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The Poetry of Su Shi

Transmission of Collections from the Song

KATHLEEN TOMLONOVIC

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

EARLY TEXTS IN CIRCULATION

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

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

LETTER IN RESPONSE TO LIU MIAN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PREFACE TO THE TRAVELING SOUTH COLLECTION

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

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

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

SETTING OUT FROM JIAZHOU

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

事濁酒猶可恃

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

和

子瞻

吾飲酒至少常以把盞爲樂往往頽然

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

註東坡先生詩卷第四十一

吳興施氏

吳郡顧氏

追和陶淵明詩五十四首

飲酒二十首

并引

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CONCLUSIONS

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

The interest in literary biography, already apparent before the

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

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

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

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

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

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

APPENDIX A

Texts Circulating during Su Shi's Lifetime

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

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

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

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

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

Proscription and Destruction during the Northern Song

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

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

New Editions Circulating during the Southern Song

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

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

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

Yuan Period

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

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

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

Editions in Circulation during the Ming

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

Texts Edited during the Qing

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

Twentieth-Century Editions

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

APPENDIX B

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

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

“九月二十日微雪，懷子由弟”（第二首）蘇軾《蘇軾詩集》

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

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

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

蘇轍《蘇轍集》

“次韻姚孝孫判官見還岐梁唱和詩集”

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

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

蘇洵，《嘉祐集》

“出發嘉州”

家託舟航千里速，心期京國十年還。
烏牛山水下如箭，忽矢蛾眉枕席間。

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

蘇軾《蘇軾詩集》

“出發嘉州”

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

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

蘇轍，蘇轍集，2 頁“出發嘉州”

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

NOTES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<i>Bai jia zhu fenlei Dongpo xiansheng shiji</i>	Danzhou 儋州
百家註分類東坡先生詩集	<i>Da Su xiaoji</i> 大蘇小集
<i>Beigui ji</i> 北歸集	<i>Dongpo ci</i> 東坡詞
Bianjing 汴京	<i>Dongpo houji</i> 東坡後集
bieji 別集	<i>Dongpo ji</i> 東坡集
Canliaozi 參寥子	<i>Dongpo liuji</i> 東坡六集
<i>Chanxi ji</i> 禪喜集	<i>Dongpo qianji</i> 東坡前集
Chao Buzhi (1053-1110) 晁補之	<i>Dongpo qiji</i> 東坡七集
<i>Chaoran ji</i> 超然集	<i>Dongpo waiji</i> 東坡外集
Chen Shizhong 陳師仲	<i>Dongpo Wutai shian</i> 東坡烏臺詩案
<i>Chongbian Dongpo xiansheng waiji</i> 重編	<i>Dongpo xiansheng he Tao shi</i> 東坡先生
東坡先生外集	和陶詩
<i>Chuxue ji</i> 初學集	<i>Dongpo xuji</i> 東坡續集
ciyun 次韻	<i>Dongpo Yi zhuan</i> 東坡易傳
Da Chen Shizhong zhubo shu 答陳	Fan Chengda 范成大
師仲主簿書	Fengxiang 鳳翔
Da Liu Mian Ducao shu 答劉沔都曹書	Feng Yingliu 馮應榴
Da Li Zhaoji shu 答李照玘書	fenji 分集

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

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