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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

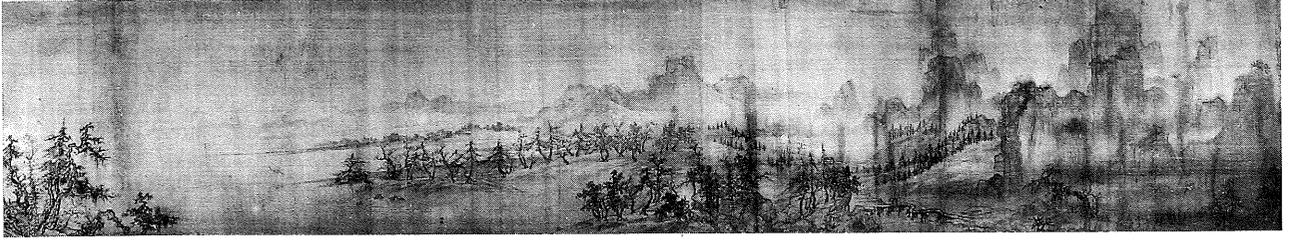
the second half of the composition, mountains gradually become visible in the far distance and then emerge with clarity in the middle ground.

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

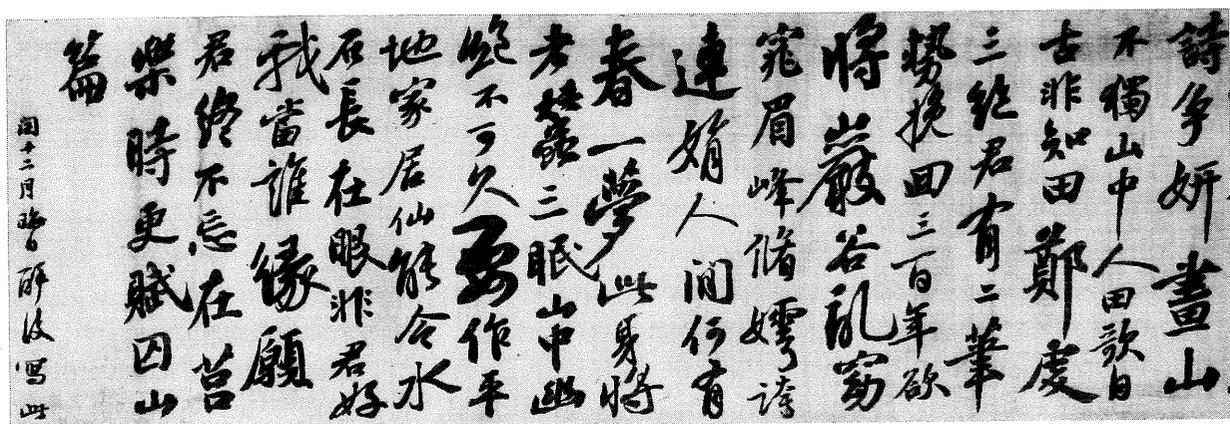
is unsigned and unsealed. This painting, however, is monochromatic, rendered largely in ink line, and smaller (26.2 cm. high as opposed to the 45.2 of the colored landscape). The monochrome composition opens on the right with tiered peaks and three travelers on a foreground path that leads onto a small 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)

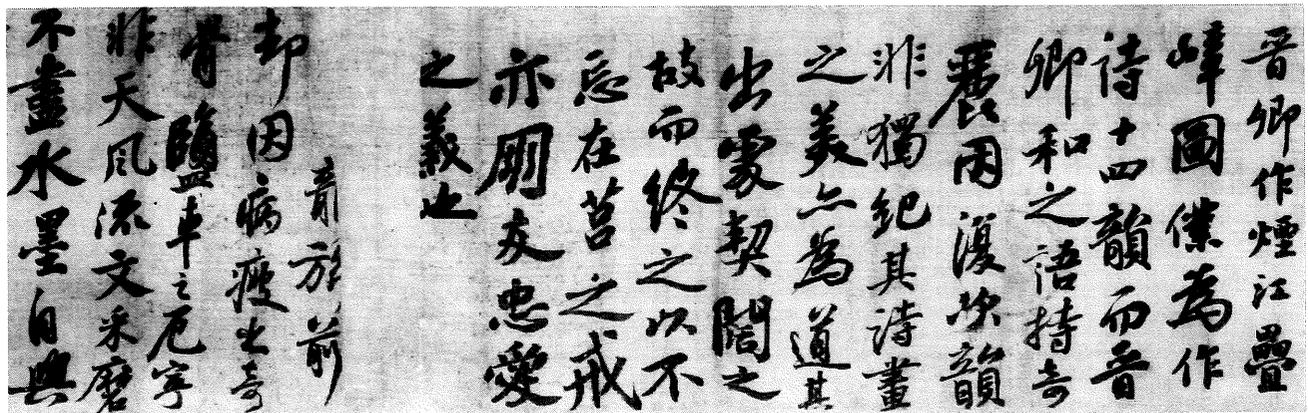


4. Poem three: Su Shi, "Rhyming Wang Shen, with preface," ink on silk, following *Misty*

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.

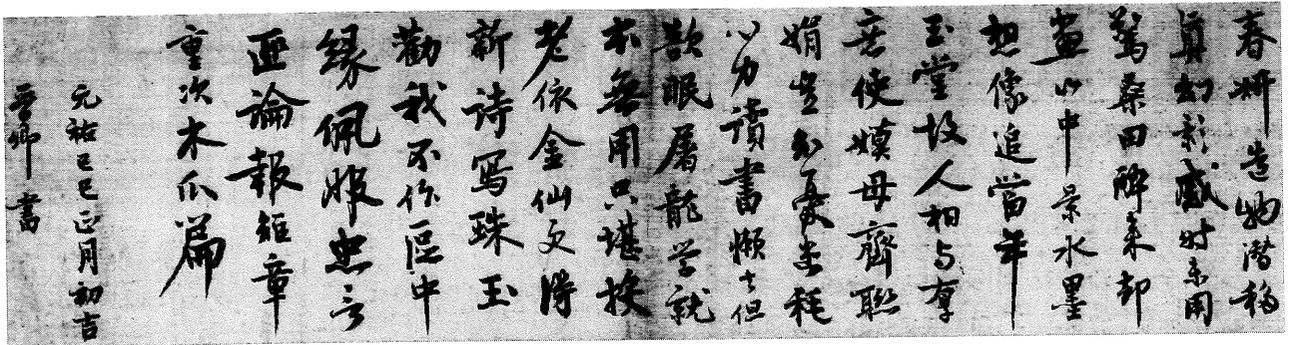


River, Layered Peaks,” and Wang Shen, “Rhyming a Poem,” ink on silk, following Misty River,



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



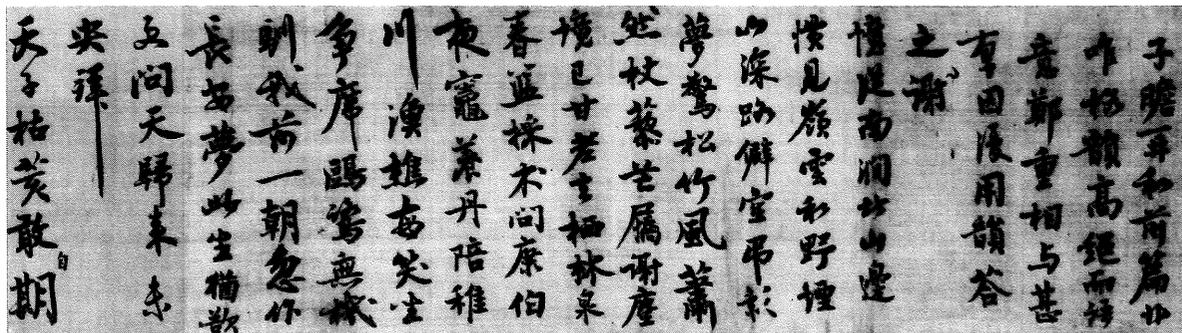
5. Poem four: Wang Shen, "Again Rhyming," ink on silk, following *Misty River, Layered*

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 *Analects*: "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

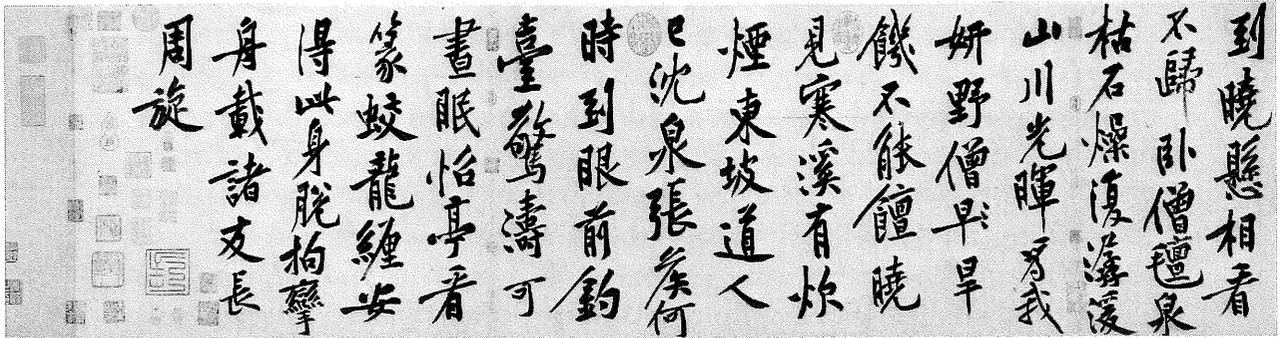
to voice. They intended the four poems solely for sharing with the several friends who recognized the textual allusions — by no means completely recovered here. Even with the help of Du Fu's "Autumn Day in Kui Prefecture" in deciphering them, the poems retain a quality of private conversation punctuated 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

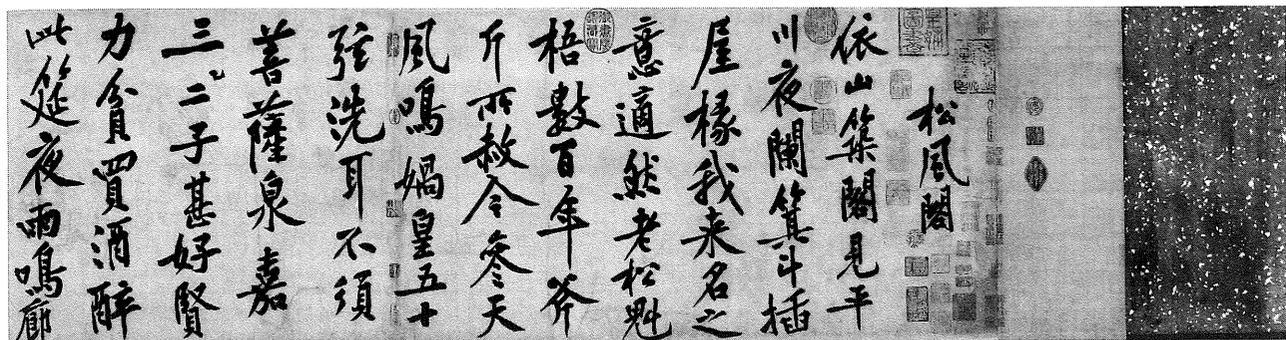


6. Huang Tingjian, *Pavilion of Wind in the Pines*, handscroll, ink on paper, Palace

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 兵戈塵漠漠 江漢月娟娟	3-4 115 116
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	借問頻朝謁, 何如穩醉眠	145-146
28. 山中故人應有招我歸來篇	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

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. | 眉峰修媵誇連娟
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
 Wowa 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