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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 Shimenxiang 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 Ruyi 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