered office through the *yin* privilege rather than examinations. This may account for the fact that despite their pedigree there is no record of them as teachers.¹⁹

Lü Zuqian sympathized with the Su family to some extent. He became agitated when he saw Zhu Xi's attack on Su Shi's commentary on the *Change* and Su Che's on the *Laozi* as adulterated by Buddhism and Daoism.²⁰ However, his response to Zhu's condemnation of the Sus as enemies of the Way was to divide the literary enterprise from thinking

about the Dao. Mencius refuted Yang and Mo but ignored the southern poets of the state of Chu, Lü argued, because the latter had nothing to say about the true Dao; Zhu could afford to stop attacking Su Shi since he was irrelevant.²¹ Zhu disagreed; if the Dao included everything, then certainly *wen* (literary writing) was part of it. Writing that disagreed with the Dao was wrong and had to be refuted. Mencius did not mention the Chu poets — whom Zhu had once greatly enjoyed but had since rejected as harmful to the cultivation of the mind — only because they were not well known at the time. Su Shi was an entirely different case. Here was learning that addressed both human nature and politics and writing that was immensely popular with all the literati. One might start to read Su out of pleasure and to succeed in the examinations, but eventually, Zhu warned, it would seep into one's bones and destroy both individual talent and social mores. Lü's mistake was not unique, Zhu pointed out. Although one of his ancestors, the Yuanyou-period chief councilor Lü Gongzhu (1018–1089), had recognized Su's shallowness, another, Lü Benzong (1080–1145), had proclaimed Su Shi and Huang Tingjian (1045–1105) the models for prose and poetry in his *Instructions for the Young* (Tongmeng xun).²² To think that the style could be appreciated on its own terms was to prepare oneself to be seduced.

Despite Lü's errors Zhu sent his son to Wuzhou for his instruction — the son did, after all, have to take the examinations, and the son was soon married to the daughter of Pan Jingxian (1134–1190), a wealthy supporter of Lü and Zhu's intellectual and social enterprises. Pan had amassed a fine library and founded a study center to which Zhu gave the name "One May [die in the evening if he has heard the Dao in the morning] Retreat."²³ Such trust did not, apparently, persuade Lü either to forsake his conviction that he could distinguish the literary from the intellectual or to stop training students for the examinations. Perhaps Lü did steer clear of Su Shi, but Zhu Xi was ever suspicious. In the course of a letter inquiring after his son's progress, Zhu comments:

Recently I saw a booklet, Jianyang imprint, with the title *The Skilled Cavalryman* (Jingqi). It said it came from your hand, but I do not know if this is so or not. If this book spreads, I fear it

will mislead students, and book reading will become even more incoherent. Even if one is [merely] studying *wen*, I still think one should turn to a composition in its entirety to investigate its divisions and transitions. Moreover, the style of the various authors [included in the work] is not the same, so that if you pick out [passages] from here and there, the literary thrust [of one's own composition] will be contradictory; I doubt that it can be finished and excellent.²⁴

Now it turns out that this little book, a six-*juan* anthology of passages from various Tang and Northern Song *guwen*-style writers centered on Su Shi, was probably a Jianyang pirate edition of the fine edition published by the Qingwei Chen House of Yongkang in Wuzhou (Wuzhou Yongkang Qingwei Chenzhai). Apparently, however, this was a text known to Lü and admired by him, for Yu Cheng (fl. 1200) from Dongyang County in Wuzhou wrote a miscellany in 1200 with an entry on how “Donglai [i.e., Lü Zuqian] taught scholars the method for composing *wen*.” Yu quotes Lü: “First look at *The Skilled Cavalryman* then look at the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. [Then] your judgment (*quanheng*) will be spontaneous, your brush force will be strong, and the tone will be mature.”²⁵ From this and similar works from Wuzhou — perhaps the very works Zhu had in mind when he wrote to Lü objecting to the sorts of “nonsense” being printed in Wuzhou²⁶ — we can learn something about how Su Shi was read in one area of Song China during the twelfth century.

READING AND PUBLISHING SU SHI IN WUZHOU

Su Shi was read throughout the empire, as Zhu Xi said, and he was also read in Wuzhou. He was read in the north as well, where Jin-dynasty literati found Su much more to their liking than Cheng Yi and other moral philosophers. To say how the literati of a specific time and place read Su is much more difficult than generalizing from scattered examples from many places. We can, however, say something about how they published him and how what was written and published might have

drawn the reader's attention to some things rather than others. At the very least it tells us something about what the compilers thought they could find in Su. The large number of Song editions of Su's prose and poetry extant today is a sign of the availability of his work. Wuzhou was one of several leading publishing centers in Zhejiang, and its publishers also served this part of the market.²⁷ There were publishers in at least four counties. In Jinhua there was the Court Gentleman Tang's [Publishing] House at Market Gate Lane of Wuzhou (Wuzhou Shimenxiang Tang Fengyi zhai) of Tang Zhongyou's family, which published the *Rites of Zhou with Zheng [Xuan's] Commentary* in twenty *juan*.²⁸ Also in Jinhua was Mr. Cao of Jinhua's Zhongyin Academy (Jinhua Caoshi Zhongyin shuyuan), which published the first collection of Zhang Ruyu's (early 13th century) encyclopedic *Investigations of All Books* (Qunshu kaosuo) prior to 1248.²⁹ In Yiwu there was The Degree Hall of the Wu House of Qingkou (Qingkou Wuzhai guitang) and the Honor Knowledge Studio of the Jiang House of Suxi (Suxi Jiangzhai Chongzhizhai), which published an edition of the *Book of Rites*.³⁰ In the 1190s The Wang House of Hucang's Degree Hall (Hucang Wangzhai guitang) in Dongyang published an anthology of prose by Su Xun (1009–1066), Su Shi, and Su Che in seventy *juan*.³¹ Also in Dongyang was The House of Gentleman Yu Forty-three of Chongchuan (Chongchuan Yu Sishisanlang zhai), which in 1147 republished the famous Tang literary *leishu*, Xu Jian's *Chuxue ji* in thirty *juan*.³² In Yongkang there was the Chen of Qingwei House (Qingwei Chenzhai), which published the aforementioned *The Skilled Cavalryman* in six *juan*.³³ These were all private and, we presume, "commercial" publishers in that they aimed to make a profit from their books. The prefectural offices and the school published as well, as did the shrine and academy commemorating Lü Zuqian. There were also publications made possible through the subvention of donors who shared the intellectual concerns of the editors, as was often the case with Daoxue publications. The books I consider here represent a small fraction both of Wuzhou publications and of editions of Su's writings. We can make them say more because we can place them in the context of local intellectual life and other local works.

I am primarily concerned with three extant books, ignoring those

that are lost.³⁴ We can locate them along a continuum extending from editions of the complete literary output of an individual, through anthologies, to compilations of snippets of longer texts. I want to consider three texts from various points along this spectrum, two printed in Wuzhou and another compiled in Wuzhou by a group of local examination candidates. Each presented Su and focused the reader's attention in a different way, yet all of them suggest that Su played a far greater role in intellectual life than is commonly supposed.

THE *FURTHER EXPANDED PROSE ANTHOLOGY OF THE
THREE SUS OF MEISHAN*

My first case is from the complete-text end of the continuum. The *Further Expanded Prose Anthology of the Three Sus of Meishan* (Chongguang Meishan san Su wencui) in seventy *juan* was printed in Dongyang in the early 1190s. The compiler of the *Anthology of the Three Sus* is unknown. Although the court had sponsored an authoritative prose anthology for each of the three Sus in the 1170s, the Dongyang imprint is the earliest known edition of the family anthology and is the apparent source for the sixteenth-century edition.³⁵ Thus it appeared after Chen Liang (1143–1194), from Yongkang County in Wuzhou, had compiled a 130-piece anthology of Ouyang Xiu's prose, the *Ouyang wencui* from 1173. Chen had compiled the work to provide examination candidates with an alternative to the New Policies intellectual agenda, which he held responsible for the loss of the Northern Song and believed to be still dominant in the examinations.³⁶ The Ouyang Xiu anthology drew on at least one anthology from Fujian which, in the expert judgment of Lü Zuqian, contained pieces that were not by Ouyang Xiu.³⁷

The *Three Sus* directed readers in several ways. First, in putting Su Shi together with his father, Su Xun, and brother, Su Che, the compiler was taking a view already common during the lifetime of the Su brothers, one that encouraged readers to think of the Sus as something unique. Su Shi was part of a "school" (*jia*) that was quite literally a family (*jia*). Su Shi came in the middle, in chronological order, but with the most chapters (*juan* 12–43). Second, although Su Shi's literary reputation also

rested on his poetry and during Su's lifetime anthologies of his work included both prose and poetry, this was a prose anthology. Third, the anthology was selective even among his prose works. It was not a complete prose collection — Su produced a body of accomplished parallel prose and more lyrical writings that are not included here — but an anthology of *yilun* writings, that is essays of opinion.

The Su Shi section begins, as does his father's, with essays (*lun*) on each of the five classics (*juan* 12), the essays Su wrote for the regular examinations and for his academic rank (13–14), a series of commentaries on passages from the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (15), commentaries on passages in the *Zuo*, *Kongyang*, and *Guliang* interpretations of the *Annals* (16), and essays on passages from the *Book of Documents*, *Analects*, and *Mencius* (17). Then come essays on diverse political and intellectual subjects (18–19), essays written for the imperially decreed examination of 1061 on intellectual, political, and historical matters (20–23), the palace examination essay for the imperially decreed examination (24), the twenty-five treatises (*ce*) on state policy for the imperially decreed examination (25–30), various other policy treatises (31), and a series of treatise questions (32). Su's long letter to the Shenzong emperor protesting the New Policies is here (33), followed by memorials (34) and letters to leading officials (35). Some of Su's most famous letters on intellectual and literary matters to friends and students are here (36), as are some of his most famous "records" (*ji*) (37) and his prefaces (*xu*) to the collections of some leading eleventh-century figures (38). There is a chapter for his lectures to the emperor (39). The collection ends with evaluations of historical incidents (*ping shi*) (39–40) and literary works (*ping wen*) (40), "miscellaneous writings" such as parables (41), explanations of style names (*zishuo*) and colophons (42), appreciations of objects and portraits (*zan*), a stele text, and inscriptions on objects (*ming*) (43).

The *Prose Anthology of the Three Sus* presents Su Shi (as it does his father and brother) as a serious, public-minded scholar and writer. It is arranged by genre, like many other literary collections, but the sequence of genres draws attention away from Su as a belletrist and creates a series that addresses the great moral, political, and cultural issues of the times. It shows Su as a leading opponent of the New Policies and, given the

people he writes to, a man connected to some of the most famous literati of the eleventh century. Surely such a collection undermines Lü Zuqian's view of Su as a mere literary stylist who could be safely ignored in thinking about political and moral issues and supports Zhu Xi's account of Su as someone with influential, but misguided, ideas.

There is another interpretation of the *Three Sus* that reminds us that this was, as far as we can tell, a commercial venture by an anonymous editor. Taking the first half of the Su Shi section as an example, it is clear that the anthology fits perfectly with the format of the classics track in the examinations: there are essays on the meaning of the classics and particular passages from them (part 1 of the examination), essays on Confucius and Mencius (part 2), essays on historical and intellectual subjects (part 3), and treatises (part 4). This calls to mind a ditty from the time: "Get Su down neat, you'll eat meat; if your Su studies flop, you'll eat slop."³⁸

This arrangement did not, however, come about easily. No previous literary collection of Su Shi had been published in such a sequence. In fact, there is reason to think that compositions were fabricated to make the Su Shi section fit the examination sequence. Specifically, the essays on the five classics with which the Su Shi section begins are found in no other early collection.³⁹ It is not possible to establish that Su Shi did not write something, short of finding the piece in someone else's collection, but we have already seen in the case of Chen's Ouyang anthology that compositions were fabricated, and in this case there was a practical reason to do so. We can show only that the anthology included unique pieces and other pieces that are not included in the Su Shi collection until the late Ming, pieces that, when read in connection with reliable texts, are suspicious. For example, the anthology essay on the *Book of Change* argues that the sage was not concerned with divination and that his *dao* was in the line texts rather than the numerology. Parts of the essay are close to a passage in Su's commentary on the *Book of Change* but mistake his point, which was that the sages were indeed concerned with numerology and predicting outcomes, that such matters were compatible with other parts of the text, and that they could not be disregarded.⁴⁰ Another example is found among the explanations of *Book*

of *Documents* passages in the *Three Sus*. Here it seems that the author has rewritten and simplified a passage from Su's commentary on the entire *Book of Documents*.⁴¹

An anthology is a selection. Su's surviving work was great enough to allow for multiple anthologies and collections. Too much was available to form a canon; too many choices could be made. To a greater extent than a traditional literary collection, an anthology lent itself to serving a compiler's purpose. In the case of the *Three Sus* the purpose — to make Su into a program for examination education and, I assume, to make money by doing so — may have led to creating compositions to order. We know that by late Ming there were many false attributions, some of which may have been generated by anthologies like these.

To this point I have looked at Su Shi on the grounds that he was the test case in the debate over whether “mere” literary works should be treated as intellectually persuasive works. We should note, however, that in terms of anthologies Su was one among many literati whose writings were compiled. There were many anthologies of Ouyang Xiu, two of which — Chen Liang's previously mentioned collection and Lü Zuqian's digest of Ouyang's literary collection, the *Ou gong benmo* — came from Wuzhou. There was also a seventy-juan anthology of the *yilun* writings of Su's six leading followers, the *Prose Anthology of the Six Gentlemen Followers of Su* (*Sumen liu junzi wencui*). Although there is no reliable evidence for it and we lack a Song edition that would make it possible to date and locate the work, some claimed Chen Liang was its compiler.⁴² Still extant is a related anthology: the *Imperial Song Anthology — Complete Collection* (*Sheng Song wenxuan quanji*) in thirty-two *juan* published in Wuzhou.⁴³ This too was a collection of *yilun* writings, but not of a particular school or clique (see “Who Compiled the *Imperial Song Anthology*?” below for a discussion of a possible editor). The authors included span the Northern Song but are not in chronological order: two *juan* for Ouyang Xiu, three for Sima Guang, one for Fan Zhongyan (985–1052), one for Wang Yucheng (954–1001), two for Sun Fu (992–1057), two for Wang Anshi, one for the unknown “Yu Yuandu,” two for Zeng Gong (1019–1083), three for Shi Jie (1005–1045), five for Li Qingchen (1032–1102), one for Tang Geng (1071–1121), seven for Zhang Lei (1054–

1114), one for Huang Tingjian, and one for Chen Guan (1057–1122). Although the collection begins with Ouyang Xiu and Sima Guang and includes some of Sima's criticisms of the New Policies, Wang Anshi and his reformist "Myriad Word Memorial" are included as well. The Su family is missing, but Zhang Lei is well represented, as is Huang Tingjian; both appear in the *Six Gentlemen*. Both Zhang and Huang were exiled again under the Huizong emperor for their opposition to the New Policies, and the last author, Chen Guan, converted to being an outspoken critic of Wang Anshi's learning during the reign of the Huizong emperor. This anthology may be imbued with an antipathy toward the later New Policies regimes, but it nevertheless expresses a certain admiration for Wang Anshi. Missing are the moral philosophers, who had also been purged by the New Policies regimes, even though Cheng Hao's political compositions were arguably more appropriate than the Huang Tingjian pieces included here.

Taken as a group, the anthologies discussed here include literati with close connections to Su Shi and Ouyang Xiu, who was Su's early patron and to whom Su had proclaimed himself heir. This, together with the absence of writings of the Northern Song moral philosophers (which were at the time appearing in authoritative editions thanks to Zhu Xi, Lü Zuqian, and others), suggests to me that the publishers assumed that the Ouyang–Su anthologies would appeal to a particular segment of the market or a particular kind of interest. In intellectual terms, however, the differences among the figures included in the *Imperial Song Anthology* were quite large; it cannot be argued that they represent a school. The view (which the editors of the *Siku quanshu* held about the *Six Gentlemen*) that such anthologies were sources of examination models seems more plausible. In this case perhaps the literary style is the point of the enterprise, much as Lü Zuqian thought, and serious political and intellectual writings were included simply because that was what candidates had to study for the examinations. Thus even though the authors wrote the pieces included in the anthology with serious intent, perhaps publishers and readers were less interested in what the authors had to say than in how they said it.

Such a conclusion would be more wrong than right. Yet it admittedly gains support from what became an influential work that was

attributed to Lü Zuqian, the *Key to the Ancient Prose Style* (Guwen guanjian). This collection of writings by Han Yu (768–824), Liu Zongyuan (773–819), Ouyang Xiu, Zeng Gong, Su Xun, Su Shi, and Zhang Lei may well have been based on the anthologies discussed here. It is notable because it uses a system of interlinear marks and comments to analyze the technical aspects of literary composition and is devoid of any appreciation of the conclusions the authors are trying to persuade readers to. Clearly it had become possible to think that learning how to write in a sophisticated manner could be divorced from having something to say. The *Key to the Ancient Prose Style* is, however, the exception not the rule among twelfth-century Song anthologies, although this style of annotation did become more popular.⁴⁴

The anthologies discussed here did not confine themselves to examination genres, but all of them *did* confine themselves to prose and the prose style known at the time as *yilun*. The *Key to the Ancient Prose Style* was certainly right in equating *yilun* with the “ancient prose” style as developed by Han Yu, Liu Zongyuan, Ouyang Xiu, and all those included in these anthologies. I would suggest however, and this is the reason for rejecting the conclusion that these anthologies are of merely literary rather than intellectual significance, that the *yilun-guwen* prose writing anthologized bore witness to a conviction that not all would have shared — namely, that literati ought to develop their own ideas about politics and society and that they should think about problems of shared values on their own rather than going along with received opinion or another’s dogma. In short, they should have well-considered ideas — and the anthologies provided examples of ideas and how to express them — but there was not a set of right ideas they should master. Su Shi was, of course, one of the great champions of this view. Zhu Xi once criticized Su for lacking an intellectual agenda: “In the course of producing literary work he gets around to talking about *daoli*. It is not that he first understands *daoli* and only then does the literary work.”⁴⁵ For those who, like Zhu Xi, believed the Dao could be known, there was little to commend a policy of encouraging literati to have their own ideas. Yet having ideas was part of the examination process — at least the rhetoric of examinations favored it, and the styles of writing called for it — and learning how to express them persuasively was essential. This had been

Zhu's worry about letting literati read Su Shi — precisely because Su wrote so persuasively his ideas were likely to influence the reader. The conclusion I draw is that these anthologies do not promote a particular dogma or school but encourage literati to have ideas of their own by providing them with models of men who communicated ideas through their writing. This “liberal” perspective, if I may call it that, was both intellectual and literary. The anthologies do not fit the choices Zhu and Lü offer us. I find support for this view in my second example, a work that seems to be truly “literary.”

THE COMPLETE SOURCE FOR COMPOSITION

My second example comes from the other end of the spectrum. This is a 195-juan Song edition of the *Complete Source for Composition* (*Jizuan yuanghai*) by Pan Zimu (*jinsi* 1196) of Jinhua in Wuzhou and two literati collaborators, his brother-in-law Jia Fang[zhi] (early 13th century)⁴⁶ of Dongyang and Wang Chun (early 13th century) of Jinhua. After receiving his degree, Pan served in various local-government posts. Pan's preface of 1209 stated that the *Complete Source* had 22 categories, 1,246 subcategories, 236 *juan*, and 800,000 words.⁴⁷ This work, a kind of elaborate literary thesaurus, had hitherto been known from a Ming edition that reorganized and supplemented Pan's work.⁴⁸

The *Complete Source* was meant to be a resource for literary composition. Each section consists of brief quotations, often no longer than a couplet; almost never are there whole compositions. The quotations are grouped according to bibliographic categories: the classics, schools of thought, histories, biographical anecdotes, literary collections, and the nonbibliographic category “[authors of] our dynasty.” Each section has a title, usually of two or four characters, that defines the theme, topic, or idea that the quotes in the section address. There are 1,195 sections in the extant edition, which are grouped into twenty-two categories. For example, *juan* 1–36 consist of 249 sections that make up “Judgments and Opinions” (*lunyi*). The next category, “Character and Conduct” (*xingxing* in 237 sections), concerns personal worth and ethical conduct. It begins with the sections “Complete Virtue,” “Somewhat Talented,” “Mere Device,” and “Untalented” before moving on to “Nat-

urally Spontaneous Character,” “Exceptional,” “Naturally Bad Character,” and so on. After “Character and Conduct” comes “Good Judgment,” “Social Relationships,” “Human Responsibilities,” “Human Emotions,” “Human Problems,” “Other and Self,” and further categories. All, including those for Buddhists and for Daoists, stay within the realm of human culture, society, and history.

Pan says in his preface that they intended to produce a *leishu*, a work in which quotations are grouped by category. They decided on categories and sections and combed texts for appropriate material, and then presented it in a regular fashion. He places his work in the history of *leishu*, taking particular note of Ouyang Xun’s *Yiwen leiju* from the early Tang, which combined two hitherto distinct traditions of literary encyclopedia and compendia of historical and factual information.⁴⁹ Ouyang Xun’s work, which had been reprinted in the mid-twelfth century,⁵⁰ gave both passages from texts with information about a topic and a series of quotations from works by genre — the poem, the rhapsody, the letter, the preface, and so on — in which that particular topic figured. Pan also notes Xu Jian’s *Chu xue ji*, an eighth-century *leishu* reprinted in 1147 by a commercial publisher in Dongyang in Wuzhou, which adds a third section of parallel phrases, with citation of the *locus classicus*, for referring to the topic.⁵¹

Pan could have cited many more works, both older and more recent, some of which would be clearly literary and others more concerned with political and social affairs. Hong Mai (1123–1202), the prefect of Wuzhou in 1181, put together a collection meant to provide writers with examples of phrase and couplet construction (*jufa*) in past texts.⁵² At about the same time Tang Zhongyou was putting together his explanations and illustrations of ancient institutions, the *Diwang jingshi tupu*, which was also understood to be a *leishu* at the time, but not one intended as an aid to literary craft.⁵³

It would seem, given the title and the content, that Pan’s work is merely an aid to literary art. The problematic boundary between a work that helped literati write well and one that dealt in information, ideas, and values is illustrated by evaluations of Yan Shu’s (991–1055) eleventh-century *Lei yao*, a work Pan used. A twelfth-century bibliography records that this book, now lost, which collected facts from the classics, histories,

philosophical works, and literary collections by category, was merely for use in literary composition. However, the preface by the great *guwen* intellectual Zeng Gong takes a rather different view. He praises the extraordinary breadth of texts cited — including local gazetteers, family genealogies, religious texts, technological works, and even treatises on foreign places — and the care with which the author has investigated the principles of the myriad things, change and transformation, the true and the false, ascendancy and decline, and sees this as evidence of the internal quality of the author.⁵⁴

Pan does have usefulness for literary composition in mind, yet he has located his work in a history that prevents us from saying that he is “merely” concerned with literary usage. He ranges fairly widely through the traditional bibliographic categories of the court library but includes works found in the Buddhist and Daoist canons. However, Pan’s citation of earlier texts and authors is certainly not random, and this is where his book becomes relevant to a discussion of reading Su Shi in Wuzhou. The Song authors in the “[Writers of] Our Dynasty” (*Ben chao*) subsections are all from the Northern Song. Here follows a list of citations in twenty-seven randomly selected *juan*.

	Number of Citations
Su Shi	83
Ouyang Xiu	37
Wang Anshi	24
Huang Tingjian	17
Su Che	13
Chen Shidao (1053–1101)	11
Yan Shu: <i>Leiyao</i>	10
Sima Guang	3
Su Xun	3
Canliaozi (11th century)	3
Liu Anshi (1048–1125)	3
Kong Pingzhong (<i>jinshi</i> 1065): <i>Xu Shishuo</i>	3
Chen Zhengmin (11th century)	3
<i>Zhuru mingdao ji</i>	3
Cheng Hao and Cheng Yi	2

Shao Yong (1011–1077)	2
various <i>biji</i> and <i>shihua</i>	14
various other single citations	20

This generally corresponds to the pattern one finds within any section chosen at random: Pan has given pride of place to Su Shi and his admirers: Su Che, Su Xun, Huang Tingjian, Chen Shidao, Canliaozi, and Ouyang Xiu. Yet like some other anthologists he includes Wang Anshi and Sima Guang. He also knows of the Cheng brothers.

The *Complete Source* is about ideas and about language. It takes examples of language usage from authors but insists that the point is how they communicate ideas. It is often content to show how opposite ideas have been expressed. The quotes in the first section, “The Revival Has Not Yet Ceased” (Fangxing weiyi), say in different ways “things are looking up, they are still getting better,” whereas the second section, “The Flame Does Not Last” (Guangyan buchang), shows how to say that things that do too well cannot last. The third and fourth sections, “One Body, a Shared Humanity” (Yidi tongren) and “Liver and Gall at Odds” (Gangdan Chu Yue), balance the idea that all people under heaven are one with the view that it is better to be separate; passengers in the same boat end up as enemies.⁵⁵

But there are cases in which the quotes amount to a single, consistent position on a matter of import. In effect, the entire section becomes a *yilun*. For example, the “General Introduction to Scholarship” (Xuewen zongxu) presents learning largely as a matter of self-cultivation that is accomplished through the internalization of one’s reading.⁵⁶ In “Wanting to Learn” (Haoxue), learning in a cumulative fashion means being devoted to reading books. “Writing Books” (Zhushu) uses an eclectic set of citations — from Confucius, Mencius, Ge Hong (ca. 284–364), Wang Tong (584–618), Laozi, and Zhuangzi; from a host of compendia that exemplify writing books, the *Lüshi chunqiu*, the *Huainanzi*; and from a variety of literary *leishu* and anthologies — to say that writing is to establish enduring moral instructions for society.⁵⁷ Still, the *Complete Source* is closer to being a reference work than a polemic, and the passages on these matters reflect commonly expressed views.⁵⁸

When we look more closely at Pan’s understanding of what he

was doing, however, we find that he in fact did think his book was about ideas:

What is fixed and does not change is ideas (*yi*). What takes a thousand variations and a myriad transformations is the wording (*yan*). Earlier compendia have been detailed in recording affairs (*shi*) and noting what is important, but do not satisfy men's ideas (*yi*) in composing language and seeking out the subtleties.⁵⁹ As a result those who peruse [such works] seem to get stuck in a rut; they never see beyond the implication of one corner [of four]. They are tied down; they are limited. They often remain rigidly within the facts and are unable to extend transformations beyond the language and ideas [they already know].⁶⁰

Ideas are enduring; they stand in a one-to-many relationship with language, and can be the same through two thousand years of writing. They are an alternative to particularistic affairs as the basis for creating categories. The promise of this new kind of organization is that it will allow writers to be "creative"; they will have the means to be new and different. Pan's final philosophical assertion in his preface is that:

How to be versed and of strong memory is what all people want to learn, but taking the easy way out has been the problem through the ages. With the writing of this book, at last all the moral principles (*yili*) in the world and all changes over time have become so readily accessible that one need not worry about misunderstanding and getting stuck. Perhaps it will be of some use to scholars.⁶¹

In this view "moral principles," which the Neo-Confucians proposed to understand through thinking about what they read or encountered, become accessible as the product of the literary expression through history.

What does this tell us about reading Su Shi? The conclusion I reach is that for Pan, who draws on Su's poetry as much as his prose, Su's language is to be read in terms of the ideas it expresses. Pan's compilation is a resource for literary composition for writers who think in terms of expressing ideas about things. The language for expressing ideas, not

writers or a dogma, is the focus. Su's language serves the interest of literati who are persuaded that they should have something to say, but are not sure yet what they want to mean.

THE SKILLED CAVALRYMAN

My third example lies somewhere between these extremes. *The Skilled Cavalryman* (Jingqi), a prose anthology of works by Su and others, was the book that Zhu Xi saw in a Fujian edition attributed to Lü Zuqian (the only known edition today, from Yongkang in Wuzhou, makes no mention of a compiler). For Zhu the book encouraged bad intellectual habits in reading because it did not reproduce full texts and included a variety of authors with different points of view; still, he saw it as a work meant to serve literary craft interests and thus not of truly pressing concern. I think the picture is a bit more complex.

The anthology is representative of the *guwen* tradition. It begins with Han Yu, Liu Zongyuan, Li Ao (early 9th century), and selections from an early Song anthology of Tang *guwen* writers, Yao Xuan's (968–1020) *Tang Wencui* (chap. 1), before introducing the most influential *guwen* writers of the mid-eleventh century: Ouyang Xiu, Wang Anshi, and Su Xun (chap. 2). Su Shi and Su Che are at the center of the book (chaps. 3–4). They are followed by Wang Anshi's cousin and friend Zeng Gong and then a series of literati roughly associated with Su Shi's political and intellectual stance: Zhang Lei, Qin Guan (chap. 5), Chen Guan, Li Qingchen, Tang Geng, and the unknown author of an unknown work, *Wudai ji zan*.⁶²

The last three chapters of *The Skilled Cavalryman* are lost, and we cannot say whether the selections from the authors in the last two chapters are also those in the *Imperial Song Anthology*. It is clear that the Su Shi section owes little to the *Prose Anthology of the Three Sus*. First, *The Skilled Cavalryman* includes neither essays nor treatises. Second, most of the space devoted to Su Shi is given over to quotations from his commentaries on the *Book of Change* (chap. 3), *Book of Documents*, and *Analects* (chap. 4), only the first of which is in an extant chapter of *The Skilled Cavalryman*.

The Skilled Cavalryman was a commercial product but also, like

Wuzhou editions in general, a high-quality edition. It is, however, unlike an examination anthology such as the *Three Sus*, a literary thesaurus such as Pan Zimu's *Complete Source for Composition* (Guwen guanjian), or a work that teaches the art of composition such as the *Key to the Ancient Style*. We can easily make the case that *The Skilled Cavalrman* is a work that focuses on the expression of ideas. It consists of a series of shorter and longer quotations from literary compositions that reveal the author as a man thinking through his opinions and expressing them well. The reader encounters Su Shi as a gifted writer in a variety of genres and as a thinker with views on literature, morality, and politics. There are letters spanning his entire career, a series of colophons on literary and artistic works, selections from some of Su's best-known inscriptions, and passages from his memorials opposing the New Policies.

There is more by Su Shi than any other figure, but what is included represents only a small part of his prose output. What makes this selection unusual is that eighteen pages are devoted to Su Shi's nine-juan commentary on the *Book of Change*.⁶³ The compiler did not survey Su Shi's views on the *Book of Change* as a text and related exegetical issues. Instead the passages represent both the ideas and attitudes Su brought to bear on various topics and the philosophical justifications for those attitudes. In fact the longest passages are the three most important philosophical treatises in the commentary in their entirety. In them Su explains two related but contradictory matters. First, why is it that anything that is posited to be the ultimate source of other phenomena cannot be defined in terms of those phenomena (thus human nature cannot be defined in moral terms as good or bad, and the Dao cannot be defined as something definite)? And, second, how is it still possible in actual practice to respond to things in a socially responsible fashion by making a connection between the mysterious ultimate source of things and the particular instances of experience and action?⁶⁴ Su's commentary on the hexagrams themselves is generally neglected; instead quotations reflect what today seem to us to be typical Su Shi attitudes, which fit well with the philosophical passages. Here we see both Su's typical insistence on recognizing and encouraging individuality and his call for socially effective and responsible action, both his awareness of the relative value

of things and the need for flexibility and his belief that the individual has recourse to something irreducible, not relative, and constant.⁶⁵

The title *The Skilled Cavalryman* suggests the not uncommon Song image of the literary man's literary response to his encounters with the world as a series of "battles" in which he is victorious over the literary media. A successful writer is in Su's words, quoted in the text cited here, one who "gets the idea across" through his writing.⁶⁶ The compiler seems to take a similar view: the skilled writer is one who has ideas about things and can get them across, and Su Shi is one of the best examples of exactly that.

SOME CONCLUSIONS

This essay began by asking how the publication of certain books could help us understand how scholars who were associated with the spread of Neo-Confusionism treated Su Shi. The books we have looked at have not gone down in history as significant works in either intellectual or literary terms. Nevertheless, I want to suggest that they are of considerable value for understanding intellectual and literary culture in late-twelfth-century Wuzhou and probably many other places where literati found themselves preparing for the examinations, thinking about morality and politics, and trying to write well.

In the past I have assumed that Su Shi became marginal to Southern Song intellectual life both because of the spread of Daoxue and because of the kind of ethic Su Shi propagated, in which literati were urged to act responsibly but not promised moral certainty. It seems to me that these anthologies and even Pan Zimu's compilation show that Su maintained a presence during this period in a world where literati had become increasingly concerned with ideas and their expression. At the very least, it appears that Lü Zuqian, if not being disingenuous, was at least not representative in suggesting that Su was to be read only for his literary craft and not for what he said.

Prose anthologies like the *Three Sus*, the *Imperial Song Prose Anthology*, and *The Skilled Cavalryman* were both literary and intellectual constructions, much like Su himself. Zhu Xi came closest to seeing this

when he insisted that the intellectual and literary were a unified field. One could read Su from either perspective: as a source of examples of how ideas could be expressed (as Pan Zimu did) or as a source of ideas worth thinking about (as the compiler of *The Skilled Cavalryman* did). After all, integrative totalizing thinkers like Zhu Xi could work side by side with compartmentalizing pedants like Lü. The anthologists, it seems to me, were also inclined to an integrative view. At the very least, we can note that their anthologies are compiled around individuals in the first place and genre secondarily. This is in marked contrast to the tradition of anthologies organized by genre in the style of the *Wenxuan* (to which the title of the *Imperial Song Prose Anthology* alluded) or the court's anthology of Northern Song belles lettres, the *Song Literary Mirror* (Song wenjian). The primacy of the individual as an organizing principle and the provision of a broad selection of writings by one author suggest that publishers and readers were interested in the man, his style, and his ideas.

The interest in the individual author — especially when one wanted to be introduced to many authors — fits well with the literary ethic Su Shi and those anthologized with him shared. *Guwen* intellectuals generally held that the way one wrote reflected the manner in which one thought. The promise of writing was that the values the writer had cultivated would guide him in responding to the external world and manifest themselves through his writing. The particular fusion of the intellectual, literary, and political was always individual. To appreciate it in one set of writings was to know the author in some sense, but to know one man and to see what made him unique was only possible if one could see him in the context of other authors.

All the works I have discussed offer a kind of history of Northern Song literature and learning (with roots in the later Tang), which is quite different from the account of Northern Song learning centered on moral philosophers. It is hard to suppose that the near total absence of the Cheng brothers, Zhang Zai, and their like in these books was unintentional. In fact during the time that the works discussed here were being compiled and published the Neo-Confucians were putting together a competing set of figures, texts, and anthologies. Su Shi was a dominant figure on the literary-intellectual side, although he was one among a series of literary intellectuals. I do not see the literary-intellectual an-

thologies as constituting an alternative “orthodoxy.” Instead I would suggest that grouping the Sus with Wang Anshi and Sima Guang defines them as representatives of a shared intellectual universe, but one in which there were fundamental disagreements. At the same time, excluding the progenitors of Daoxue from consideration suggests that in fact they represented something very different.

Let us grant that there was a *guwen* tradition in which Su figured, which came to be closely associated with the examinations, in contradistinction to which an insurgent Daoxue took shape. It does not follow from this that there was basic agreement among those in the *guwen* camp — in fact one could argue that some anthologies demonstrate that there were great differences. In other words, these anthologies cannot be read as part of an effort to create ideology, as one could argue was the case with Daoxue anthologies like the *Record of Things at Hand* (Jinsi lu) compiled by Zhu and Lü Zuqian. Of greater interest is that even a single figure like Su Shi appeared differently depending on where he appeared. The statecraft, classicist, and examination orientation of the Su Shi of the *Three Sus* is very different from the free-spirited, eclectic thinker of *The Skilled Cavalryman*. It is becoming popular once again to emphasize uniformity and conformity in Chinese thought and society and to see education and the examinations as means of inculcating and reproducing a “hegemonic” discourse. It seems to me that such a view underestimates the possibilities in an intellectual world where writers and publishers, teachers and students, public schools and private academies were competing not just for success with the government but for sales in a commercial economy. The books I have discussed here, were, after all, intended to be sold. At the very least we can say that Su Shi must have sold well, but I am not sure this tells us which Su Shi the literati were buying.

Intellectual historians have been too quick to read Su and his audience out of their accounts of the past. This inquiry suggests that at least during the twelfth century the unquestionable rise of Daoxue did not limit Southern Song intellectual culture as much as it has our understanding of intellectual history. Perhaps the apparent popularity of the collections discussed here also speaks to the study of Chinese literature in the West, which has long treated Song-dynasty poetry (*shi*) and

lyric (*ci*) as the most important Song literary forms and has been just as willing as Lü Zuqian to divorce the study of the literary from the intellectual. In Wuzhou, at least, they read Su Shi differently.

WHO COMPILED THE *IMPERIAL SONG ANTHOLOGY*?

There is no known record or tradition that attributes the compilation of the *Imperial Song Anthology* to a particular person. I suspect that the compiler was one Jin Shi, a *jinshi* of 1184 and native of Jinhua County, who helped Tang Zhongyou prepare his manuscripts on ancient institutions.⁶⁷ After being impeached by Zhu Xi, Tang retired in 1181 and was persuaded to move himself and some hundred students to a private school in Dongyang County. For Jin to have worked with Tang on his project he would have had to stay with him for a while. Presumably like the other students in Dongyang, he was also preparing for the examinations, which he passed in 1184. In Dongyang he would have had access to a library.⁶⁸ In addition, the appearance of the text is similar to the *Three Su*, which was printed in Dongyang.⁶⁹ The reason for suspecting Jin Shi is, however, based on the appearance of “Yu Yuandu” in the anthology. There is no record of any Yu Yuandu in any name index to Song sources. This makes him anomalous, given the famous company he is placed in. Authors are given by surname (Yu) and style name (Yuandu). The style name of Jin Shi also happens to be Yuandu, and the difference between Yu and Jin is only one stroke. Whether or not the anthology was a vehicle for the anonymous publication of Jin’s own essays and the product of Jin’s examination studies, it was in any case an introduction to a rather disparate array of well-known, politically engaged Northern Song literary intellectuals.⁷⁰

NOTES

1. Li Chi, *Record of Discussions with Teachers and Friends* (Shiyou tanji), Xuejin taoyuan ed., and Zhang Lei, *The Mingdao Miscellany* (Mingdao zazhi), Congshu jicheng chubian ed.
2. Zhen Dexiu, *Wenzhang zhengzong*, quoted in Tao Qiuying, *Song Jin Yuan wenlunxuan* (Beijing: Renmin wenzue, 1984), p. 379.
3. Peter Bol, “Chu Hsi’s Redefinition of Literati Learning,” in *Neo-Confucian*

- Education: The Formative Stage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), pp. 161–163.
4. Yuan Xingzong, *Jiuhua ji* (*Siku Quanshu* ed., cited hereafter as SKQS), 9, p. 15a, “A Treatise on What Is Right and Wrong in the Learning of the Three Schools of Mr. Su, Mr. Wang, and Mr. Cheng.” For an account of the (re)appearance of this issue in a question asked at the Imperial University in the 1180s, see Zhu Xi, *Huian xiansheng Zhu wengong wenji* (rpt. Taipei: Dahua, n.d.), 90, pp. 16b–17a (cited hereafter as *Huian xiansheng ji*).
 5. Chen Shan, *Menshi xinhua* (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1920), 5, p. 6a. This is a book of comments and reading notes from the early Southern Sung that pays particular attention to Northern Sung literati culture. The author’s sympathies may have been with the Wang Anshi school (*Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao*, rpt. Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1971, p. 1093).
 6. This view is put forward by Ye Shaoweng in his collection of anecdotes from ca. 1225. Cited by Kinugawa Tsuyoshi, who finds no evidence of Tang and Wang being Su-ists. See Kinugawa, “Shu Ki to Tō Chūyu,” in *Sō Gendai no shakai to shūkyō no shōgōteki kenkyū* (Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 1980), pp. 27–28.
 7. I have profited immensely from other studies of Wuzhou, including the following: Sun Kekuan, *Yuandai Jinhua xueshu* (Taizhong: Donghai daxue, 1975); John W. Dardess, “The Cheng Communal Family: Social Organization and Neo-Confucianism in Yuan and Early Ming China,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 34 (1974), pp. 7–52, “Confucianism, Local Reform, and Centralization in Late Yuan Chekiang, 1342–1359,” in *Yuan Thought: Chinese Thought and Religion under the Mongols* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), pp. 327–374, and *Confucianism and Autocracy: Professional Elites in the Founding of the Ming Dynasty* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983); John D. Langlois, Jr., “Political Thought in Chin-hua under Mongol Rule,” in *China under Mongol Rule* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), and “Chin-hua Confucianism under the Mongols (1279–1368)” (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1973). Beverly Bossler, *Powerful Relations: Kinship, Status, and the State in Sung China, 960–1279* (Harvard University: Council on East Asian Studies, 1998), makes detailed use of Wuzhou social history.
 8. For an account of Lü’s role in this project and Zhang Shi’s objections see Huadong Normal University Center for the Study of Ancient Texts, *Wenxian tongkao jingji kao* (Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue, 1985), pp. 1786–1791.
 9. Lü Zuqian, *Donglai Lü taishi ji* (*Xu Jinhua congshu* ed.), *bieji* 7, p. 6a, reply to Zhu Xi.
 10. *Ibid.*, *bieji* 8, p. 3a.
 11. Printers of literary and historical *leishu*, such as the *Lidai zhidu xiangshuo* and the *Shilü wuku*, wrongly credited Lü as the compiler. The first work is in fact a thoughtful discussion of institutional problems but appears to be a Yuan work. The second is a commercial product of uncertain date. Many works attributed to Lü may in fact be based on student notes. His biographer notes several that were not prepared by Lü for publication but were already being transmitted during his lifetime. For example, Lü apologizes to Zhu Xi for having chosen

- examples of writing to help students training for the examination (ibid.); perhaps this was the origin of the later influential “ancient style prose” anthology *Guwen guanjian*, also attributed to Lü. Lü was also credited – almost certainly incorrectly — with an anthology of Su Shi’s poetry. See the discussion of *Fen shi men lei* in Liu Xiangrong, *Su Shi zhuzuo banben luncong* (Sichuan: Bashu shushe, 1988), pp. 61–62. Lü was also credited with a commentary on the prose writings of Su Xun, Su Shi, and Su Che; see *Jinhua jingji zhi*, 22, p. 3b.
12. A copy of *Ou gong benmo* in four *juan* is in the Seikado Bunkō; see Kawada Shiguma, *Seika hisshoshi* (Tokyo: Seikado Bunkō, 1917), 5, pp. 21b–22b.
 13. Lou Yue, *Gongkui ji*, 55, pp. 760–762, inscription for the shrine to Lü built in 1208, and Yuan Fu, *Mengzhai ji* (Wuyingdian ed.), 14, pp. 11a–12a, for the establishment of the Lize Academy in 1237.
 14. Publications include Lü Benzong’s *Tongmeng shun* in 1215 and Sima Guang’s *Qieyun zhizhang tu* in 1238; see Nagasawa Kikuya *chosakushū*, vol. 3, *Sō Genpan no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1983), pp. 38, 43. The shrine was possibly responsible for publishing Lü’s community compact as well, see *Zhongguo guji shanben shumū* (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji chubanshe, 1985), 15, p. 28b.
 15. Abe Ryūichi bases this on a discussion of the block carvers involved in the project; see *Chūgoku hōshoshi* (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1983), pp. 582–583; Sören Edgren, “Southern Song Printing at Hangzhou,” *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, 61 (1989), p. 125, gives this as a Zhejiang edition only. It would follow that the same was true for Lü Zuqian’s *Lize lunshuo jilu*; see *Zhongguo guji shanben shumū*, 15, p. 32b. Lü Qiaonian, Lü Zuqian’s nephew, edited both works.
 16. The public and private schools in Wuzhou are discussed in Bol, “Intellectual Culture in Wuzhou ca. 1200 — Finding a Place for Pan Zimu and the *Complete Source for Composition*,” *Proceedings of the Second Symposium on Sung History* (Taipei, 1996).
 17. See *Jinhua fuzhi* (1578 ed.), 18, pp. 12a–15b. When the number of degrees exceeded the quota for prefectural graduates (e.g., seventeen *jinshi* degrees in 1190 when the quota for prefectural graduates was fourteen), we can conclude that a good number of Wuzhou men qualified through provincial avoidance examinations for relatives of officials.
 18. Wuzhou was allowed to send fourteen men from the prefectural exam to the metropolitan examination after 1125. See *Jinhua fuzhi*, 18, pp. 52b, 46b. John Chaffee identifies Wu, Wen, and Tai as the three prefectures assigned one-to-two-hundred pass ratios; see *The Thorny Gates of Learning in Sung China: A Social History of Examinations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 125. According to Zhu Xi it was also one of four eastern Zhejiang prefectures that relied greatly on the Imperial University examination in addition to the normal avoidance exams; see Chaffee, *Thorny Gates*, p. 155, and Zhu, *Huian xiansheng ji*, 69, p. 21b.
 19. For the history of the Su family in Wuzhou together with a selection of some of their writings, see Wu Shidao, *Jingxiang lu* (*Xu Jinhua congshu*, 7, pp. 1a–4b).

- I have found no indication that the Sus of Wuzhou were active as teachers, although they were asked to write inscriptions for at least two local projects in the 1160s.
20. Zhu, *Huian xiansheng ji*, 72, pp. 17b–29a. The critique of Su’s commentary is discussed in Bol, “Chu Hsi’s Redefinition,” pp. 180–183.
 21. Lü, *Donglai Lü taishi ji*, *bieji* 7, p. 7b.
 22. Zhu, *Huian xiansheng ji*, 33, pp. 5a–b. Discussed and partially translated in Bol, “Chu Hsi’s Redefinition,” pp. 179–180.
 23. For an account of the Pan family and its connections to Zhu and Lü, see Bol, “Intellectual Culture in Wuzhou ca. 1200.”
 24. Zhu, *Huian xiansheng ji*, 33, p. 18b.
 25. Yu Cheng, *Yingxue congshuo* (*Ruxue jingwu* ed.), 2, p. 3a.
 26. Zhu, *Huian xiansheng ji*, 32, p. 1b.
 27. The most complete list of extant Song imprints is in Ming-sun Poon, “Books and Printing in Sung China (960–1279)” (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1979). Poon counts forty-five extant Wuzhou imprints, placing it as one of the four prefectures in the second rank of publishing centers in Zhejiang after Hangzhou, the major source of extant Song imprints.
 28. See Nagasawa, p. 45, and Edgren, “Southern Song Printing,” p. 114.
 29. Editorial preface, *Qunshu kaosuo* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992).
 30. Wu of Qingkou was listed as a Wuzhou publisher in an exhibit of Song and Yuan editions, National Palace Museum, December 1995, I have yet to locate publications; for the Jiang house, see Nagasawa, p. 39; *Zhongguo guji shanben shumu*, 2, p. 32b.
 31. Nagasawa, p. 47. Edgren, “Southern Song Printing,” p. 127.
 32. Nagasawa, p. 44.
 33. Abe, *Chūgoku hōshoshi*, p. 519. The first three *juan* are in the National Central Library, Taiwan, collection.
 34. One lost work is of particular note: Shao Hao of Jinhua County published his *Pomen chouchang ji* (twenty-three *juan* with 660 pieces) in about 1190. Shao recalled that after he passed the exams in 1163 and returned to Wuzhou he compiled an anthology of the two Su brothers’ rhyming poems and the poems Su Shi’s six followers composed to harmonize with the two brothers. See *Jinhua jingji zhi* (Mengxi lou, 1925), *juan* 22, p. 13a.
 35. The Song imprint is in the Beijing Library; I have used a Jiajing-period edition in the Harvard-Yenching Library. Four collections are known to have antedated the Su Shi section of this anthology, two collections of Su’s literary work in seventy-five *juan*, one collection of memorials in fifteen *juan*, and Lang Ye’s sixty-*juan* anthology of Su’s prose, the *Jingjin Dongpo wenji shilüe*. The last was one of three collections commissioned in the 1170s.
 36. There is no known Song imprint; the edition, however, was reproduced and is included in the *Siku quanshu*. Lü Zuqian vetted the edition and suggested changes to Chen’s account of the political ends the anthology was meant to serve. For Chen’s postface and Lü’s suggestions, see *Chen Liang ji* (Peking: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), pp. 245–248. Hoyt Cleveland Tillman, *Utilitarian*

- Confucianism: Chen Liang's Challenge to Zhu Xi* (Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1982), pp. 95–96, 146–147, notes Chen's interest in Ouyang and Lü's fear that Chen might think that Ouyang's views were adequate.
37. Lü lists for Chen several false attributions in the Fujian edition; see *Chen Liang ji*, p. 247.
 38. The ditty is recorded by Lu You. The original reads *Su wen shu chi yang rou*, *Su wen sheng chi cai geng*. Cited in the *Siku quanshu* editors' introduction to the *Sumen liu junzi wencui*.
 39. They were included in the seemingly authoritative modern collection of Su's prose, the *Su Shi wenji* edited by Kong Fanli (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986) on the basis of the late Ming edition of the *Prose Anthology of the Three Sus* (*San Su wen cui*); see pp. 52–59.
 40. Compare *Dongpo yizhuan* (SKQS), 7, pp. 19b–21b, with *Sushi wenji*, pp. 52–53. At least one late Ming collection (the so-called *waiji*) includes as a separate essay a passage taken from the commentary; compare *Su Shi wenji*, pp. 192–193, with *Dongpo yizhuan*, 7, pp. 19b–21a.
 41. Compare Su's *Shu zhuan* (SKQS), 7, pp. 20b–21a, with *Su Shi wenji*, p. 168 (*Three Sus*, 17, pp. 2b–3a).
 42. The Harvard-Yenching Library has a 1633 edition with a preface by Qian Cheng. This text was included in the *Siku quanshu*.
 43. Abe, *Chūgoku hōshoshi*, pp. 603–606, demonstrates that this must be at least a Zhejiang edition from 1163–1190; Edgren, “Southern Song Printing,” p. 127, lists it as a Wuzhou edition. As Abe notes, the *Zhongguo banke tulu* surmises that it is a Wuzhou edition because of the similarity of its printing to that of the *Three Sus* printed by Wang of Hucang in Dongyang. The *Siku quanshu* edition goes by the title *Song wenxuan*. The extant copy in the Nanjing Library lacks a publisher's mark. Abe notes a twelfth-century reference to an inscription about Jinhua being included in a “later collection” (*houji*) and shows that the current *quanji* was originally given the title of “first collection” (*qianji*), which was changed to *quanji* on some of the printing blocks.
 44. Hilde De Weerdts has found that technical literary annotation began to become more common in the thirteenth century (“The Composition of Examination Standards: The Expansion of Daoxue in Later Southern Song Dynasty Examination Culture,” Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1998).
 45. *Zhuzi yulei* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), 139, p. 3316.
 46. In *Jinhua fuzhi*, 16, p. 7b, his name is given as Jia Fangzhi. This is the only other early reference of which I am aware. Jia was the great-grandson of the northern statesman Jia Tingzuo (*jinshi* 1120), who resettled his family in Dongyang after the loss of the north.
 47. The earliest known and most extensive biography of Pan, giving his degree date and service, is Wu Shidao, *Jingxianglu*, 13, p. 5a. Wu said Pan's book was still in circulation in the mid-fourteenth century. The Song edition available to us, however, has only 196 *juan* and 1,195 subcategories. The length is something over 780,000 characters.
 48. The Song edition was reprinted in 1988 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju). The book

- itself was published in Fujian. The 1579 edition in one hundred *juan* (included in the *Siku quanshu*) is much longer than the Song edition. It begins with sections on cosmogony, cosmology, astronomy, geography, bureaucracy, and examinations and then goes on to Pan's original work, which it rearranges. It does not change Pan's texts although it adds new subcategories. The long sections on administrative geography and bureaucracy are based on Song-period works. Pan's preface is missing. For a more extensive discussion of Pan's work and context, see Bol, "Intellectual Culture in Wuzhou."
49. Ouyang Xun, *Yiwen leiju* (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji chubans he, 1965), preface.
 50. The Song edition was printed in Zhejiang; see *ibid.*, editorial preface, p. 13.
 51. The current edition, based on a Ming edition, contains Liu Ben's preface from 1134; for the 1147 Dongyang edition, see *Nagasawa*, p. 44.
 52. *Wenxian tongkao jingji kao*, p. 1275.
 53. See Zhou Bida's introduction (*xu*) to the *Diwang jingshi tupu* (SKQS).
 54. Chao Gongwu's comments and Zeng's preface are collected in *Wenxian tongkao jingji kao*, p. 1264.
 55. *Jizuan yuanhai*, 1, pp. 113-119.
 56. *Ibid.*, 150, pp. 2355-2357.
 57. *Ibid.*, 166, pp. 2589-2595.
 58. Some *leishu* did use their material to reach conclusions about what ought to be done differently. For example, Zhang Ruyu, having provided ample discussion of the history of literary composition and literary genres, puts together a chronological series of ever longer quotations that articulate the *guwen* position — for the most part as found in the writings of Su Shi and his circle — that writing should be used for intellectually and morally transformative purposes. See *Qunshu kaosuo*, 22, pp. 4b-14a (pp. 564-583).
 59. Citing Han Yu's "Explanation of Advancing Learning," "those who record affairs must note what are important essentials; those who compose language must seek out the subtleties." Han Yü, *Han Changli ji*, ed. Zhu Xi (rpt. Hong Kong: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1964), 12, pp. 77-78.
 60. *Jizuan yuanhai*, preface, p. 3.
 61. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
 62. This presumably refers to a collection of comments on or from Sun Chong's *Wudai ji*.
 63. For a discussion of that commentary, see Bol, "Su Shih and Culture," in Kidder Smith, Jr., Peter K. Bol, Joseph A. Adler, and Don J. Wyatt, *Sung Dynasty Uses of the I Ching* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), pp. 56-99.
 64. The three passages in *Jingqi* correspond to passages in *Dongpo yizhuan* as follows: 3, pp. 16b-17a and 1, pp. 4a-5a; 3, pp. 22a-22b and 9, pp. 2a-3b; and 3, pp. 23a-24a and 7, pp. 10a-11b.
 65. *Jingqi*, 3, pp. 17a-21b.
 66. *Ibid.*, p. 3a, quoting from the letter to Xie Minshi; cf. *Su Shi wenji*, p. 1418.
 67. What little is known of his career comes from the local gazetteer records of Wuzhou; see, for example, the *Jinhua xianzhi* (1915 ed.), 8, p. 32a.
 68. Ye Shi, *Ye Shi ji* (Peking: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), 25, p. 498.

69. See the discussion in Abe, *Chūgoku hūshoshi*, p. 606, and note 41 above.
70. If “Yu Yuandu” is not Jin Shi, he ought to be a Northern Song figure. However, most of his essays are startling in their failure to make the typical Northern Song connections between the historical issues they address and larger political and intellectual matters and instead express “opinions” that appear limited to more technical scholarly issues vital to Tang Zhongyou’s *Diagrams of the Ancient Rulers’ Ordering of the World* (*Di wang jingshi tu pu*).

GLOSSARY

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|--|------------------------------------|
| Ben chao 本朝 | Fan Zhongyan 范仲演 |
| biji 筆記 | Fu Yin 傅寅 |
| boxue hongci 博學宏詞 | Gangdan Chu Yue 肝膽楚越 |
| Canliaozi 參廖子 | Gaozong 高宗 |
| ce 策 | Ge Hong 葛洪 |
| Cheng Hao 程顥 | Gongyang 公羊 |
| Chen Guan 陳瓘 | Guangyan buchang 光燄不長 |
| Cheng Yi 程頤 | Guliang 穀梁 |
| Chen Liang 陳亮 | guwen 古文 |
| Chen Shidao 陳師道 | Guwen guanjian 古文關鍵 |
| Chen Zhengmin 陳正敏 | Hangzhou 杭州 |
| Chongchuan Yu Sishisanlang zhai
崇川余四十三郎宅 | Han Yu 韓愈 |
| Chongguang Meishan san Su wencui
重廣眉山三蘇文粹 | Haixue 好學 |
| Chu 楚 | Hong Mai 洪邁 |
| Chuxue ji 初學記 | houji 後集 |
| ci 詞 | Huainanzi 淮南子 |
| dao 道 | Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅 |
| daoli 道理 | Hucang Wangzhai guitang 胡倉王宅
桂堂 |
| Daoxue 道學 | ji 記 |
| Diwang jingshi tupu 帝王經世圖譜 | jia 家 |
| Dongyang 東陽 | Jia Fang[zhi] 賈昉[之] |
| Fangxing weiyi 方興未艾 | Jianyang 建陽 |
| Fan Zhong 范鍾 | Jin 金 |
| | jingji 經濟 |

- Jingqi* 精騎
Jinhua 金華
Jinhua Caoshi Zhongyin shuyuan
 金華曹氏中隱書院
Jin Shi 金式
jinshi 進士
Jinsi lu 近思錄
Jizuan yuanghai 記纂淵海
juan 卷
jüfa 句法
Kong Pingzhong 孔平仲
Lanxi 蘭溪
Laozi 老子
leishu 類書
Lei yao 類要
Li Ao 李翱
Li Qingchen 李清臣
Liu Anshi 劉安世
Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元
Lize shuyuan 麗澤書院
Lü Benzhong 呂本中
Lü Donglai 呂東萊
Lü Gongzhu 呂公著
lun 論
lunyi 論議
Lüshi chungiu 呂氏春秋
Lü Zuqian 呂祖謙
ming 銘
Mingdao zazhi 明道雜記
Mo 莫
Ou gong benmo 歐公本末
Ouyang wencui 歐陽文粹
Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修
Ouyang Xun 歐陽洵
Pan Jingxian 潘景憲
Pan Zimu 潘自牧
ping shi 評史
ping wen 評文
qianji 前集
Qiao Xingjian 喬行簡
Qingkou Wuzhai guitang 青口吳宅
 桂堂
Qin Guan 秦觀
Qin Gui 秦檜
Qingwei Chenzhai 清渭陳宅
quanheng 全衡
quanji 全集
Qunshu kaosuo 群書考索
Shao Hao 邵浩
Shao Yong 邵雍
Sheng Song wenxuan quanji 聖宋文選
 全集
Shenzong 神宗
shi (affairs) 事
shi (poetry) 詩
shihua 詩話
Shi Jie 石介
Siku quanshu 四庫全書
Sima Guang 司馬光
Song wenjian 宋文鑒
Su Che 蘇轍
Su Chi 蘇遲
Su Dongpo 蘇東坡
Su E 蘇諤
Su Jian 蘇簡
Sumen liu junzi wencui 蘇門六君子文粹
Sun Fu 孫復
Su Shi 蘇軾

- Su wen shu chi yang rou, Su wen sheng
 chi cai geng 蘇文熟喫羊肉蘇文生
 喫菜羹
 Suxi Jiangzhai Chongzhizhai 酥溪蔣
 宅崇知堂
 Su Xun 蘇洵
 Su Zhou 蘇籀
 Tai 台
 Taizhou 台州
 Tang Geng 唐庚
 Tang Wencui 唐文粹
 Tang Zhongyou 唐中友
 Tongmeng xun 童蒙訓
 waiji 外集
 Wang Anshi 王安石
 Wang Chun 汪淳
 Wang Huai 王淮
 Wang Tong 王通
 Wang Yucheng 王禹偁
 wen 文
 Wen 溫
 Wenxuan 文選
 Wenzhang zhengzong 文章正宗
 Wu 吳
 Wudai ji zan 五代紀贊
 Wuzhou 婺州
 Wuzhou Shimexiang Tang Fengyi
 zhai 婺州市門巷唐奉議宅
 Wuzhou Yongkang Qingwei Chenzhai
 婺州永康清渭陳宅
 Xiaozong 孝宗
 xingxing 性行
 xu 序
 xuewen zongxu 學問總敘
 Xu Jian 徐堅
 Xu Shishuo 續世說
 yan 言
 Yang 楊
 Yang Wanli 樣萬里
 Yan Shu 晏殊
 Yao Xuan 姚鉉
 Ye Heng 葉衡
 Ye Shi 葉適
 yi 意
 yili 義理
 yilun 議論
 Yiwen leiju 藝文類聚
 Yiwu 義烏
 Yongkang 永康
 Yu 余
 Yuan Xingzong 員興宗
 Yuanyou 元祐
 Yu Cheng 俞成
 Yu Yuandu 余元度
 zan 贊
 Zeng Gong 曾鞏
 Zhang Lei 張耒
 Zhang Ruyou 張如愚
 Zhang Shi 張栻
 Zhen Dexiu 真德秀
 Zhou Bida 周必大
 Zhuangzi 莊子
 Zhuru mingdao ji 諸儒鳴道集
 zhushu 著書
 Zhu Xi 朱熹
 zishuo 字說
 Zuo 左

The Poetry of Su Shi

Transmission of Collections from the Song

KATHLEEN TOMLONOVIC

Compositions in prose, poetry, and the lyric (*ci*) by Su Shi (1037–1101) were among the most voluminous and influential of any Northern Song scholar official. His position as a dominant figure in political and literary circles, together with his role as an arbiter of cultural values, determined that his writings would gain attention during his lifetime.¹ The effort to edit and circulate his compositions involved not only Su Shi himself, but others who gathered his works and made copies of them. Various manuscripts and engraved editions of his compositions circulated prior to his death.² Su Shi was not, however, solely responsible for the final form of his literary collection; exile and death came before the work had been completed. The collections were prepared for transmission by his brother Su Zhe (1039–1112), who also recorded the titles in the funerary inscription he had composed for Su Shi.³ Compilers of the *Song History* included these titles in Su Shi's biography; they also listed other extant editions of his writings in the bibliographical section of this official compilation.⁴ From these early records of Su Shi's writings to recent accounts of his works, the enumeration of editions and descriptions of their contents reveal a history of transmission that, despite definite losses, has remained relatively stable.⁵

Clearly, the history of the composition, editing, printing, and circu-

lation of the selected and complete works of Su Shi (also known as Su Dongpo) is an important object of study in its own right.⁶ It reveals the conserving strength of a tradition that has resulted in a high degree of stability in Su's collected works for almost a millennium. The primary tendency in China has been to preserve texts and to transmit them. A claim could be made that one use of the xylographic technology prevalent in the Song was to discourage textual innovation.⁷ Furthermore, imperially sponsored projects of great magnitude ensured the preservation of earlier texts; private bibliophiles treasured and protected their libraries.⁸ Nonetheless, continuity was paired with change. As this selective study of changing configurations reveals, alterations and emphases in the presentation of Su Shi's poetry were often the result of editorial choices. Publishers and editors were influenced by the prevailing interests of the literate classes and by their own preferences. This review highlights editorial changes that shaped the forms of Su Shi's published works as it seeks to determine their significance for later readers and editors.⁹ In simple terms, we may ask several questions. What works did Su Shi create during his lifetime, and what did he expect to transmit? In what forms were his works transmitted during the Song era? How did editors of later times reshape the early forms, and of what significance were the changes? Did it matter that small, discrete collections of Su Shi's writings gradually disappeared and that the context of their composition was preserved only through annotation?

Analysis of the shifting configurations does not necessarily involve a pejorative evaluation, but neither does it preclude one. Essentially, this study seeks to document the process. The conception of the text as a natural shape shifter, an idea that has gained currency among some Western textual critics, is suited for analysis of Chinese textual transmission. It accords with the Chinese practice whereby readers, editors, collators, and printers all contribute to the process. Variations in the transmitted texts are thus considered a natural consequence of multiple contributors.¹⁰ Compilers and editors of Su Shi's works, even as they sought his authorial intention, could supplement meanings as they edited and arranged the text.¹¹ As the shape of the collected work shifted, specific features were emphasized.

Transmission of Su Shi's works, and those of his contemporaries, was accomplished through imperial patronage, private endeavor, and commercial ventures. In general, Chinese editors sought completeness, contending that their compilations were more inclusive than previous releases. Some editors emphasized correctness, insisting that they had attained accuracy not present in earlier editions. A tendency toward comprehensiveness usually led to smaller, discrete collections of Su Shi's poems being incorporated into larger editions.¹² Finally, some publishers considered commercial possibilities as they sought to satisfy their readers.¹³ In the process, early editions of Su Shi's works were at times discarded, modified, or lost. The most important development proved to be the increasing emphasis on comprehensive texts arranged chronologically, an arrangement that gradually superseded all other editorial efforts. Although these chronological formats provided clarity and convenience, they tended to obscure certain literary features and contexts of composition. Editions arranged in other formats, though at times disparaged, were significant indicators of the way Su Shi's works were once read. The small, discrete collections, though eventually subsumed into larger collections, were sources revealing features of Su Shi's poetic practice.

In this study of the creation and transmission of Su Shi's texts, two aspects converge in a limited, but illuminating set of materials. The first element is Su Shi's personal involvement in the formation of individual collections of his poetry. The second factor is his practice of composing to harmonize the rhymes of another person or to respond to the subject of another person's poem. Among the numerous discrete collections that existed during his lifetime, three have a similar feature. The *Traveling South Collection* (Nanxing ji), the *Collection of Harmonizing Poems from Qi and Liang* (Qi-Liang changhe shiji), and the *Collection Matching Tao's Rhymes* (He Tao shiji) all once circulated as anthologies containing Su Shi's own poetry and poems of others in an exchange of matched rhymes.¹⁴ As they were transmitted, Su Shi's matching poems became incorporated into larger, more comprehensive collections, and the poems that harmonized with his rhymes were eliminated. As this poetry was removed from the small collections for placement in chronologically arranged editions, Su Shi's efforts to create distinctive forms of poetry

collections, which incorporated poetry he had matched with others, were thereby slighted. Reconstruction or retention of the three collections is possible, even desirable, as a means of documenting features of Su Shi's approach to literary composition. At the very least, an awareness of how the discrete editions were initially presented contributes to our understanding of certain Song-era literary practices and of Su Shi's literary preferences. Furthermore, analysis of the shape-shifting editions calls attention to the increasing power of editors to modify texts.

EARLY TEXTS IN CIRCULATION

New opportunities for printing during the Song period encouraged scholar-officials to engage in the preparation of their own manuscripts. Access to the writings of previous authors, either in manuscript or woodblock (xylograph) form, also contributed to the development of the new print culture.¹⁵ Some officials, including Su Shi, developed the habit of writing and compiling, gathering their compositions from each place of jurisdiction or each capacity served.¹⁶ Several of the twenty-four titles containing Su Shi's works that were listed as sources for the preparation of the *Outer Collection of Dongpo* (*Dongpo waiji*) had circulated during his lifetime.¹⁷ The existence of the varied types of texts indicates that a diverse array of material had been disseminated. Some collections were anthologies that he composed with family members, which circulated in manuscript form. Not just the works Su Shi edited himself, but his official documents were preserved. Several collections had been published by others and circulated throughout the realm. Su Shi was not only a prolific writer, but a spontaneous and generous dispenser of compositions that eventually circulated beyond the borders of Song China.

The degree of Su Shi's involvement in the preparation and distribution of the discrete collections is difficult to determine. Apparently, he sanctioned or was aware of several efforts to compile his works.¹⁸ He knew that genuine materials were in circulation, but he could not control the uses made of them. He was aware that forgeries and poems containing errors had been distributed, but he could not proscribe them. Su's concerns were clarified in a letter to Liu Mian (ca. 1100?) composed after he had received a collection of his own writings compiled by Liu.

LETTER IN RESPONSE TO LIU MIAN

I have received your letter and the collection of twenty *juan* of my writings that you have edited. Throughout my life I have been known because of my writings and speech. Also because of these I have suffered at the hands of others. It would have been preferable to enjoy the peace of not having written than to have experienced the changing fortunes of loss and gain. Because of this, I have often desired to burn my brush, discard my inkstone, and become a mute. However, I had become accustomed to composing and was never able to give up writing. Nonetheless, I assumed that all my works, as they fell from my hand, were scattered on the wind like vanishing birds. I did not know that you were quietly following behind me, picking up the writings, editing them, and omitting nothing. When I saw the collection, I was embarrassed, thinking this to be an admonition for those who are too loquacious. There are many people who have collected my works, but they have combined the spurious with the genuine. Because of the many emendations of the uninformed, I have felt uneasy. . . . However, in these twenty *juan* of my writings, there is not a single forgery, and there are few errors.¹⁹

Even though Su Shi could legitimately speak of inauthentic attributions in the collections of his writings, he found Liu Mian's efforts acceptable. The pieces gathered by Liu were probably the basis for the *Latter Collection* (Houji), which quite likely was published during Su Shi's lifetime and certainly was printed after his death.²⁰ Although Liu's involvement was a positive contribution, the participation of others in the collection of Su Shi's writings at times brought negative results.

The disaster of the noted literary trial of 1079, which caused Su Shi's imprisonment, demotion, and exile to Huangzhou, resulted from interpretations of his collected poems. Documents in the case, now known as The Crow Terrace Poetry Case of Dongpo (Dongpo Wutai shian), included poems and correspondence Su Shi had exchanged with his brother and numerous friends throughout the realm. The bureau

responsible for the matter also published poems Su Shi had composed during his official service in Hangzhou, Mizhou, Xuzhou, and Huzhou. There was no patent falsification of the poetry; even Su Shi's commentary formed part of the deposition. Because of the expressions critical of government policy, many friends and acquaintances who had exchanged poems with Su Shi were also punished with fines or demotions.²¹ Particularly incriminating was a collection printed by Su Shi's friend Wang Shen (ca. 1048–ca. 1103), which purported to contain subversive and satirical verse, and which had circulated as a commercial venture.²² Titled the *Collection from Qiantang* (Qiantang ji), it contained primarily poetry composed by Su Shi during his service in Hangzhou, a city located at the mouth of the Qiantang River.

Not only this work, but several other small collections were designated by names of places in Su's jurisdiction. The *Transcendence Collection* (Chaoran ji) was named because of the Transcendence Terrace that Su rebuilt in Mizhou. The *Yellow Tower Collection* (Huanglou ji) was associated with the wall and tower he constructed in Xuzhou after he had directed flood control on the Yellow River. Chen Shizhong (ca. 1085), who had once served as Su's assistant, prepared both collections.²³ After receiving the manuscripts, Su wrote the following passage:

I have read the two collections you have edited, the *Chaoran ji* and the *Huanglou ji*, which are an especially fine gift. I have never edited my writings. Although I once had a few items, my wife and family burned all at the time of my arrest. I did not know that there were still some with you. Perhaps one should excise the improper compositions and retain these works."²⁴

Obviously, Su Shi recognized the risks involved in distributing poetry that contained implicit criticism of the throne.

Despite his concern that his writings would be used to incriminate him, Su Shi knew of the circulation of his materials. A widely distributed collection, the *Meishan Collection* (Meishan ji), was read not only by Wang Anshi (1021–1086) but by the distant Khitan.²⁵ During a diplomatic mission to the North, Su Zhe discovered that the Khitan were familiar with the compositions of the Three Su of Meishan and that they had copies of this anthology.²⁶ The *Small Collection of the Elder Brother Su*

(Da Su xiaoji) had also been distributed among the northern peoples. The *Snow Hall Collection* (Xuetang ji) and the *Small Collection from Huanggang* (Huanggang xiao ji) both contained prose and poetry Su Shi composed during exile in Huangzhou during the years 1080–1084.²⁷ Although it is impossible to determine the number of copies that circulated, it is obvious that there was variety in the types of collections. Recognition accorded Su Shi during his lifetime was based in part on the extent to which others circulated his works.

Only one collection of poetry was, without doubt, composed, edited, and prepared for circulation by Su Shi himself. It was the exceptional *Collection Matching Tao's Rhymes*, which echoed the poetry of Tao Yuanming (365–427) and which Su Shi brought back with him from exile in Hainan in the year 1100.²⁸ This work, together with his commentaries on the *Book of Changes*, the *Book of Documents*, and the *Analects*, constituted the fruit of his literary labors in exile.²⁹ Although Su Shi treasured all three of these works and hoped to bequeath them to future generations, his commentary on the *Analects* was not transmitted beyond the Song.

Texts and poems that lacked moorings in designated collections were always in danger of being lost. Because Su Shi generously and spontaneously circulated his poems, it is possible that many circulated individually. He composed to echo the rhymes of his contemporaries, and as his circle of colleagues and friends widened during years of service, harmonizing poetry came to reflect his political and aesthetic preferences. More than one-fourth of his corpus of approximately twenty-eight hundred poems match the rhymes of other poets.³⁰ The number of poems composed in response to his verse would be difficult to calculate. Although he did not collect the matching poems himself, they were gathered in a Song-period collection of more than six hundred poems that captured features of a prevailing literary practice.³¹ Song literati could not, however, assume that their poems would be collected by others.

Aware of this situation, literati often added new works to old as they prepared their manuscripts. Yet when discrete collections were incorporated into more comprehensive ones, the context and purpose of the originals were often disregarded. Eventually, the connections were no longer apparent. Companion pieces that formed an original exchange

of rhymes, although initially an important facet of the separate collections, were no longer included or understood. The natural process of transmission required a stabilizing force that could preserve original texts. Many works distributed during Su Shi's lifetime continued to circulate for some time, but new editions of his poetry were gradually shaped by the editorial desire for comprehensive fullness and chronological clarity.

TRANSMISSION OF TEXTS IN VARIOUS FORMS: GENERIC SUBCATEGORIES, TOPICS, AND CHRONOLOGY

After Su Shi died, his works were widely and frequently distributed. Initially, the format of the collections was diverse; the three primary modes included arrangements according to literary subgenres, organization on the basis of thematic categories, and a chronological ordering of the poetry. It is likely that the general collections of Su Shi's works described by Su Zhe in the funerary inscription were already ordered chronologically within the various subgenres included in each collection. Edited as distinct units, Su Shi's works were arranged in six collections that included the following: the *East Slope Collection* (Dongpo ji) in forty *juan*; *The Latter Collection* (Houji) in twenty *juan*; *Memorials* (Zouyi) in fifteen *juan*; *Academy Drafts* (Neizhi ji) in ten *juan*; *Government Policy Drafts* (Waizhi ji) in three *juan*, and a collection of poems matching Tao Yuanming's verses in four *juan*. These works are generally referred to as the *Six Collections* (Liuji); they contained private and public compositions in both prose and poetry.³² A seventh discrete work, the *Collection of Examination Essays* (Yingzhao ji), in one *juan*, was later included in some editions to form the *Seven Collections* (Dongpo qiji). These *fenji* collections, formed by accumulating discrete collections, came to be the preferred form for the comprehensive editions that were distinct collections published at the same time and place.³³

It has been customary to distinguish the complete works of traditional Chinese literary figures as editions organized according to a principle of *fenji* or *fenlei*. The *fenji* editions gathered discrete collections together and published them individually or as individual items in one composite collection. The *fenlei* collections arranged works according to

categories, usually according to literary subgenres or traditional themes and topoi. During the Northern and Southern Song, there were at least nine editions printed according to this *fenlei hekan* format.³⁴ In Su Shi's case, as with many other literati, other distinctions regarding types of editions apply. In addition to the complete works, individual collections or *bieji*, such as the *Dongpo ji*, contained only the compositions of a single author limited to a particular period of composition. The anthology or *zongji*, such as the *Prose of the Three Su* (*San Su wenji*), included more than one author, in this case Su Xun (1009–1066), Su Shi, and Su Zhe.³⁵ Selections, *xuanji*, such as the *Collection of Works from the Return to the North* (*Beigui ji*) included prose and poetry composed as Su Shi returned from his exile in Lingnan. *The Selections from Writings on Chan Buddhism* (*Chanxi ji*) was also compiled as selected works or *xuanji*.³⁶ Collections of Su Shi's calligraphy, colophons, and jottings have all been circulated as discrete editions of a particular genre or selections from individual genres.³⁷ The fifteen items by Su Shi that are listed in the bibliography, "Yiwenzhi," of the *Song History* compiled during the Yuan indicate that various individual collections were still circulating independently at that time.³⁸ During the Ming, anthologies or selected works of Su Shi became numerous, and works of commentary also increased.³⁹

The transmission of Su Shi's works was complicated by both his personal literary habits and political influences. Accurate attributions for some of Su Shi's writings had been hampered by his habit of writing spontaneously and casually, scribbling on fans or walls, and leaving poems with friends.⁴⁰ Eventually, it would become necessary to locate authentic compositions and incorporate them into an existing collection or to edit a new one. A more critical issue affecting transmission, however, was the politically motivated imperial command in 1103 to destroy the printing blocks of Su Shi's *Dongpo ji* and *Houji*. In the same year a proscription was directed against the *Collected Works of the Three Su* (*San Su ji*) and the works of the Yuanyou-era (1086–1093) partisans with whom Su Shi was associated.⁴¹ Despite the prohibition against publication, some of Su Shi's works continued to circulate. According to one observer, "The more they were proscribed, the more popular they became."⁴² Social upheavals and the imperial move to the South after the fall of the dynasty in 1126 were likely to have affected the number of his

works transmitted; many books were lost or destroyed in the transition. Furthermore, the deterioration of paper and the damage caused by vermin and natural elements could also have reduced the number of manuscripts.⁴³ After 1127, when the proscription against his writings was rescinded, the Xiaozong emperor (r. 1163–1189) conferred honors on Su Shi and wrote a preface for a new collection of Su Shi's prose. Editions of Su Shi's works again became readily available; as literary and commercial interest increased, publications followed. One of Su Shi's grandsons is credited with the production of a new edition of Su Shi's collected works; the publication heightened the renewed interest in Su Shi and accorded him greater esteem.⁴⁴

In the variety of editions available by the end of the Southern Song, differing perspectives on literary achievement and reader interest are evident. Representative editions show that publishers and editors shaped the collections according to prevailing practice but were also innovative. Su Shi's complete works continued to be published, as did collections devoted exclusively to his poetry or prose works. Lyrics (*ci*) were usually transmitted as separate collections. Some of the individual poetry collections arranged poems according to the time of composition, others on the basis of topics or subjects. Generally, poetry was a portion of a larger collection, and it was arranged on the basis of genre subcategories.

Editions that gathered separate sections (*ji*) to form a collection followed the earliest format for Su Shi's works. Of course, the *Dongpo liuji* (Six Collections of Dongpo) was recognized as the authentic form prepared and presented by the Su family. The *Seven Collections of Dongpo* added the *Yingzhao ji*, a collection of Su Shi's fifty examination essays. However, because numerous poems that had not been included in the *Former Collection* or the *Latter Collection* of this set of works were still in circulation, it was inevitable that an editor would seek completeness by attempting to gather these other authentic compositions to form a new collection. Eventually, there would be a *Continued Collection of Dongpo's Works* (Dongpo xuji) that placed the supplemental prose and poetry in a discrete collection. Although it was not until the Ming that a *Continued Collection* was published to form the seventh work of the newly designated *Seven Collections of Dongpo's Works*, there had been efforts during

the Song period to gather materials not included in the two earlier sets.⁴⁵ The format of the separate collections organized within each according to literary subgenres is retained in the seven sections that form the edition used as the text for the *Sibu beiyao* collectanea.

The literary subgenre classification was a common principle used in the formation of Song-period editions of complete works.⁴⁶ Poets themselves seemed to prefer this arrangement and often edited their collections accordingly. The complete works of many Song figures begin with a section on poetry and continue with prose works classified according to genres such as rhapsodies, discourses, prefaces, epitaphs, letters, and memorials. Usually, the poetry is classified as old style-poems (*gushi*), regulated verse (*lüshi*), and quatrains (*jueju*). Divisions according to pentasyllabic and heptasyllabic line are also common.⁴⁷

One of the first efforts to bring together all of Su Shi's writings into a single edition resulted in the *Outer Collection of Dongpo* (*Dongpo waiji*), which was probably first edited during the Southern Song.⁴⁸ Despite the contention of editors of the *Siku quanshu* that the Ming edition was a forgery, not based on an earlier work, the edition is notable for its extensive collation of materials and the clarity of its organization.⁴⁹ Many of the new materials found in the Ming *Continued Collection* (*Xuji*) had already been incorporated into this edition. Although the *Outer Collection* is organized according to genre, the section on poetry presents the compositions in chronological order.

To read Su Shi's poetry in a collection that distinguishes it from his prose compositions is to follow an established tradition. Differentiation among rhapsodies (*fu*), poetry (*shi*), and the lyric (*ci*) became common after the Tang; finer distinctions regarding style and form within the *shi* poetry were also made.⁵⁰ Obviously, those who studied and imitated the forms of literary composition would find this arrangement of Su Shi's poetry appropriate and valuable. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, urban centers arose south of the Yangtze, particularly in Hangzhou, where a growing number of the urban elite composed and appreciated poetry. From collections organized according to genre, they learned about poetic form; from the topical arrangements, they were introduced to popular subjects and themes that could be compared with antecedents.⁵¹

The most important of the topically arranged editions, thematically arranged as a *fenlei* work, has been attributed to Wang Shipeng (1112–1171), a famous bibliophile and literary figure of the Southern Song.⁵² This *Collection of Dongpo's Thematically Arranged Poetry with Commentary by One Hundred Experts* (Baijia zhu fenlei Dongpo xiansheng shi ji) was traditionally the most popular form to circulate throughout China and the rest of Asia.⁵³ It classified Su Shi's poems into categories such as travel, landscape, temples, flora and fauna, weather, matching poems, and parting poems. This arrangement owes much to the tradition of the literary encyclopedia and, moreover, to the Chinese literary penchant for categorizing. It corresponds nicely with the twelfth- and thirteenth-century reprints of the popular Tang texts, the *Chuxue ji* and the *Yiwen leiju*, both of which emphasized relationships among literary topics and themes.

During the Ming, when Mao Wei (early 17th century) directed the preparation of a new edition of the topically arranged text, he collapsed the earlier seventy-eight categories into thirty. As a consequence, Wang Shipeng's arrangement of the poems was changed; furthermore, some original commentary was excised and new comments added.⁵⁴ Qing scholars, particularly after their interest in a chronologically arranged Song edition of poems had been renewed, often discredited the topical classification schemes as arbitrary and illogical. Editors of the *Siku quanshu* bibliography recorded negative remarks regarding both the categorization scheme and specific lines of commentary.⁵⁵ Nonetheless, the value of the various commentaries from Song-era writers contained in the Wang Shipeng edition was often confirmed.⁵⁶ The format invited appreciation. Furthermore, it indicated those topics that were of interest to Su Shi.

Of the chronologically ordered editions, *Annotations of Su's Poems by Shi [and Gu]* (Shi [Gu] zhu Su shi) emerged as one of the most influential collections of Su Shi's poetry. Quite likely the earliest edition of Su Shi's poetry thus arranged, it was edited by Shi Yuanzhi (*jinshi* 1154) and his contemporary, the lay scholar Gu Xi (ca. 1160). The first edition, published in 1213, contained a preface by Lu You (1125–1210).⁵⁷ In part because of Lu You's desire to see additional information regarding the context for composition of the poems, Shi Su (ca. 1190), son of the original editor, prepared a new edition that added a *nianpu* chroni-

cling Su Shi's literary and political activity. By listing the titles of Su Shi's compositions in the *nianpu*, Shi Su created one of the earliest and most authentic literary chronologies. The relative closeness in time of the commentators to Su Shi heightens the value of their contributions. Although the Shi-Gu edition did not circulate widely during the Yuan and Ming, it became influential during the Qing. The discovery of a fragmentary text led to the compilation of an edition sponsored by Song Luo (1634–1714).⁵⁸ A more faithful and complete version of the original edition is now available. Making use of a privately held rare edition and fragments of the Shi-Gu text recently rediscovered in Japan, the original edition has been restored, in its essentials. It forms a treasured reconstruction. Poems placed at the beginning of the edition were those Su Shi composed during his official appointment to Fengxiang in 1061. It includes also the poems matching Tao Yuanming's rhymes in *juan* 41 and 42, as well as Shi Su's *nianpu*.

As the attention paid to the Shi-Gu edition of Su Shi's poetry shows, the Qing era brought unprecedented interest in the collation of texts and a renewed interest in chronology. A spirit of rational inquiry influenced textual criticism. Projects sponsored by the great undertaking to create the "Complete Library in Four Branches of Literature" (*Siku quanshu*) required the dedication of scholars such as Ji Yun (1724–1805), who assumed a major role in directing the work and also wrote a commentary for Su Shi's poems.⁵⁹ Qing editions of Su Shi's poetry were of particular importance and influence. In one of the first attempts to edit a comprehensive, chronologically ordered collection, Zha Shenxing (1650–1728) prepared the *Supplemental Commentary to Su's Poetry* (*Su shi buzhu*), which added to the Shi-Gu chronologically arranged poems others attributed to Su Shi and also provided extensive commentary on geographical and historical matters. Furthermore, although it should not be expected that an editor would include the literary works of others, Zha attached to Su Shi's poems any matching poem he was able to locate.⁶⁰ Based, in part, on Zha's work, Feng Yingliu's (1740–1800) collation, *Combined Commentary on the Poetry of the Literary Duke Su* (*Su Wenzhonggong shi hezhu*), placed all the poems in historical sequence and made ample use of the content and commentary found in five previous editions. His own commentary added analysis of Su Shi's literary allusions.⁶¹

Wang Wen'gao (b. 1764), in his *Collection of the Chronologically*

Arranged Poetry of the Literary Duke Su (Su Wenzhonggong shi bianzhu jicheng), contributed a new edition prefaced by a *zongan* that supplied textual evidence for the biographical background of many of the poems.⁶² Also printed within the text of the poetry were critical notes and commentary, particularly those of the critic and bibliophile Ji Yun.⁶³ Although these additional materials attached to the poems clarified their contexts of composition, the extensive interlinear commentary occasionally obscured the meaning.

Whereas the Zha, Feng, and Wang editions were limited to poetry, the Kangxi edition of the *Seven Collections* (Dongpo qiji) included both prose and poetry. Instead of following the format of seven discrete collections in which the *Former Collection*, *Latter Collection*, and *Continued Collection* each had sections for different genres of prose and poetry, the new edition collapsed the separate *ji* or collections. The poetry was then divided into generic types; Su Shi's *fu*, old-style verse, regulated verse, and quatrains were gathered into generic sections, regardless of where and when they had been written.⁶⁴

Renewed interest in Su Shi during the last half of the twentieth century has resulted in a flurry of publishing activity, with reissue of the author's prose, poetry, and *ci*. The Zhonghua publishing house in Beijing, under the direction of Kong Fanli, and with the excellent evaluation of sources by Liu Shangrong, completed an eight-volume, punctuated edition of Su Shi's poetry in 1982 and has reissued revised versions.⁶⁵ The primary source for the edition was Wang Wen'gao's chronologically arranged version.⁶⁶ In a related project, Japanese scholars Ogawa Tamaki and Yamamoto Kazuyoshi are translating the chronologically arranged poetry of Su Shi.⁶⁷ A prose collection, *Collected Prose of Su Shi* (Su Shi wenji), also edited by Kong Fanli and published in 1986 as a companion work, was based primarily on the Ming editor Mao Wei's *Complete Works of the Literary Duke Su* (Su Wenzhonggong quanji).⁶⁸ It is arranged by genre, chronologically within genre. It opens with Su Shi's prose-poems, the *fu*. Because Chinese *ci* collections have usually circulated as distinct works, it is appropriate that Su Shi's lyrics have been reissued recently as a separate collection.⁶⁹ It should be noted, however, that editions such as the *Dongpo Outer Collection* (Dongpo waiji) did include Su Shi's *ci* poetry.

The gains in completeness effected by the new collections should be considered in relation to the loss of context that was once obvious in some of the smaller, discrete collections. Although the larger, more comprehensive collections provided a wholeness and a generalized context, they sacrificed the specificity of the discrete collections, notably the *Traveling South Collection*, the *Collection of Harmonizing Poems from Qi and Liang*, and the *Collection Matching Tao's Rhymes*, that circulated during Su Shi's lifetime.

SU SHI'S HARMONIZING POEMS: LITERARY PRACTICE OF NORTHERN SONG POETS

Prior to a brief analysis of three harmonizing poetry collections, it is instructive to note that the poems they contain, and much of Su Shi's other poetry, typify one of the most obvious contrasts between Tang and Song poets. There was a dramatic increase in matching poems during the Song. Although Su Shi's poetry is unique in its specific set of personages whose poems are matched, it is typical with respect to the social context of numerous compositions. More than a fourth of his poems match the rhymes of a relative, colleague, monk, or friend; many others were composed with the expectation of an echoing poem.

Although the practice of responding to the poem of another with a poem of one's own is an ancient tradition in China, social practices of response, as well as the formal features of the poems, changed over time. Imitation of the verse of prior poets was common during the second and third centuries when series and sets of poems imitating the ancients were produced. A later practitioner possessed the skill to imitate a poem by Tao Yuanming to which the unsuspecting Su Shi composed a matching poem.⁷⁰ In literary salons, particularly during the fourth century, courtiers responded to the commands of a ruler to compose. Vying with each other, they displayed their virtuosity by matching verses, linking sequences, and extemporizing on lines and themes from earlier compositions. Gatherings of cultured men often included entertainment that required responses to the rhymes of others; Song literati continued the practice, as exemplified in their witty, imaginative, and clever exchanges. As inheritors of a tradition, they employed rhyming techniques

developed during the Tang.⁷¹ Formal terminology from the earlier era began to find its way into the titles of Song poems.⁷² Su Shi's poem titles included the terms to harmonize (*he*) or to repeat the rhyme (*ciyun*). For some rhyme patterns the same rhyme word was required, but the ordering was flexible; Su composed using a variety of patterns.⁷³

According to Shao Hao (ca. 1131), the practice of harmonizing rhymes flourished during the Yuanyou period and was most evident among Su Shi and his associates.⁷⁴ The popularity of the practice can be attributed, in part, to increases in the number of men educated for service.⁷⁵ Thousands of candidates sat for the *jinshi* exam during the Northern Song; many were required to compose a regulated verse. Members of the educated elite often confirmed their status by circulating their own literary works and by responding to the compositions of others. Advances in printing and distribution of materials added convenience, if not excellence, to the practice.⁷⁶ Printing had also made rhyme books more universally available; officially published rhyme books were circulated to clarify the acceptable rhymes.⁷⁷ Literary practices of the Northern Song literati were influenced by Su Shi's attitudes and activity; at the same time, Su Shi was affected by the experimental practices and theories of his associates. Features of imitation, borrowing, contradiction, and transformation were common in numerous works of Song literati.⁷⁸ Advocating study of the ancients and their language, Su also insisted on spontaneity in the presentation of one's poetry. These seemingly contradictory views were held in creative tension. Because Su Shi used the practices specifically in his matching collections, these works contribute to an explication of his literary preferences.

TRANSMISSION OF THE *TRAVELING SOUTH COLLECTION* (NANXING JI)

Of the three collections that included Su Shi's matching poems, the *Traveling South Collection* contains his earliest extant compositions.⁷⁹ The occasion for the anthology was the river journey and overland trip leading from Meishan to Kaifeng that took the entire Su family back to the capital following mourning observances for the mother of Su Shi and Su Zhe. Beginning in the tenth month of 1059 and lasting approximately five months, the journey provided the leisure and inspiration for com-

positions that described the spectacular scenery and historic sites along the way.

Bibliographic information on the text indicates that the Su family composed the work and that it circulated during the Northern Song. It is quite likely that Su Xun intended to present the collection to patrons and others who had been impressed by the outstanding performance of Su Shi and Su Zhe, both of whom had passed the *jinshi* examination in the capital in 1057.⁸⁰ Originally, the work contained two sections. Su Shi's prose work "Preface to the Traveling South Former Collection" (Nanxing qianji xu) makes it clear that one hundred works were composed during the river journey.⁸¹ Later references to Su Zhe's "Postface to the Traveling South Latter Collection" (Nanxing houji yin) suggest that the postface was composed after the completion of works written during the overland journey.⁸² The bibliography of the *Song History* includes one entry for a *Nanzheng ji*, which scholars agree refers to this collection.⁸³ The most significant indicator that these poems once circulated as a separate collection is their absence both from the edition compiled by Shi Yuanzhi and from that attributed to Wang Shipeng, both of the Southern Song.

Although a discrete collection is no longer extant, the poems assumed to be part of the original collection were identified by Qing scholars who collated texts for the issue of new editions of Su Shi's poetry.⁸⁴ Many of these poems, as a matter of course, had been gathered in the *Continued Collection* (Xuji) compiled in the Ming. They formed a separate section in the *Outer Collection* (Waiji). The idea of attempting to restore the original collections seems not to have been seriously entertained until the recent discovery of a fragment of Su Xun's collected works contributed additional material that could be used for reconstruction of the original text.⁸⁵ During the past decade, Zeng Zaozhuang has analyzed the fragment as well as poem titles, prefaces, and subjects in the individual collections of Su Xun, Su Shi, and Su Zhe. Through his identification of related poems, ninety-four of the one hundred works in the *Traveling South Former Collection*, and fifty-seven of the seventy-three works of the *Traveling South Latter Collection* have been restored.⁸⁶

Internal evidence indicates that some poems were composed at a common place and time. Several are matching poems in the formal sense

of following form and rhyme; many are matched by subject, context, and title. Su Shi's works are the most numerous, and almost all titles in the separate collections of his father and brother are found in his collection as well. It is not known whether the original collection was organized according to chronology or form, nor is it known if the order of the poems was determined by the poet's age or by a pattern of initiation and response. The reconstructed work by Zeng has been edited according to a chronological and geographical sequence with titles of the poems corresponding with place names of historic and scenic sites along the route.⁸⁷ The first portion of the journey led from Meishan to Jingzhou. Moving south along the Yangtze to Rongzhou where the river turns eastward, from there through the Three Gorges, the poets vividly captured river scenes, nostalgically recalled historic events, and sentimentally commented on appealing or unusual folkways. From Jingzhou they moved resolutely northward, traveling overland on the way to Kaifeng. Although not a formal travel diary, the composite work included much objective description of the Yangtze in the poems and prefaces. This collection predated the two great travel diaries of the Southern Song: Lu You's *Diary of a Journey to Sichuan* (Ru Shu ji), a record of a journey up the Yangtze to Shu, and Fan Chengda's (1126–1193) *Records of the River Journey to Wu* (Wu chuan lu), an account of his down-river journey from Shu to Wu.⁸⁸ In the Su family collection, individual poems capture the spirit of places and events while general themes bind the collection as a whole. Su Shi's preface clarifies a theory and explicates the family literary practice.

PREFACE TO THE TRAVELING SOUTH COLLECTION

As for the ancients who composed literature, their skill was not in their ability to compose, but rather in their inevitable following of the impulse to write. Because the mountains and streams have clouds and mists, the plants and trees have blossoms and fruit which when filled with their essence are seen in their manifestations; even if they wished not to have these qualities would it be possible? From the time I heard my father discuss

writing, I was of the view that the ancient sages composed because they were impelled to do so. In the past my brother and I composed much literature, but never once did we dare to write with the specific intention of composing in mind. During the year of *jihai* (1059) we accompanied our father on a journey in the Chu area. Although we had leisure time on the boat, playing chess and drinking wine were not something the women could enjoy. The beauty of the mountains and rivers, the rusticity of the local customs, the historical traces of the sages and worthies and whatever we saw and heard welled up within us; we then expressed them in words and exclamations.⁸⁹

Composing, as reflected in the *Traveling South Collection*, was a social event for refined and literate men; it was also a means of communicating with others. In various situations on the journey, Su Shi was inspired, challenged, encouraged, or directed by social convention to compose poetry. All three Su family members composed to the title "Setting out from Jiazhou" as a response to the departure from their ancestral home. Dominating the poems by Su Shi and Su Zhe is the image of the colossal Buddha that towers above the confluence of three rivers at Jiazhou, present-day Leshan. Su Shi's poem expresses excitement and anticipation.

SETTING OUT FROM JIAZHOU

At our early departure the drums beat loudly,
 The west wind wildly unfurls the colored banners.
 Our homeland has already floated off in the distance,
 The way before us is vast, without boundaries.
 Waters of the Jin are now too narrow to be seen,
 But the flowing Man is clear and beautiful.
 Rushing we pass beneath the Buddha's feet,
 Then come into the expanse of calm waters.
 In the country village is a Buddhist monk,
 At Fish Mooring he follows the smoke of evening fires.
 We planned to meet each other at the river's bank,
 But he has waited long where the waters murmur.⁹⁰

Although he follows a regulated form, Su Shi's exuberance is not concealed. He also clearly depicts the scene at departure and aligns it with an emotionally shaped conclusion that maintains the tension between expectation and regret. Following the same rhyme category, Su Xun offers a rather perfunctory quatrain, but his poem captures the swiftness of their passage and its implications for him.

Committing my family to this long river journey,
I recall days at the capital and my ten-year return.
Beneath Black Ox Mountain waters rush fast as arrows,
After a short nap on pillows, Mount Emei has vanished.⁹¹

Su Xun's ostensibly simple poem must, however, be considered in the light of a related work also composed at Jiazhou. The poem probably stood at the beginning of the collection; it used the term *nanzheng*, journeying south.⁹² It is a deeply emotional expression of the realization that he is leaving his homeland, perhaps never to return. Conversely, Su Zhe's poem is a bold thirty-six-line, old-style poem that follows a different rhyme scheme but uses similar diction in the opening lines and also in the description of the scene, as shown in the excerpt below.

As our flying boat passes beneath the mountain,
The Great Buddha's feet come into view on the riverbank.
All on the boat maintain a serious visage,
While they contest to bow toward the statue's big toe.
In a moment the statue has passed from view,
And Black Oxen Mountain has appeared in mid stream.
We steer near the mountain's northward side,
But see no pathways crossing its steep ridges.⁹³

The casual, humorous mood of Su Zhe's poem describing the departure is not equal to his later depictions of scenes along the Yangzi gorges. All the poems, however, are of interest in the context of their creation. Because Su Shi's earliest poems once existed only in this separate collection, they were not often found in early editions of his complete works. Considered part of Su Shi's juvenilia, their incipient features of later styles and themes are noted by critics, but the poems are seldom included in anthologies and literary studies.⁹⁴ However, because they were com-

posed at approximately the same time as the prose essays for the palace examinations of 1061, essays generally praised as the works of a talented thinker and stylist, Su Shi's best poems in the *Traveling South Collection* deserve consideration.⁹⁵

Obviously, Su Shi was practicing various styles; he was both restricted by the specific project and free to experiment. Su Shi's personal attainment was the experience of composing poetry when the occasion inspired or demanded it. Poetry describing the scenery, historical sites, and folkways was poetry of response, not only to a natural phenomenon, but to the poetry of other persons.⁹⁶ Although each poem can be understood and appreciated in its own right, the poems that now appear in the first *juan* of Su Shi's collected works were once part of an independent work composed together with his father and brother. These poems are best considered in their original context.

TRANSMISSION OF THE *COLLECTION OF HARMONIZING POEMS*
FROM *QI* AND *LIANG*

The *Traveling South Collection* was presumably composed with the intent to circulate it among friends and acquaintances at the capital. As soon as the family had reached Kaifeng and had settled in the northern area of the city, the sons began to prepare for the special decree examinations. Su Xun wrote letters to important officials requesting assistance in gaining an official position. To these he also attached compositions, perhaps the collection itself, to impress influential persons who might sponsor his sons.⁹⁷ Although Su Shi and Su Zhe both passed with high honors in 1061, they did not immediately gain desirable appointments. Su Shi was assigned to Fengxiang as a signatory official, but Su Zhe did not take up official service. Opposition by Wang Anshi (1021-1086), who disapproved of the frank criticism that Su Zhe had expressed in his essays, delayed the appointment.⁹⁸ Because of these problems, Su Shi assumed his post in Fengxiang, west of Chang'an, while Su Zhe remained in the capital with their father to await appointment. From the time of Su Shi's departure in the eleventh month of 1061 until his return in the first month of 1065, he communicated with his father and brother only through the fortnightly postings of official couriers. This first sepa-

ration served as the context for their exchange of poetry that would eventually form the *Collection of Harmonizing Poems from Qi and Liang*.

Although the collection is no longer extant as a separate work, references to it in contemporaneous materials confirm that it circulated then as a unitary work. Furthermore, the preface of the *Dongpo Outer Collection* refers to a *Po-Liang chouchangji* in one *juan*. Scholars agree that the character *po* has been written erroneously for the character *qi*.⁹⁹ The term *Qi* refers to the area of Fengxiang located beneath Qi Mountain; *Liang* refers to the city of Bianjing or Kaifeng. Poems composed by the Su brothers living in these two places constitute the collection for which Su Zhe's poem provides evidence.

MATCHING THE RHYMES OF PREFECT YAO XIAOSUN'S "ON READING AND RETURNING THE HARMONIZING POEMS FROM QI AND LIANG."

Not presuming to understand my brother's compositions,
I chanced to match poems with him in the Qi-Liang exchange.
Your admiration for my brother's talent has been extended to
me,

After the *xun* has sounded who would not hear the *chi*'s tune?¹⁰⁰
At Western Guo in spring he roamed by pools of great
expanse,¹⁰¹

At Southern Brook in autumn he entered groves of myriad
bamboo.

Unfortunately only now you serve as attendant in Guanzhong,
Thus missed the chance to accompany and compose poems
with him.¹⁰²

Su Zhe's choice of an allusion from the *Book of Poetry* is appropriate. The *xun*, an ocarina-like instrument, and the *chi*, an ancient bamboo instrument of seven or eight holes, came to symbolize the harmonious relationship between elder and younger brother.¹⁰³ Throughout this collection, the brothers use given names of Zizhan and Ziyou or the referents for brother, *xiong* and *di*. The term "*changhe*" in the title of the collection suggests that all the collected poems had matching rhymes. Many of the titles, in fact, include the terms "*he*" or "*ciyun*" to indicate that rhymes

are being echoed. Furthermore, the earliest of Su Shi's matching poems were, for the most part, written to harmonize with his brother's works or to serve as the original poem for Su Zhe's harmonizing response. Nonetheless, numerous poems dated from 1061 to 1064 in Su Shi's individual collection have no extant matching poem. Any effort to reconstruct the original collection or to compare the poems would necessarily begin with the datable pieces in the respective complete works of Su Shi and Su Zhe.

The poem that would have begun the collection often stands as the first work in Su Shi's collected poetry. His poem of departure, Su Zhe's response poem, and Su Shi's harmonizing poem are linked by similar diction, imagery, tone, and mood. These three poems exemplify the interrelated quality of Su Shi's poems and clarify the importance of Su Zhe as a partner in the creative process.¹⁰⁴ The emotional attachment of the brothers is evident in this exchange; another series of exchanges reveals that Su Shi supported his brother's decision to remain in the capital rather than accept an unsuitable post. Fraternal affection, esteem, and mutual protectiveness are evident in a poem Su Shi addressed to his brother.

IN LIGHT SNOW ON THE TWENTY-FIRST OF THE NINTH MONTH
THINKING OF ZIYOU

Sailing together on the Yangzi, poems filled our bamboo
 chests,
But parting West of Zheng, tears fell on our lapels.
Service not yet fulfilled, I am ashamed before book and sword,
Although I long to retire, I still fear the reproof of friends.
Autumn spent in official quarters, I am now startled at the
 passing of the year.
I view snow on the temple tower, but lack a companion to
 ascend the heights.
I know you are studying the *Changes* beneath the eastern
 window,
When men in carriages knock at your door, you surely will
 not respond.¹⁰⁵

Frequently the brothers decried the other's absence, asking how they could enjoy life when parted, how they could compose poetry without a partner, or how they could share hopes and plans from distant places. They pledged to fulfill a promise to seek early retirement and return home together.¹⁰⁶ Of the more than 140 poems that survive from the period of Su Shi's service in Fengxiang, more than half were composed for Su Zhe. Usually, Su Shi initiated and his brother responded. Knowing that he had a literate, receptive companion, Su Shi was free to experiment with styles. The frequency and intensity of this early exchange were never again attained. Su Zhe stated that after his brother's exile to Huangzhou, Su Shi's poetry became a rushing torrent and that, although he raced to keep abreast of him, he was unable to do so.¹⁰⁷ Changes in official appointments widened the brothers' circle of acquaintances and expanded their literary influences. New associates became their partners in harmonizing rhymes, but the first collection of fraternal verse would never be replaced by rhymes with others.

THE TRANSMISSION OF THE *COLLECTION MATCHING TAO'S RHYMES*

Of the three discrete anthologies that circulated during Su Shi's lifetime, the *Collection Matching Tao's Rhymes* is the only one extant in an edition dating from the Song. The continuous transmission of this work as a separate collection validates its distinctive nature. Su Shi had stated proudly that his was the first work to match all of an earlier poet's rhymes. Even this unusual series of poems was, however, eventually incorporated into the chronologically arranged editions. The process whereby the *Collection Matching Tao's Rhymes* was created and transmitted reveals both the importance of the poetry of harmonizing rhymes in Su Shi's literary practice and the process by which interest in the context of literary creation was superseded by a preference for biographical and chronological clarity.

The first of its kind in Chinese literary history, the *Collection Matching Tao's Rhymes* attracted the attention of critics. Although some have concurred with Su Shi's view that the work was a valuable innovation, others have questioned Su Shi's intent and achievement. Negative assessments have suggested that the undertaking showed Su Shi's

arrogance and that he placed undue restraints on his creativity.¹⁰⁸ Su Shi, however, stated his purpose clearly. The decision to compose harmonizing poems for Tao's collection was made during Su Shi's exile in Huizhou and clarified after he had been demoted to Danzhou on Hainan Island. From Danzhou he wrote to Su Zhe, articulating his purpose and requesting a preface for the collection. Su Zhe's preface, dated 1097, preserves that letter. The poetry manuscript was completed before 1100 and was carried personally by Su Shi on his return journey after he was granted amnesty.

PREFACE FOR ZIZHAN'S COLLECTION MATCHING
THE RHYMES OF TAO YUANMING

When Master Dongpo was exiled to live in Dan'er, he made his home beneath Luofu Mountain. Accompanied by only his youngest son, Guo, he carried his belongings and crossed the sea. There they constructed a thatched hut in which to live. He ate yams every day, and never longed for a splendid house or fine food. Throughout his life he had nothing to which he was attached. He had considered books and histories his garden for roaming and literature his means for truthful expression. Yet, at this time, he gave up even those. The only thing he still enjoyed was the composition of poetry. His poetry was profound in spirit and marvelous; one sees in it nothing of the weak and exhausted style of an old man. At that time I had also been exiled and was living in Haikang. I received a letter from him that said:

"Although the poets of the past have written works that imitate the ancients, there has not yet been one who sought to match the poems of an ancient. The effort to match the poems of an earlier poet thus begins with me. I have no special preference for the works of any poet, except for those of Tao Yuanming. The poems Tao Yuanming wrote are not numerous. Although they appear plain, they are actually refined; they appear spare but have a rich substantiality. No one, not even Cao, Liu, Bao, Zhao, Xie, Li, or Du is his equal.¹⁰⁹ In all, I have written matching verses to over one hundred of his poems. I am quite

satisfied with them, and have said that they are not much inferior to those of Yuanming. Now I have collected them and have copied them out in order to transmit them to future scholars. I want you to make this commemoration for me. Regarding Yuanming, how could I be fond of his poetry only? I have great admiration for him as a person."¹¹⁰

Su Shi concludes with an expression of self-reproach for having continued to serve as an official rather than take early retirement. He reveals his desire, now that he is old, to follow Tao's model of integrity. His preference for Tao's poetry was intimately bound to his respect and esteem for the man. Su Shi was not the first to emphasize the relationship between Tao's poetry and his life. During the Tang, Tao's literary position had been elevated dramatically; exceptionally talented poets such as Wang Wei (701–761) had drawn inspiration from Tao's poetic style as well as from his reclusive simplicity and his contentment with nature. Prior to Su's praise, Tao had been esteemed as a man of integrity and honor.¹¹¹ Su Shi's unique harmonizing project, as well as his audacious claim that Tao surpassed all other poets, added significantly to Tao's prestige.¹¹² Su Shi's affirmation of Tao's excellence was at the same time a statement of his own taste and ability. Convinced of the validity of his preference, Su Shi stood as an arbiter of cultural values and sensibility. Poetry sparse but rich was to be imitated; a man impoverished but lofty was to be admired.

Su Shi's *Collection Matching Tao's Rhymes* as a discrete work contained 105 poems, all composed to harmonize with the rhymes of Tao Yuanming. Although Tao's original included 109 works, Su's omissions were based on reasonable considerations.¹¹³ Tao's collection included poetry (*shi*), rhapsody (*fu*), and jottings (*ji*). Composed in either tetrasyllabic or pentasyllabic lines, Tao's poems varied in length from four to more than forty lines.¹¹⁴ Numerous previous efforts to imitate Tao had often unsuccessfully sought to follow both the form and the spirit of his poems, but few poets were capable of combining both features. As Huang Tingjian (1045–1105) stated in his evaluation, Su Shi was able to follow the rhymes meticulously; in style and manner his works resembled those of Tao.¹¹⁵ Su Shi's achievement in both technical and literary terms made

him the equal of Tao.¹¹⁶ According to Chao Buzhi (1053–1110), the practice of matching rhymes began in Tang times but was normally engaged in with one's friends. Chao said that Su Shi's act of following all of a prior poet's rhymes was an innovation, and that only a man of Su Shi's talent could have made the practice appear easy.¹¹⁷

As the final collection of poems edited during Su Shi's lifetime, the text assumed particular importance. A *Collection Matching Tao's Rhymes* in four *juan* was listed in Su Zhe's funerary inscription.¹¹⁸ A collection in one *juan* was included in materials that formed the *Six Collections of Dongpo* as well as the *Seven Collections of Dongpo* from the Song period.¹¹⁹ Whether or not a woodblock imprint was made prior to the proscription of Su Shi's works in 1103 is unknown, but it is possible that one circulated before the end of the Northern Song.¹²⁰

Researching the transmission of the text, Liu Shangrong has identified four Song editions.¹²¹ A distinctive feature of these editions was their inclusion not only of Su Shi's poems but of the original works by Tao Yuanming. Furthermore, the editions included poems by other authors such as Su Zhe and Chao Buzhi.¹²² Of these editions, only the Huangzhou edition is extant. Known as *Dongpo's Matching of Tao's Poetry* (*Dongpo Xiansheng he Tao shi*) in four *juan*, the edition was probably first published at the end of the Northern Song, reprinted in 1180, and edited again in 1195.¹²³ Because it includes poems in addition to those of Su Shi, it could be considered an anthology. A table of contents in three pages lists the poem titles separately for each of the four *juan*. The format places Tao's poem first and follows with Su Shi's composition; if Su Zhe has a matching poem it is placed last. Each *juan* includes a portion of Tao's poems arranged according to the tetrasyllabic or pentasyllabic line as well as the number of lines in the poems.¹²⁴ Tao's series of twenty poems "Drinking Wine" (*Yin jiu shi*) begins the collection. The "Peach Blossom Source" (*Taohuayuan ji*) and the "Return" (*Guiqulai xi ci*) poems are placed in the final *juan* of this rare edition.¹²⁵

The poems to match Tao's rhymes have been transmitted in three types of editions of Su Shi's works: the discrete edition was reprinted; the poems were incorporated as a separate section of a larger, comprehensive collection; or the poems were interspersed in a chronologically arranged edition. The discrete edition of the *Collection Matching Tao's Rhymes* that

事濁酒猶可恃

羲農去我久舉世少復真汲汲魯中叟彌
縫使其淳鳳鳥雖不至禮樂暫得新洙泗
輟微響漂流逮狂秦詩書復何罪一朝作
灰塵區區諸老翁爲事誠慙慙如何絕世
下六籍無一親終日馳車走不見所問津
若復不快飲空負頭上巾但恨多謬誤君
當恕醉人

和

子瞻

吾飲酒至少常以把盞爲樂往往頽然

1. The column on the far left begins Su's first poem matching Tao's series "Drinking Wine." From Su Shi, *Dongpo xiansheng he Tao shi*. Collection of the Gest Library.

註東坡先生詩卷第四十一

吳興施氏

吳郡顧氏

追和陶淵明詩五十四首

飲酒二十首

并引

吾飲酒至少常以把盞為樂徃徃頽然坐
睡人見其醉而吾中了然蓋莫能名其為
醉為醒也在揚州飲酒過午輒罷客去解
衣槃薄終日歡不足而適有餘因和淵明

2. Su's first poem matching Tao's series "Drinking Wine." From Su Shi, *Zhu Dongpo xiansheng shi* (photo-facsimile of original Song edition), *juan* 41. Collection of the Gest Library.

circulated during the Southern Song must have been recognized as a distinctive work. It was contemporaneous with the *Baijia zhu fenlei Dongpo xiansheng shi* attributed to Wang Shipeng. This *fenlei* edition's arrangement of poems on topics such as historical sites, flora, fauna, and parting also included the subject of matching poems.¹²⁶ The fact that no poems matching Tao's rhymes were included prompts the conclusion that the discrete edition of the *Collection Matching Tao's Rhymes* was readily available.¹²⁷

The earliest and most significant edition to place the matching Tao poems in a separate section of the collection was the *Shi Gu zhu Su shi* edition in which Su Shi's poems were arranged in thirty-eight *juan*. In addition, one *juan* presented the contents, and a *nianpu* formed another. Finally, in *juan* 41 and 42, the poems matching Tao's rhymes were included as a separate and distinct portion of the collection.¹²⁸

During the Ming, the poems matching Tao's rhymes were perhaps first interspersed in chronologically arranged editions. During the Chenghua period (1469), editors prepared a *Complete Works of the Literary Duke Su* (Su Wenzhonggong quanji), which was based on a Song edition of the *Seven Collections* and various Song editions in the imperial archives. Poems not included in the *Former Collection* (Dongpo qianji) or the *Latter Collection* (Dongpo houji) were placed in a *Continued Collection* (Xuji). The matching Tao poems were added, no longer isolated in a separate *juan*. From the time this *Seven Collections of Su Dongpo Continued Collection* was published, the matching Tao poems were fully incorporated into the complete works of Su Shi.¹²⁹

Several Qing editions based on this Ming *Seven Collections of Su Dongpo* were published. A 1908 Qing edition of the *Dongpo Seven Collections* duplicated the Ming Chenghua (1469) collection, but depended on the later (1534) Jiajing version for materials in its *Continued Collection*. The text of Su Shi's poems used in the *Sibu beiyao* collectanea, which is based on this version, does include the poems matching Tao's rhymes in *juan* 3 of the *Continued Collection*.¹³⁰ Rather than retain the seven discrete collections, the Kangxi *Complete Works of Su Shi* (Dongpo quanji), dated 1699, divided Su Shi's works into sixty-three categories. The poems matching Tao's rhymes were placed in a discrete section immediately following the poetry category.¹³¹

When, during the Qing, Zha Shenxing edited a collection of Su

Shi's poetry with a view to correcting the Kangxi edition of 1699, he provided a new arrangement for the matching Tao poems. The more than one hundred poems of the *Collection Matching Tao's Rhymes* were taken from the two separate *juan* of the Shi-Gu edition, categorized according to genre, and then placed in appropriate *juan*.¹³² Zha Shenxing also attempted to locate other matching poems and to include these with his commentary. Yet because the poems had already been interspersed within his comprehensive arrangement, the discrete traits of Su Shi's poems that matched Tao's rhymes were no longer apparent. Other editors followed Zha's example of separating and interspersing the poems. Feng Yingliu and Wang Wen'gao both placed the poems according to the chronologies they had determined.¹³³

Obviously, each editor sought completeness, accuracy, biographical clarity, or generic similitude as he compiled a new edition of Su Shi's works. In the case of the *Collection Matching Tao's Rhymes*, however, the works of a once discrete collection were no longer placed in a context that clearly revealed their origin and purpose. The anthology that once circulated as the *Collection Matching Tao's Rhymes* appropriately included both Tao Yuanming's original poems and Su Shi's matching poems. Without the original poems for comparison, Su Shi's response poems would be considered less for their formalistic, phonic, and thematic qualities than for the biographical information they provided and for their contribution to clarifying Su Shi's literary chronology.¹³⁴

Just as Su Shi had chosen to match the rhymes of Tao, he also encouraged others to share in the process. Poems that were inspired by the diction, imagery, and intent of Tao's verses extended beyond the original to create widening circles of communication and meaning. The "Return" poems Su Shi wrote in Huizhou were sent to his friend the monk Canliaozi (1043-ca. 1116); the "Drinking Poems" composed in Yangzhou were written together with his assistant Chao Buzhi, who also matched many of the rhymes of Tao.¹³⁵ Because of his elder brother's influence, Su Zhe also matched Tao's rhymes. Prior to Su Shi's departure for Hainan, the brothers had traveled together to the place of parting. That night, which was to be the last time they would see each other, Su Zhe chanted Tao's poem "Refraining from Wine" (Zhi jiu) in order to urge his brother to give up drinking and take care of himself. In response, Su Shi matched Tao's poem in a promise to abstain; Su Zhe matched his

brother's rhymes, which, of course, were those of Tao.¹³⁶ As Zhe noted in his preface to the *Collection Matching Tao's Rhymes*, his own efforts to match Tao's rhymes were inferior to his brother's.¹³⁷

The person most significantly affected by Su Shi's process of matching Tao's rhymes was probably Su Guo (1072-1123).¹³⁸ The only family member to accompany his father to the place of exile in Hainan, he spent three years alone with Su Shi. In fact, it was Su Guo's chanting of Tao's "Returning to the Country to Live" that had prompted Su Shi to plan his matching-poem collection. On excursions, Su Shi composed and his son matched the rhyme. The initial group of poems in Su Guo's collected works harmonizes with the rhymes of his father and Tao Yuanming. During their exile in Hainan, Su Guo wrote matching poems, such as a companion piece to Su Shi's response to Tao's "Roaming at Xie Brook on the Fifth Day of the First Month."¹³⁹ Furthermore, Su Guo's courtesy name, The Retired Gentleman of Xie Brook, is an obvious reference to Tao's poem. After his father's death, Su Guo wrote poems to match those of his uncle Su Zhe. Nonetheless, Su Guo's style and spirit continued to resemble his father's, and his early poems also bear the imprint of Tao's diction and style.¹⁴⁰ Were an anthology to include the compositions Su Shi and his relatives wrote to respond to Tao Yuanming's poems and themes, it might further clarify Su Shi's intent and practice in creating the *Collection Matching Tao's Rhymes*.

CONCLUSIONS

The discrete collections of prose and poetry or the anthologies containing Su Shi's works that circulated during his lifetime were eventually incorporated into larger editions. The value attached to the smaller collections was eclipsed by the editors' interest in comprehensiveness, accuracy, convenience, and prospects for commercial success. With all the works of an author gathered in a single edition, completeness was gained. Smaller collections merged into larger ones were more convenient than several discrete works. Editors and publishers arranged the materials in a variety of ways, many with the intent to correct in a process of restoration, others with the desire to provide improvements so that new readers would be served.¹⁴¹

The interest in literary biography, already apparent before the

Song, was intensified by the ability to create a corpus, a body of work, a printed book that stood in the person's stead. The author's own words, arranged according to a chronology, served to document a life. Because the majority of the editions of Su Shi's poetry published since the beginning of the Qing have been arranged chronologically, it is obvious that poetry was viewed, in large measure, as a means of amplifying biography, of clarifying a life. Reflecting the increasing interest in textual verification and logical ordering shown by Qing *kaozheng*, or evidential scholarship, Qing editors valued chronological arrangements over genre and topical formats. Furthermore, earlier discrete collections and anthologies, which exemplified a personal and literary effort at a particular moment in life, also came to be part of a comprehensive documentation.

Poems matching the rhyme, although integral to an individual collection, could clarify a context and purpose. Su Shi once stated that his greatest pleasure in life was found in association with his literary friends.¹⁴² He enjoyed the exchange of ideas, often expressed by harmonizing rhymes of the other's poems. A thorough study of his matching poems would necessarily involve a review of his complex network of social exchange.

It is less important to attempt to reconstruct the original texts than to attend to why they were initially composed and to note processes that placed them in more comprehensive works. Furthermore, when the matching poems are considered as either initiating a poem or responding to one, both the literary and cultural features can be emphasized. The three collections reviewed here each identifies Su Shi in a particular way. His multifaceted personality has become known to posterity through his deeds and words and has been interpreted on the basis of the inherited literature.

In the *Traveling South Collection*, Su Shi is one among a family of literate men. The collection confirms what his father intended and what Su Shi later perpetuated. The three Sus were associated as literati first because they created this collection; only later were they affiliated by other compilers and editors who selected works from the Sus' prose and poetry to create anthologies. Now, appropriately, the library at the Memorial to the Three Sus, located in their ancestral home in Meishan, holds the transmitted editions of the individual collections and the

combined literary works of father and sons. If literary expression is, from one point of view, the search for one who hears and understands, then Su Shi knew himself to be a fortunate poet who found in his brother Su Zhe the *zhiyin* who responded to poetry with intelligence and sympathy. Although their literary exchange was not limited to the poems of the *Collection of Harmonizing Poems from Qi and Liang*, the literature in this discrete collection articulated the themes of fraternal understanding that were to sustain them throughout their lives. When the *Collection Matching Tao's Rhymes* is considered in relation to the two other collections, it can no longer be viewed, as some critics suggest, as an aberration or an uncharacteristic effort by Su Shi. Rather, the poems matching Tao Yuanming's rhymes appear as an obvious expression of a practice current in his day and as the culmination of a lifetime of responses and dialogue with literate friends. Because the poems matching Tao's rhymes were composed primarily during a time of exile late in Su Shi's life, he responded with heightened sensibilities. The creation of analogous poems was itself a meaningful act, confirming Su Shi's intent to struggle, to live, and to find significance in all that he encountered. The unbroken transmission of this collection as a discrete work, together with continued appreciation and analysis of the exchange, reveal one meaning of the harmonizing poems. The dialogue with an ancient poet initiated by Su Shi and captured in the anthology of matching poems continues in the responses of poets and critics of the present era.

The process of transmission enters a new phase as databases of Su Shi's work become complete. It will be increasingly possible to create new configurations from Su Shi's collected works and to compare them with previous editions. Anthologies that return the reader to a facet of Su Shi's life and works ensure the preservation of the many faces of Su Shi: the poet, the Buddhist, the artist, the political ally or foe, the prose master, or the lyric innovator.¹⁴³ Nonetheless, the achievement of convenient and comprehensive editions based on chronology will remain intact. The stability of the tradition is clearly preserved in these undertakings. At the same time, the search for themes and topics creates the potential for new ways of arranging and comparing Su Shi's literary works. Continued transmission invites analysis and appreciation of Su Shi and his literary accomplishments.

APPENDIX A

Texts Circulating during Su Shi's Lifetime

《南行集》《岐梁唱和詩集》《眉山集》《錢塘集》《大蘇小集》《超然集》《黃樓集》《東坡集》
《後集》《和陶詩集》

Texts Prepared by the Su Family as Listed in Su Zhe's Funerary Inscription “兄子瞻端明墓誌銘” and also in *Su Shi's Biography in the Song History* 《宋史》“蘇軾傳”

《東坡集》40 卷《後集》20 卷《奏議集》15 卷《內制集》10 卷《外制集》3 卷《和陶時集》
4 卷《易傳》《論語說》《書傳》

Texts Listed for Su Shi in the Song History Bibliography 《宋史》“藝文志”

《前後集》70 卷《奏議》15 卷《補遺》3 卷《南征集》1 卷《詞》1 卷《南省說書》10 卷《應
詔集》3 卷《內外集》13 卷《別集》46 卷《黃州集》2 卷《續集》2 卷《和陶詩》4 卷《北歸
集》6 卷《儋州手澤》1 卷《年譜》1 卷

Proscription and Destruction during the Northern Song

1102–1103: Proscription against publication of Su Shi's works and directive to destroy the woodblocks

1123: Directive to destroy all engravings and copies of Su Shi's works

New Editions Circulating during the Southern Song

Su Qiao 蘇嶠《東坡別集》Separate collections in 46 *juan*

Shi Yuanzhi 施元之, Gu Xi 顧禧, and Shi Su 施宿, eds. 《施註蘇詩》Chronological arrangement in 42 *juan*

Wang Shipeng 王十朋 (attributed) 《王狀元集百家註分類東坡先生詩》Topical arrangement in 25 *juan*

Yuan Period

Commercial distribution of editions from the Song, especially of the topically arranged poetry collections

Texts listed in the *Dongpo waiji* 《東坡外集》(perhaps first edited in the Southern Song):
Twenty-four titles in Ming edition of 1608: 康丕揚, 《重編東坡先外集》

《南行集》《坡梁集》《錢塘集》《超然集》《黃樓集》《眉山集》《武功集》《雪堂集》《黃岡小
集》《仇池集》《昆陵集》《蘭台集》《真一集》《岷精集》《挾庭集》《百斗明珠集》《玉局集》
《海上老人集》《東坡前集》《後集》《東坡備成集》《類聚東坡集》《東坡大全集》《東坡遺編》

Editions in Circulation during the Ming

《東坡七集》(1468) Preface by 李紹. First to include the 《續集》, which gathers previously uncollected poetry and which also includes the 和陶詩; reissued in 1534
 《東坡全集》 115 *juan* with prose and poetry arranged according to genre

Texts Edited during the Qing

查慎行 (1650-1727)	《東坡先生編年詩補註》	50 <i>juan</i> , 1702, 1761
紀昀 (1726-1805)	《紀評蘇詩》	50 <i>juan</i> , 1831, 1869
馮應榴 (1740-1800)	《蘇文忠公詩合註》	50 <i>juan</i> , 1795
王文誥 (b. 1764)	《蘇文忠公詩編註集成》	91 <i>juan</i> , 1819, 1822, 1888
眉山三蘇祠	《三蘇全集》	204 <i>juan</i> . Includes 東坡集 in 84 <i>juan</i> , 1832

Twentieth-Century Editions

孔凡禮 ed. 《蘇軾詩集》 50 *juan*, 1982, 1996. Editorial assistance from 劉尚榮
 四川大學中文系, 《蘇軾詩集較註》 Projected publication date 2000

APPENDIX B

Su Shi, *Su Shi shiji*, *juan* 4, pp. 154-155

“In Light Snow on the Twentieth Day of the Ninth Month, Thinking of Ziyou,” poem 2

“九月二十日微雪，懷子由弟”（第二首）蘇軾《蘇軾詩集》

江上同舟詩滿篋，鄭西分馬涕垂膺。
未成報國慚書劍，豈不懷歸畏友朋。
官舍度秋驚歲晚，寺樓見雪與誰登。
遙知讀易東窗下，車馬敲門定不磨。

Su Zhe, *Su Zhe ji*, *juan* 3, p. 43

“Matching the Rhymes of the Official Yao Xiaosun after He Has Read and Returned the ‘Poetry Collection Matching Poems from Qi and Liang’”

蘇轍《蘇轍集》

“次韻姚孝孫判官見還岐梁唱和詩集”

伯氏文章豈敢知，岐梁偶有往還詩。
自憐兄力能兼弟，誰肯墳終不聽箴。
西虢春游池百頃，南溪秋入竹千枝。
恨君曾是關中吏，屬和追陪失此時。

Su Xun, *Jiayouji*, p. 488, “Departing from Jiashou”

蘇洵，《嘉祐集》

“出發嘉州”

家託舟航千里速，心期京國十年還。
烏牛山水下如箭，忽矢蛾眉枕席間。

Su Shi, *Su Shi shiji*, *juan* 1, p. 6, “Departing from Jiashou”

蘇軾《蘇軾詩集》

“出發嘉州”

朝發鼓闐闐，西風獵畫旃。
故鄉飄已遠，往意浩無邊。
錦水細不見，蠻江清可憐。
奔騰過佛腳，曠蕩造平川。
野市有禪客，釣臺尋暮煙。
相期定先到，久立水潺潺。

Su Zhe, *Su Zhe ji*, vol. 1, p. 2. “Departing from Jiashou” (excerpt)

蘇轍，蘇轍集，2頁“出發嘉州”

飛舟過山足，佛腳見江滸。
舟人盡斂容，競欲揖其拇。
俄頃已不見，烏牛在中渚。
移舟近山陰，壁峭上無路。

NOTES

1. Su Shi's biography is in *Song shi*, compiled by Tuo Tuo (1313?-1355?) et al. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), *juan* 336, pp. 10801-10817. Among numerous biographical studies that emphasize Su Shi's importance as a Song scholar-official are Zeng Zaozhuang, *Su Shi pingzhuan*, rev. ed. (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1984) and George C. Hatch, Jr., "Su Shih," in *Song Biographies*, ed. Herbert Franke (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1976), pp. 900-968. See also Peter K. Bol, *This Culture of Ours: Intellectual Transitions in T'ang and Sung China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992).
2. An introduction to works in circulation during Su Shi's lifetime is given in Zeng Zaozhuang, "Su Shi zhushu shengqian bianke qingkuang kaolue," in *Zhonghua wenshi luncong* 4 (1984), pp. 139-206 (cited hereafter as "Shengqian").
3. Su Zhe, "Wang xiong Zizhan Duanming muzhiming," *Luancheng ji*, ed. Zeng Zaozhuang and Ma Defu, 3 vols. (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1987), *juan* 22, pp. 1410-1423. The *Dongpo ji*, which came to be known as the *Former Collection* (Qianji), was probably edited by Su Shi. Su Zhe edited his own collection while in retirement. See Zeng Zaozhuang, *Su Zhe nianpu* (Shaanxi: Renmin chubanshe, 1986), pp. 196ff.
4. Su Shi's biography is indebted to this inscription. See *Song shi*, 336, pp. 10801-10817. The "Yiwen zhi" record is in 8, *juan* 208, p. 5369.
5. For the extant editions, see Sichuan daxue guji zhengli yanjiusuo, ed., *Xiancun Songren bieji banben mulu* (Catalog of Extant Editions of Song-Dynasty Literary Collections) (Sichuan: Ba-Shu shushe, 1989), pp. 80-101.
6. Liu Shangrong, *Su Shi zhuzuo banben luncong* (Sichuan: Ba-Shu shushe, 1988). This is the most thorough and authoritative single work on editions of Su Shi's writings (cited hereafter as "Banben"). Another standard work is Wang Jinghong, "Su Dongpo zhushu banben kao," in *Shumu jikan* 4, *juan* 2-3 (1969-1970), pp. 13-81. See also Yi Sumin, *San Su zhushu kao* (Taipei: Daxue wenxueshe, 1969).
7. Susan Cherniack, "Book Culture and Textual Transmission in Sung China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 54.1 (June 1994), pp. 19-20. Note, however, that Cherniack's thesis emphasizes features of change rather than those of stability. See pp. 29ff.
8. Preservation of texts was not only the purpose of Song projects, but a prominent motive in those of the Qing as well, specifically the development of the "Siku quanshu" project. See Benjamin Elman, *From Philosophy to Philology* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984), pp. 152, 198ff.
9. See Ming-sun Poon, "Books and Printing in Sung China (960-1279)" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1979) for a survey of the Song period. Also see Cherniack, "Book Culture," p. 18. She states that "the sanction for textual change was from the beginning implicit in the role of the editor as one who transmits."
10. Cherniack, "Book Culture," pp. 8-9, notes that the approach "suits both the

- complex evolution of older texts and the tolerance for the collaborative authorship that characterizes traditional Chinese textual transmission.” The Western perspective is explicated in Jerome J. McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), pp. 81–94.
11. A comparison with topics of authorial intention and the authorial activity of editors is instructive. See examples of Western works in Seth Lerer, *Chaucer and His Readers: Imagining the Author in Late-Medieval England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 9.
 12. Noted in Liu Shangrong, “*Dongpo waiji zakao*,” in *Lun Su Shi Lingnan shiji qita* (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1996), p. 344.
 13. Lucille Chia, “Printing for Profit: The Commercial Printers of Jianyang, Fujian (Song-Ming)” (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1996). This highly informative work focuses on the Fujian area, but provides extensive analysis of printing during the Song and Ming. In commenting on printed editions of works by Northern Song authors, Chia notes that at least six different editions of Su Shi’s poems were printed during the Song and Yuan. Each edition would have required a different set of woodblocks. She suggests that the authors whose works were repeatedly printed were popular, but also notes that the printers during the Song may have had difficulty obtaining the works of other authors. See p. 183.
 14. Details regarding the composition and textual history of each collection are given below.
 15. Poon, “Books and Printing,” pp. 68–70.
 16. Scholar-officials kept records of both momentous and trivial matters, both official and personal observations. See *ibid.*, p. 70.
 17. The Ming Wanli edition (1608) of the *Dongpo waiji* is an eighty-six-juan reediting of the Southern Song work. The edition of the *Chongbian Dongpo Xiansheng waiji* with a preface by Jiao Hong (1540–1620) is discussed in Liu Shangrong, “*Dongpo waiji za kao*,” especially pp. 337–343.
 18. Zeng Zaozhuang, “Shengqian,” pp. 193–206. Zeng has provided a brief introduction to each text.
 19. Su Shi, “*Da Liu Mian Ducao shu*” (Letter in Response to Liu Mian), *Su Shi wenji*, ed. Kong Fanli, 6 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), *juan* 49, pp. 1429–1430. Su Shi had probably edited works composed before his exile. The twenty *juan* edited by Liu Mian together with works Su Shi composed on his return from Hainan are thought by Zeng Zaozhuang to constitute the *Houji* (Latter Collection). See Zeng’s “Shengqian,” p. 202.
 20. Yang Zhong, “Su Shi quanji banben yuanliu kaobian,” in *Zhongguo dianji yu wenhua luncong* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1993), pp. 201–202. Yang states that there is evidence to confirm that the *Latter Collection* (*Houji*) was printed during Su Shi’s lifetime as part of the Hangzhou edition of Su’s works. The woodblocks for it were to be destroyed as part of the 1103 prohibition of Su Shi’s works.
 21. A Song legal document compiled by Peng Jiuwan records the case. See *Dongpo Wutai shian*, one *juan* in the *Congshu jicheng*.

22. Charles Hartman, "Poetry and Politics in 1079: The Crow Terrace Poetry Case of Su Shi," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 12 (1990), pp. 15-44. See specifically p. 20, n. 17.
23. See *Siku quanshu zongmu*, *juan* 174, p. 1537. The annotation on a Ming recension notes that not all the poems were written to describe the Yellow Tower. Qin Guan (1049-1100) and Su Zhe also composed poems. It is possible that a small anthology was created.
24. "Da Chen Shizhong zhubo shu," *Su Shi wenji*, ed. Kong Fanli, *juan* 49, p. 1428.
25. Issues of dating and the exchange of poems between Su Shi and Wang Anshi are discussed in Zeng, "Shengqian," p. 196.
26. Su Shi, "Ciyun Ziyou shi Qidan zhi Zhuzhou jianqi," *Su Shi shiji*, ed. Kong Fanli, 8 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1996), *juan* 31, pp. 1669-1671. In the third of four poems, Su Shi comments on the fact that the Khitan could recite from the collected works of the three Su. (The four original poems by Su Zhe are attached on pp. 1669-1770. In the third poem Su Zhe states that the Northern people asked him for Su Shi's writing.) According to Poon, both Su Shi and Su Zhe memorialized the throne to discontinue the indiscriminate sale of books to Khitans and Koreans. See "Books and Printing," pp. 57-59.
27. Su Shi named a small building he constructed at his place of exile the "Snow Hall" because he completed it during a snowfall and had snow scenes painted on the walls. See *Su Shi wenji*, *juan* 12, pp. 410-412. The place of exile in Huangzhou was known as Huanggang. The editions in circulation were compiled by others. For comments on the two texts, see Liu Shangrong, "Banben."
28. For a comparative study, see Song Qiulong, *Su Dongpo he Tao Yuanming shi zhi bijiao yanjiu* (Taipei: Shangwu, 1982).
29. Su Shi, "Ji guo Hepu," *Dongpo zhilin* (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1981), p. 1. This entry records that he brought manuscripts on his return from Hainan. For Su Shi's literary activity in exile, see my "Poetry of Exile and Return: A Study of Su Shi (1037-1101)" (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1989), pp. 480-496.
30. The *Su Shi shiji* based on Wang Wen'gao's edition collects over twenty-eight hundred poems. Of course, the *ci* poetry has been transmitted as a separate collection. See *Dongpo yuefu jian*, ed. Long Yusheng, 1936. (rpt. 1936 ed. Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 1979).
31. Shao Hao (ca. 1131), *Pomen chouchang shiji*, 23 *juan*. The cited work is a recension edited by Ji Yun, but it contains Shao Hao's original preface and the 660 matching poems gathered from the works of Su Shi and Su Zhe together with those of their colleagues and disciples.
32. Su Zhe, "Wang xiong Zizhan Duanming muzhiming," *Luancheng ji*, 3, pp. 1410-1423.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 1422. All items, including commentaries on the three classics and official documents, are listed.
34. Yang Zhong, "Su Shi quanji banben yuanliu kaobian," p. 209.

35. Classifications are reviewed in Liu Shangrong, "Banben," p. 1.
36. The *Dongpo chanxi ji* in fourteen *juan* is identified as a Ming anthology edited by Ling Mengchu (1580–1644) that collects Su Shi's discussions of Buddhist texts. See *Siku quanshu zongmu*, *juan* 174, p. 1537.
37. Liu Shangrong, "Banben," pp. 148ff. Editions of the *Dongpo zhilin*, *Chouchi biji*, and *Dongpo tiba* gathered his informal manuscripts in separate collections. These miscellany are reviewed by George Hatch in *A Sung Bibliography* (Bibliographie des Sung), initiated by Etienne Balazs and ed. Yves Hervouet (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1978), pp. 280–288. Su Shi's materials were ordered, edited, and revised by his descendants; they were also transmitted in collectanea beginning in Southern Song times. Fragments and recensions circulated, creating a complex textual history. By the Ming and Qing there were various editions with different content and organization, even with different titles.
38. *Song shi*, "Yiwenzhi" (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), *juan* 208, p. 5369. Several of the fifteen titles are not found in the *Song shi* biography of Su Shi. These include "Buyi" (3 *juan*), "Nanzheng ji" (1 *juan*), "Ci" (1 *juan*), "Nan sheng shuo shu" (1 *juan*), "Yingzhao ji" (10 *juan*), "Biji" (46 *juan*), "Huangzhou ji" (2 *juan*), "Xu ji" (2 *juan*), "Beiguji" (6 *juan*), and "Danzhou shouze" (1 *juan*), as well as a *nianpu* by Wang Zongji (1180–after 1240) in 1 *juan*.
39. An extremely useful source for locating materials on Su Shi is the compilation by Sichuan University's Chinese Department. See Sichuan Daxue Zhongwenxi Tang-Song wenxue yanjiu shi, ed., *Su Shi*, 5 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1994). The most important editors of Su Shi's works and commentators on his literary achievements are represented in these volumes.
40. See Hatch's remarks in *A Sung Bibliography*, p. 396. Hatch's reviews of the textual history of works by Su Xun, Su Shi, and Su Zhe are the best available in English.
41. For a discussion of the significance of the prohibition, see Yang Zhong, "Su Shi quanji banben yuanliu kaobian," p. 195. See also *Xu Cizhi tongjian* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1957), pp. 2248, 2252.
42. Poon, "Books and Printing," pp. 41–46, notes also that Lu You saw a copy of the *Dongpo Yi zhuan* (Commentary on the Book of Changes), which had been published in Sichuan sometime between 1119 and 1125. Because Su Shi's writings were still prohibited, the editor avoided a direct reference, but attributed the work to a "Piling xiansheng," in an obvious reference to Su Shi who died in Piling. See also p. 71. During the Xiaozong emperor's reign (1163–1189) the collected works of Su Shi "could be found in every home." Poon says that Su's works were the most frequently printed in Song times; as many as twenty-eight editions are listed in Poon's appendix.
43. Thomas Lee, "Books and Bookworms in Song China: Book Collection and the Appreciation of Books," *Journal of Sung Yuan Studies* 25 (1995), pp. 213–214.
44. See Yang Zhong, "Su Shi quanji banben yuanliu kaobian," p. 199. Scholars are not in complete agreement regarding the content of the Jian'an edition

- attributed to the efforts of Su Shi's grandson, Su Qiao. Yang states that the edition was based on the early *Six Collections* (Liuji) and that it contained literary works in circulation but not included in the first published complete works.
45. This *Dongpo qiji* was obviously not the same as the Song version of the *Qiji* that was formed by adding the examination essays as the seventh discrete collection to supplement what the family had originally edited. With the designation of the *Xuji*, the *Dongpo ji* becomes the *Qianji*; the *Houji* retains its name as the *Latter Collection*.
 46. For an excellent summary of genre theory prior to the Song, see the introduction by David Knechtges in Xiao Tong (501–531), *Wen xuan or Selections of Refined Literature*, 1, trans. with annotations and introduction by David R. Knechtges (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), pp. 1–52.
 47. A cursory examination of noted Song literati included in *A Sung Bibliography* reveals the common format. Note in particular entries for the separate collections of Sima Guang (1019–1086), Wang Anshi, and Zhang Lei (1054–1114). See pp. 392–394 and 404–405.
 48. The Ming edition, *Chongbian Dongpo Xiansheng waiji*, was based on a Song text. For the importance of this work, see Liu Shangrong, “*Dongpo waiji kao*,” pp. 346–350.
 49. The *Siku quanshu* evaluation is considered a hindrance to proper appreciation of the work. Liu Shangrong notes that several Qing editors of Su Shi's works benefited from the edition and considered it reliable. See “Banben,” pp. 337–338. Furthermore, Lang Ye (ca. 1229), who edited Su Shi's prose during the Song, referred to the work. See *Jingjin Dongpo wenji shilue* (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 1979).
 50. For a discussion of Chinese genre theory, see Stephen Owen, *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), pp. 197–198, 421–449.
 51. *Ibid.*, pp. 421–422. Owen notes that in 1287 a poetry club issued as a topic for competition “Miscellaneous Responses to Fields and Gardens in the Days of Spring”; it elicited over twenty-seven hundred responses.
 52. Although scholars before the Qing generally accepted the attribution, debates following the critique by the *Siku quanshu* editors led to a search for the original editor. See Liu Shangrong, “Banben,” pp. 57–62.
 53. According to the *Catalog of Extant Editions of Song-Dynasty Literary Collections*, this collection in its various recensions is the most widely distributed throughout China. See pp. 80–101.
 54. Although the seventy-eight-category edition circulated during the Southern Song and Yuan periods, it is likely that an earlier edition had only fifty categories. See Liu Shangrong, “Banben,” p. 64.
 55. Commentary in the *Siku quanshu zongmu*, p. 1326, states that scholars considered the placement of some poems unreasonable.
 56. Wang Wen'gao used the work extensively for its commentary, as did Ji Yun and other Qing editors. See Liu Shangrong, “Banben,” p. 66.

57. Zheng Qian and Yan Yiping, eds., *Zengbu zhuben Shi-Gu zhu Su shi*, 6 vols. (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1982). This edition includes extensive material on the text and its history. For Lu You's preface, see p. 7.
58. For an introduction to the Shi-Gu edition, see the discussion by Sören Edgren, "The Weng Family Rare Book Collection," *East Asian Library Journal* 7.2 (1994), pp. 81, 86. The edition acquired by Weng Tonghe (1830-1904) provided the materials for a reconstruction. For a detailed account of the procedures, see the preface to the new edition edited by Zheng Qian and Yan Yiping, *Zengbu zhuben Shi-Gu zhu Su Shi*. The *nianpu*, composed by Shi Su, was preserved in Japan. The text has been used by Wang Baozhen in her supplemental biography. See *Zengbu Su Dongpo nianpu huizheng* (Taipei: Taiwan National University, 1969).
59. For a brief introduction to the project and to Ji Yun, see Arthur W. Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1943; rpt. Taipei: Ch'eng Wen, 1972), pp. 120-123.
60. Zha Shenxing, *Su shi buzhu* in *Siku quanshu* (1974), vols. 380-389. The matching poems are found in his edition, printed in 1761.
61. Feng Yingliu, comp., *Su Wenzhong gong shi hezhu*, 1793. The five works used were those of Shi Yuanzhi and Gu Xi (the Shao Changheng edition), the text attributed to Wang Shipeng, Zha Shenxing's edition, and the collation by Weng Fanggang (1733-1818), who had added material to the Zha edition.
62. Wang Wen'gao, *Su Wenzhong gong shi bianzhu jicheng* (Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, 1967). This is a reprint of the 1822 edition by Wang.
63. Ji Yun, ed., *Su Wenzhong gong shi ji*, 1836 ed. (Taipei: Hongye, 1969). This edition is based on a 1917 reprint.
64. Because the *Seven Collections* (Qiji) contained both prose and poetry, it came to be termed the *Complete Collection* (Quanji).
65. See note 26 above. The fourth edition of both the *Su Shi shiji* and the *Su Shi wenji* were published in 1996.
66. *Su Shi shiji*, pp. 14-17. Although many other sources were used during collation, Wang Wen'gao's edition was the standard text.
67. *So Tōba shishū* (Tokyo: Chikuma shobo, 1983-present). These editors have used Zha Shenxing's *Su shi buzhu* as their basic text.
68. Mao Wei's edition was reissued often during the Ming and Qing and known as *Dongpo xiansheng quanji*. This 1986 publication is based on the seventy-five-juan version of Mao's edition.
69. Cao Shuming, ed., *Dongpo ci*, rev. ed. (Hong Kong: Universal Book, 1968).
70. John Marney, *Chiang Yen* (Boston: Twayne Publishing Co., 1981), pp. 69-130. Jiang Yan (444-505) imitated thirty of the greatest poets of the received tradition; Su Shi did not detect the imitation in the *Wen xuan* and thus wrote "He Tao 'Gui yuantian ju,'" *Su Shi shiji*, juan 39, pp. 2103-2107, poem 6. See *Su Shi ziliao huibian*, 1, p. 229, under the entry for Ge Sheng-zhong, who chides both Xiao Tong and Su Shi for their lack of awareness.
71. Stephen Owen, *The Poetry of Meng Chiao and Han Yü* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1975), pp. 116-118.

72. Angela Palandri, *Yuan Chen* (Boston: Twayne Publishing Co., 1977), p. 53. The practice of Bai Juyi (772–811) and Yuan Zhen (779–831) introduced greater formalization, even the exact sequencing of rhymes.
73. Definitions given in *Zhongwen da cidian* reveal the variations. “*Yiyun*” referred to the same rhyme but not the same order; “*ciyun*” required the order. “*Chouchang*” referred to the act of matching a rhyme.
74. Shao Hao, *Pomen chouchang ji*, preface, p. 2.
75. John W. Chaffee, *The Thorny Gates of Learning in Sung China: A Social History of Examinations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 133, 192–195.
76. Volumes recording both important and trivial matters reveal that the possibility of publishing encouraged Song authors to write. See Poon, “Books and Printing,” p. 70.
77. On rhyme books, see Jerry Norman, *Chinese* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 24–34. Wang Li clarifies the issue in *Shi ci gelü* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), pp. 5–6. The phonemic value of the rhymes, based on the speech of the Chang’an area during the Tang, became increasingly distant from the speech of Song officials. Although this controversial linguistic matter is important, it is sufficient to note here that Song-dynasty literati were familiar with the rhyme books and proficient in the practice. See also Wang Li, *Hanyu shilü xue* (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 1973).
78. For a discussion of the theory and practice of Song poets, see David Palumbo-Liu, *The Poetics of Appropriation* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), part 1. Similar issues are presented in *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 4.2 (1982); see Stuart Sargent, “Can Latecomers Get There First? Sung Poets and Tang Poetry,” pp. 165–198 and Jonathan Chaves, “Not the Way of Poetry: The Poetics of Experience in the Sung Dynasty,” pp. 199–212.
79. Although Su Shi composed poems prior to this time, only one is extant. His examination poem in 1057 was a typical pentasyllabic, twelve-line, regulated verse. For a translation, see Michael Fuller, *The Road to East Slope: The Development of Su Shi’s Poetic Voice* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), p. 47.
80. George Hatch, “The Thought of Su Hsun (1009–1066): An Essay on the Social Meaning of Intellectual Pluralism in Northern Song” (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1978), pp. 85–94.
81. Su Shi, “Nanxing qianji xu,” *Su Shi wenji*, *juan* 10, p. 323.
82. Zeng Zaozhuang, “San Su hezhu Nanxingji chutan,” *Wenxue pinglun*, 1 (1984), pp. 102–109.
83. *Song shi*, “Yiwenzhi,” *juan* 208, p. 5369. See the title in Su Xun, “You Jiazhou Longyan,” *Jiayouji*, p. 487. Su Xun’s poem at the head of the collection contains the term *nanzheng* in the first couplet.
84. *Su shi buzhu*, Siku quanshu zhenben, 5th series, vols. 380–389, pp. 1–2. See the preface by Zha Shenxing (1651–1728) for the statement that the *Nanxing ji* once circulated independently but that now he has determined a chronology by referring to Su Zhe’s collected works and to poems by Su Shi in the *Continued Works* (Xuji).
85. Zeng Zaozhuang, “Shengqian,” p. 194. Liu Shangrong is credited with the

- discovery of the Song-period fragment of *Leibian zeng Guanglao Su Xiansheng daquan wenji* in the Beijing Library. Twenty poems of Su Xun were recovered, most from the period of the journey to Kaifeng.
86. Zeng Zaozhuang's "Nanxingji" (unpublished manuscript, 1984) reconstructs the text to include a preface by Su Shi, a letter and an epitaph by Su Xun, five *fu* by Su Shi and Su Zhe, and 143 *shi* poems varying in length from four to sixty lines.
 87. *Ibid.*, p. 32b.
 88. For Lu You's travel diary, see Chun-shu Chang and Joan Smythe, *South China in the Twelfth Century* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1981). See also James Hargett, "Some Preliminary Remarks on the Travel Records of the Song Dynasty (960-1279)," in *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews*, 7 (July 1987), pp. 67-93.
 89. Su Shi, "Nanxing qianji xu" (Preface to the Traveling South Collection), *Su Shi wenji*, *juan* 10, p. 323.
 90. "Chufa Jiazhou," *ibid.*, *juan* 1, pp. 6-7.
 91. "Chufa Jiazhou," *Jiayou ji*, p. 488.
 92. "You Jiazhou Longyan," *ibid.*, p. 485.
 93. "Chufa Jiazhou," *Su Zhe ji*, *juan* 1, p. 2.
 94. Wang Shuizhao, *Su Shi xuanji* (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1984). Wang chose not to include any of the poems. Japanese editors Ogawa Tamaki and Yamamoto Kazuyoshi tend to consider them immature works. Fuller, however, provides an excellent introduction to the early compositions in *The Road to East Slope*, pp. 43-77.
 95. Su Shi's prose essays, frequently included in anthologies, are analyzed by Bol in *This Culture of Ours*, pp. 254-299.
 96. An extensive study of this aspect is found in Fuller, *The Road to East Slope*, pp. 53-57, 80-91.
 97. Hatch, "The Thought of Su Hsun," p. 91.
 98. Numerous biographies of Su Shi are based on official materials from the Song. See, for example, Zeng Zaozhuang, *Su Shi pingzhuan* (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1981; rev. 1984). See also Zeng's *Su Zhe nianpu* (Shaanxi: Renmin chubanshe, 1986), esp. pp. 31-42.
 99. Zeng Zaozhuang, "Qi Liang ou you wanghuan shi," *Renwen zazhi*, no. 5 (1985), pp. 106-107.
 100. See *Ciyuan* (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1979), 3, p. 2370.
 101. Guo was the name given a Zhou state, near present-day Baoji.
 102. Su Zhe, "Ciyun Yao Xiaosun Panguan jian huan Qi-Liang changhe shiji," *Su Zhe ji*, *juan* 3, p. 43.
 103. *Harvard-Yenching Concordance to the Shih Ching*, from the Xiaoya Section, "He ren si," p. 47, line 9.
 104. *Su Shi shiji*, *juan* 3, pp. 95-97. This edition attaches Su Zhe's matching poem.
 105. *Ibid.*, "Jiuyue ershiri weixue, huai Ziyou di," *juan* 4, pp. 154-155, poem 2.
 106. See my "Poetry of Exile and Return," pp. 437-439 and 450-453 for remarks on their fraternal relationship.

107. Su Zhe, "Zizhan he Tao Yuanming shiji yin," *Luancheng ji*, 3, pp. 1410-1413.
108. For a negative critique of Su Shi's practice, see Xie Taofang, "Su Shi fenqi pingyi," *Lun Su Shi Lingnan shi ji qita* (Guangdong: Renmin chubanshe, 1986), pp. 21-22. Wang Shihan (b. 1707; *jinshi*, 1733), considering the poems unequal to Su Shi's other works, excluded them from his collection.
109. The poets referred to include Cao Zhi (192-232), Liu Zhen, Bao Zhao (466), Xie Lingyun (385-433), and Du Fu (712-770).
110. Su Zhe, "Zizhan he Tao Yuanming shi ji yin," *Luancheng ji*, 3, pp. 1401-1402.
111. Marsha Wagner, *Wang Wei* (New York: Twayne Publishing Co., 1981), p. 97. Steven Owen, *Traditional Chinese Poetry and Poetics* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), p. 168.
112. See Zhou Shan, "Literary Reputations in Context," *T'ang Studies* 10-11 (1992-1993), pp. 60-61.
113. For a concise analysis of Su Shi's purpose and the process of composition, see Tang Lingling, "He Tao shi." See also A. R. Davis, "Su Shih's Following the Rhymes of T'ao Yuan-ming's Poems: A Literary or Psychological Phenomenon?" in *Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia* 10 (1974), pp. 93-108.
114. See James Robert Hightower, trans., *The Poetry of T'ao Ch'ien* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), pp. 7-9, for a review of Chinese editions and the issues of inclusion and arrangement.
115. Huang Tingjian, *Shangu shizhu*, *Sibu beiyao* collectanea (cited hereafter as SBBY), *Inner Collection*, 20 *juan*, annot. Ren Yuan (ca. 1133); *Outer Collection*, 17 *juan*, annot. Shi Rong (d. after 1201). Poem: *Shangu shizhu*, Inner (17, pp. 4a-b), "Ba Zizhan He Tao shi."
116. For an analysis of Huang's theory and his evaluations of Su Shi's effort to match the rhymes of Tao, see Palumbo-Liu, *Poetics of Appropriation*, pp. 91-97.
117. Chao Buzhi, one of Su Shi's disciples, also matched Tao's poems. Chao's remarks are quoted by Zeng Zaozhuang in Cao Yuan (pen name), "Zhi er shi ji, ju er shi bei," in *Nanchong shiyuan xuebao* (Zhexue shehui kexue ban), 1981, 4, pp. 45-52. Biographical notes are included with Su Shi's matching poem responding to Chao's welcome in *Su Shi shiji*, 6, *juan* 35, pp. 1868-1870. Su's first poem in the series matching Tao's "Drinking Poems" was written for Chao Buzhi.
118. Su Zhe, "Wang xiong Zizhan Duanming muzhiming" *Luancheng ji*, 3, p. 1422.
119. Liu Shangrong, "Banben," pp. 24-39.
120. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
121. *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26. Liu includes citations from and descriptions of the contents of each of the four editions.
122. Poems with matching titles are found in Su Zhe, *Su Zhe ji*, and in Chao Buzhi's collected works. Liu Shangrong notes that one edition included Su Zhe's preface. See Liu Shangrong, "Banben," p. 26.
123. *Ibid.*, p. 32. A study of taboo words common to several collections of Su Shi's works leads Liu to the conclusion that the "Huangzhou" edition was first printed at the end of the Northern Song.
124. The Huangzhou edition does not include "Asking Yuanming," the "Return"

- poems, or Su Zhe's preface. The Shi-Gu edition includes Su Zhe's preface at the end of *juan* 40, but does not include Su Zhe's poems. Su Zhe's own collection, of course, includes the preface.
125. The original Song edition is currently found in the National Central Library in Taipei. In 1922 new woodblocks were engraved from a microfilm of the text. Currently, a 1993 reprint of the 1922 edition is available in various libraries. I have used the Princeton University Library copy.
 126. The *fenlei* edition attributed to Wang Shipeng was variously titled, and imprints were widely available. Regarding its distribution, see Poon, "Books and Printing," pp. 375-377.
 127. Later editions of the Wang text have included poems from both the *Nanxing ji* and the *He Tao shi*, but one should be aware that the early editions arranged only the poems from the *Dongpo ji* (*Qianji*) and the *Houji*.
 128. The reprint, *Zengbu zuben Shi-Gu zhu Su shi* (that is, *Zhu Dongpo xiansheng shi*), is of great importance for clarifying the original format of the text. See also Edgren, "The Weng Family Rare Book Collection," pp. 113-114. Note also, Wang Shuizhao, *Su Shi xuanji* (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1984), pp. 482-483. He emphasizes Shi Su's contribution to revising the text for publication; Shi was probably punished for his effort and did not live to see the edition circulate.
 129. Wang Jinghong explains the changes, especially in the Ming editions, in *Su Dongpo zhushu banben kao*, pp. 49-51. In the Jiajing era (1534) a new edition was printed with corrections of this version.
 130. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
 131. *Ibid.*
 132. Zha Shenxing, ed., *Su shi buzhu* (*Siku quanshu*), 10 vols., 1, p. 7a. His preface states that 136 of Su Shi's matching poems with Su Zhe's preface make up two *juan*. Liu Shangrong, "Banben," pp. 28-29, comments that Zha has taken the simple matter of the number of poems and made it complicated.
 133. For a comparison of the editions, see *ibid.*, pp. 28-30. Liu insists that Wang Wen'gao's errors resulted from his failure to follow the attributions and chronology in Zha Shenxing's edition.
 134. It should be noted, however, that a certain chronology was adopted in this edition; it begins with the "Drinking Poems," which were the first compositions Su Shi matched, but not necessarily the first of Tao's collected poems.
 135. Su Shi, "He Tao 'Yinjiu'" (Twenty Poems and Preface), *Su Shi shiji, juan* 35, pp. 1881-1892. For Chao Buzhi's biography, see *Song shi*, 444, pp. 13111-13112 and *Jibei Zhao xiansheng Jile ji*, in the *Sibu congkan*.
 136. Su Zhe, "Ciyun Zizhan 'He Tao Gong Zhi jiu,'" *Su Zhe ji*, 3, pp. 895-896. Su Shi's original poem and preface are found in *Su Shi shiji, juan* 41, pp. 2245-2246.
 137. Su Zhe, "Zizhan He Tao Yuanming shi ji Yin," *Su Zhe ji*, 3, pp. 1110-1111.
 138. Su Guo's biography is attached to that of Su Shi in the *Song shi*, 338, p. 10818.
 139. For the poem and preface, see Su Guo, "Xiao Xiechuan" in *Xiechuan ji*, 14b, SBBY ed.

140. For the textual history of the *Xiechuan ji*, see *A Sung Bibliography*, pp. 406-407. See also Zeng Zaozhuang and Xu Dagang, "Su Guo nianpu," in *Guji zhengli yanjiu Sichuan daxue xuebao*, no. 27 (1985), pp. 85-114.
141. Recent punctuated and carefully collated editions from the Zhonghua publishing house have contributed greatly to the convenience of readers.
142. Su Shi, "Da Li Zhaoji shu," *Su Shi wenji*, *juan* 49, p. 1439.
143. The most comprehensive study of Su Shi in English is Ronald C. Egan's *Word, Image, and Deed in the Life of Su Shi* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1994). Egan's work serves as an excellent summation of research conducted in the West over the past twenty-five years. At the same time, it provides a scholarly matrix for analysis, makes extensive use of primary sources for translations, and draws on recent Chinese scholarship. Although he rejects the possibility of bringing the disparate voices and the diverse aspects of Su Shi's life together, Egan first presents a biographical context for the various themes that were woven through Su Shi's life and then explicates the issues.

Bai jia zhu fenlei Dongpo xiansheng shiji

百家註分類東坡先生詩集

Beigui ji 北歸集

Bianjing 汴京

bieji 別集

Canliaozi 參寥子

Chanxi ji 禪喜集

Chao Buzhi (1053-1110) 晁補之

Chaoran ji 超然集

Chen Shizhong 陳師仲

Chongbian Dongpo xiansheng waiji 重編

東坡先生外集

Chuxue ji 初學集

ciyun 次韻

Da Chen Shizhong zhubo shu 答陳

師仲主簿書

Da Liu Mian Ducao shu 答劉沔都曹書

Da Li Zhaoji shu 答李照玘書

Danzhou 儋州

Da Su xiaoji 大蘇小集

Dongpo ci 東坡詞

Dongpo houji 東坡後集

Dongpo ji 東坡集

Dongpo liuji 東坡六集

Dongpo qianji 東坡前集

Dongpo qiji 東坡七集

Dongpo waiji 東坡外集

Dongpo Wutai shian 東坡烏臺詩案

Dongpo xiansheng he Tao shi 東坡先生

和陶詩

Dongpo xuji 東坡續集

Dongpo Yi zhuan 東坡易傳

Fan Chengda 范成大

Fengxiang 鳳翔

Feng Yingliu 馮應榴

fenji 分集

- fenlei 分類
 fenlei hekan 分類合刊
 Guizulai xi ci 歸去來兮辭
 Gui tian ju 歸田居
 Gu Xi (fl. 1160) 顧禧
 Hangzhou 杭州
 he 和
 He Tao shiji 和陶詩集
 Huanggang xiaoji 黃岡小集
 Huanglou ji 黃樓集
 Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅
 Huangzhou 黃州
 Huizhou 惠州
 Huzhou 湖州
 Jiayou ji 嘉祐集
 Jiazhou 嘉州
 Ji guo Hepu 記過合浦
 Jingzhou 荊州
 Ji Yun (1174-1180) 紀昀
 Jiuyue ershizi weixue, huai Ziyou di
 九月二十日微雪懷子由弟
 Kong Fanli 孔凡禮
 Lang Ye (fl. 1229) 郎曄
 Leibian zeng Guanglao Su xiansheng da
 quan wenji 類編贈廣老蘇先生大
 全文集
 Ling Mengchu 凌蒙初
 Liu Mian 劉沔
 Liu Shangrong 劉尚榮
 Luancheng ji 欒城集
 Lu You 陸游
 Mao Wei 茅維
 Meishan 眉山
 Meishan ji 眉山集
 Mizhou 密州
 Nanxing houji yin 南行後集引
 Nanxing ji 南行集
 Nanxing qianji xu 南行前集敘
 Nanzheng ji 南征集
 Neizhi ji 內制集
 nianpu 年譜
 Ogawa Tamaki 小川環樹
 Po-Liang chou-chang 坡梁酬唱
 Pomen chouchang shiji 坡門酬唱詩集
 Qiantang ji 錢塘集
 Qi-Liang changhe shiji 岐梁唱和詩集
 Qi Liang ouyou wanghuan shi 岐梁
 偶有往還詩
 Qin Guan 秦觀
 Rongzhou 戎州
 Ru Shu ji 入蜀集
 San Su ji 三蘇集
 San Su wenji 三蘇文集
 Shangu shi zhu 山谷詩註
 Shao Hao (fl. ca. 1131) 邵浩
 Shi Gu zhu Su shi 施顧註蘇詩
 Shi Su 施宿
 Shi Yuanzhi 施元之
 Sibubeiyao 四部備要
 Siku quanshu 四庫全書
 Siku quanshu zongmu 四庫全書總目
 Song Luo 宋肇
 So Tōba shishū 蘇東坡詩集
 Su Guo 蘇過
 Su Qiao 蘇嶠
 Su Shi 蘇軾

- Su shi buzhu* 蘇詩補註
Su Shi wenji 蘇軾文集
Su Shi zhushu shengqian bianke qingkuang kao-lüe 蘇軾著述生前編刻情況考略
Su Shi ziliao huibian 蘇軾資料彙編
Su Wenzhong gong quanji 蘇文忠公全集
Su Wenzhong gong shi bianzhu jicheng 蘇文忠公詩編註集成
Su Wenzhong gong shi hezhu 蘇文忠公詩合註
Su Wenzhong gong shiji 蘇文忠公詩集
 Su Xun 蘇洵
 Su Zhe 蘇轍
Su Zhe ji 蘇轍集
Su Zhe nianpu 蘇轍年譜
 Taohuayuan ji 桃花源記
 Tao Yuanming 陶淵明
 Tuo Tuo 脫脫
Waizhi ji 外制集
 Wang Anshi 王安石
 Wang Shen 王詵
 Wang Shihan 汪師韓
 Wang Shipeng 王十朋
 Wang Shuizhao 王水照
 Wang Wei 王維
 Wang Wen'gao 王文誥
 Wang xiong Zizhan Duanming muzhi ming 亡兄子瞻端明墓誌銘
Wu chuan lu 吳船錄
 Xiaozong 孝宗
 xuanji 選集
Xuetang ji 雪堂集
Xuji 續集
 Xuzhou 徐州
 Yamamoto Kazuyoshi 山本和義
 Yangzhou 揚州
Yingzhao ji 應詔集
 Yin jiu shi 飲酒詩
Yiwen leiju 藝文類聚
yiwen zhi 藝文志
 Yuanyou 元祐
 Zeng Zaozhuang 曾棗莊
 Zha Shenxing 查慎行
 Zhi jiu 止酒
 zhiyin 知音
 Zizhan He Tao Yuanming shi ji yin 子瞻和陶淵明詩集引
 zongan 總案
 zongji 總集
Zouyi ji 奏議集

FRIENDS OF THE GEST LIBRARY

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