

INFORMATION TO USERS

The most advanced technology has been used to photograph and reproduce this manuscript from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book. These are also available as one exposure on a standard 35mm slide or as a 17" x 23" black and white photographic print for an additional charge.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

U·M·I

University Microfilms International
A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
313/761-4700 800/521-0600

Order Number 9013823

Poetry of exile and return: A study of Su Shi (1037-1101)

Tomlonovic, Kathleen M., Ph.D.

University of Washington, 1989

Copyright ©1989 by Tomlonovic, Kathleen M. All rights reserved.

U·M·I

**300 N. Zeeb Rd.
Ann Arbor, MI 48106**

Poetry of Exile and Return:
A Study of Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101)

by

KATHLEEN M. TOMLONOVIC

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
University of Washington

1989

Approved by

C. M. Wang
(Chairperson of Supervisory Committee)

David R. Knecht
Frederick P. Damstra
Amel Hashimoto
James

Program Authorized
to Offer Degree

Department of Asian Languages
and Literature

Date

July 20, 1989

Copyright by

KATHLEEN M. TOMLONOVIC

1989

In presenting this dissertation in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctoral degree at the University of Washington, I agree that the Library shall make its copies freely available for inspection. I further agree that extensive copying of this dissertation is allowable only for scholarly purposes, consistent with "fair use" as prescribed in the U.S. Copyright Law. Requests for copying or reproduction of this dissertation may be referred to University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106, to whom the author has granted "the right to reproduce and sell (a) copies of the manuscript in microform and/or (b) printed copies of the manuscript made from microform.

Signature Kathleen M. Tomlonovic

Date August 18, 1989

University of Washington

Abstract

POETRY OF EXILE AND RETURN
A STUDY OF SU SHI 蘇軾 (1037--1101)

by Kathleen M. Tomlonovic

Chairperson of the Supervisory Committee: Professor
C. H. Wang, Department of
Asian Languages and Literature

As one of the most important of the Northern Song (960--1127) scholar-statesmen, Su Shi influenced the development of literary and cultural values during a critical formative period in Chinese history. Serving the imperial court during a time of intense factional disputes, he was demoted and exiled from the center of political and cultural life. He was banished to Huangzhou from 1080-1084, to Huizhou from 1094-1097, and to Danzhou on Hainan Island from 1097 until he received amnesty in 1100.

Su Shi's poetry is the focus of the thesis. The themes of exile and return are prominent in that they illuminate an ambivalence in Su Shi's attitudes toward service and reclusion. Various meanings of the term gui, 'return,' are explicated in order to determine the way Su Shi conceived of himself during times of exile and to analyze how he viewed his predicament.

Chapter One is a review of the historical context in which Su Shi's exiles occurred. Distinctions are made between the first exile, which was consequent to an individual trial, and the second and third, which resulted in the banishment of numerous officials with whom he had served in the Yuanyou reign period.

Accounts of Su Shi's journeys into exile and the places of exile are described in Chapter Two. His capacity for adaptation is attributed to the power of his imagination to transform, at least in poetic description, the places where he lives.

The adversities of deprivation, disgrace and death encountered by the exiles are enumerated in Chapter Three. Su Shi's responses, particularly his acceptance of Buddhist and Taoist thought and modes of behavior are then presented.

In Chapter Four, Su Shi is placed within the context of conventional literary figures and tropes. His understanding of exile is analyzed through a review of six literary pieces, dealing respectively with Qu Yuan, Jia Yi, Han Yu, Liu Zongyuan, Wang Dingguo and Courtier-Poets of the Tang and Song.

Su Shi's preference for identification with men in retirement is analyzed in Chapter Five. His choice of Tao Yuanming as a personal and a literary exemplar is

explained. His desire to retire in times prior to exile is presented as a prelude to the stance adopted in exile.

Chapter Six situates the literature composed during exile within the general corpus of Su Shi's works and discusses why he composed using particular genres, styles and poetic theories. Selections from poetry composed on the journey of return from Hainan after the general amnesty of 1100 are presented as evidence of Su Shi's adoption of a new literary ideal.

The thesis is based on the conviction that while Su Shi's poetry has been appreciated and evaluated during the centuries since his death, it has seldom been used as a model for composition. One reason is to be found in the intensely personal nature of the poetry. That dimension results primarily from his ambivalence regarding engagement in public service and his desire to retire. His original stance was intensified and modified through the experience of exile.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER ONE: THE CAUSES OF EXILE.	25
Causes of Exile in the Northern Song (960--1127) . .	34
Causes and Context of Su Shi's Exiles.	48
Background Causes of the First Exile.	48
The First Exile: Huangzhou.	57
Period Following First Exile.	66
The Second Exile: Huizhou	76
The Third Exile: Danzhou.	80
Return to the North	82
Conclusions.	84
CHAPTER TWO: ACCOMMODATION IN THE PLACE OF EXILE. .	87
The Journey Into Exile	87
Huangzhou: Overland Journey Into Exile.	97
Huizhou: An Excursion to the South.	102
Danzhou: Passage Through the Gate of Ghosts . .	113
Transformation of the Places of Exile.	121
Huangzhou: The Farmer at Dongpo.	125
Huizhou: Immortal of the White Crane Peak . . .	147
Danzhou: Rustic Among the Li People.	169
CHAPTER THREE: RESPONSE TO ADVERSITY IN EXILE . . .	191
Introduction	191
The Adversities of the Exile	200
Death	200
Disgrace and Guilt.	214
Deprivations.	221

Responses in Exile	228
Escape Through Wine	228
Flight in Dream	235
Search for Meaning.	238
Taoist Practices	240
Taoist Thought	252
Buddhism	253
Expressions of Transcendence.	259
CHAPTER FOUR: SU SHI WITHIN THE LITERARY.	277
TRADITION OF EXILE	
Introduction	277
Integrity of the Exiled One: Qu Yuan.	279
Immaturity of the Exiled One: Jia Yi.	295
Exiled Official as the Bearer of Culture: Han Yu	303
Lyrical Expression of the Indignant: Liu Zongyuan	317
Perfection of Art in Exile: Wang Dingguo.	327
Melancholy in Exile: Tang and Song Courtiers.	339
CHAPTER FIVE: THEMES OF RETURN FOR THE EXILE.	352
Introduction	352
The Traditional Conception of Retirement	357
Association With the Recluse Tao Yuanming.	363
Themes of Retirement in Matching Poems.	376
Association with Impoverished Gentlemen	382
Identification with Recluses of the Past.	386

Su Shi's Changing Conception of Retirement	391
The Ideal of Service Completed by Retirement.	392
Temporary Retreat to the Provinces.	407
Retirement From Office and Retreat to an Estate	420
Retreat Within the Court.	432
Escape to the Provinces to Preserve Self.	449
Amnesty and Return of the Exile.	461
CHAPTER SIX: THE LITERATURE OF THE EXILED ONE	467
Theoretical Considerations	470
Adversity Activates Genius.	470
Adversity Thwarts Creativity.	476
Su Shi's Literary Activity in Exile.	480
Poetry of the Returning Exile.	497
Return to Family and to Death.	512
CONCLUSIONS.	518
BIBLIOGRAPHY	527
APPENDIX A: Chronological Chart	555
APPENDIX B: Genealogical Chart.	559
APPENDIX C: Maps.	560

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to Professor Ching-hsien Wang for serving as my dissertation advisor. He assisted and encouraged me throughout the period of research and writing. His appreciation for Su Shi's works enhanced my understanding of the poetry. I thank him for reading and correcting the manuscript.

To the members of my thesis committee I am particularly grateful. Professor David Knechtges made numerous suggestions for improvement. I take this opportunity to thank him for class instruction, for his example of dedicated scholarship, and for kindness shown me, especially during the final period of thesis preparation. I thank Professor Frederick Brandauer for his guidance and encouragement, particularly during his tenure as department chairman. For her willingness to serve on the committee, and for her courses on Chinese language instruction, I thank Professor Anne Yue Hashimoto. For reading an early draft of the thesis and for his continuous interest and encouragement, I thank Professor Jack Dull. It was with Professor Hok-lam Chan that I first read Su Shi's prose works. I appreciate his introduction to the scholarship on Su Shi and his reading

of a portion of the thesis. I also thank Professor Stevan Harrell for his suggestions and encouragement.

During my study I was supported by grants that I now acknowledge, specifically the Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowship and the National Resource Fellowship. I also received a fellowship granted in memory of Professor Hsiao Kung-ch'üan. Although I was not his student, I was privileged to hear his erudite and gracious remarks at China Colloquium sessions. Increasingly, I have come to think of him as a bearer of culture beyond the boundaries of China.

Under the auspices of the National Program for Advanced Study and Research in China, I spent two years in China. I thank my teachers and classmates at Sichuan University. For his solicitude regarding every aspect of my life and study in China, I thank Professor Yang Mingzhao, then chairman of the Department of Chinese. To Professor Zeng Zaozhuang, Director of the Center for Classical Studies, I express my deepest gratitude. With his guidance and instruction I was able to conduct my research in China. The maps of Su Shi's travels were prepared at my request by Professor Wang Dongyuan of the Department of History. Several scholars hosted me in the places of Su Shi's governance and exile; I am grateful to each of them.

The Chinese characters in my dissertation were written by Professor Pin Pin Wan. For this assistance and his enhancement of my understanding of Chinese language and culture, I am grateful. I am indebted to Yeen-mei Wu of the East Asian Library for aprising me of research materials. I acknowledge the assistance of Thatcher Deane, Max Gano, and Dabney Bankert on technical aspects of the dissertation. Fellow students were supportive in numerous ways; I thank especially Chiu-Mi Lai. For their gracious hospitality and various contributions, I thank Agatha Aicher, Mercedes Shereda, and Catherine Chang. While I acknowledge all forms of assistance, I, of course, assume responsibility for the failings that remain.

The inspiration of my teacher, Professor Thomas Berry, was the initial impetus for my study of Asian culture. I am pleased to thank him now. For support and encouragement over many years, I am grateful to Ramona Kaalberg and the community she represents. Because of them I found deepened meaning in my efforts. To my dear family, my sisters and brothers, I express gratitude. Their affection and constancy have sustained me. To them and the memory of our parents, Vincent J. and Margaret Markey Tomlonovic, this work is dedicated.

INTRODUCTION

As one of the most versatile and creative of the scholar-statesmen of the Northern Song (960-1127), Su Shi contributed to the establishment of political and cultural changes that influenced the literati of subsequent generations.¹ While his achievements have been lauded in the centuries following his death, he himself was apprehensive regarding his legacy. Throughout his lifetime, the Song court was plagued by factionalism and its attendant disruptions of bureaucratic stability. As a central figure in the controversies, Su Shi was demoted and exiled from the center of political and social life. He anticipated a complete exoneration and a summons to return, initially to the court and finally to retirement.

In the year 1100 following the ascension of the emperor Huizong 徽宗 (r. 1100-1127), amnesty was granted to many officials who had been banished under the

1. The earliest primary sources for Su Shi's biography are his brother Su Che's 蘇轍 (1039--1112) grave inscription and the standard biography of the Song History that is derivative of the former. See Su Che, "Grave inscription for My Deceased Older Brother Zizhan of the Duanming Hall 亡兄子瞻端明墓誌銘," Luancheng ji 樂城集 3 vols. (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1987), 3/22/1410-23; Song shi 宋史, Compiled by Tuo Tuo 脫脫 (1313?--1355?) et al. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 336.10801-817.

previous emperor.² In the fifth month, Su Shi left his place of exile on Hainan Island and began his return journey to the North.³ Several months later, and shortly before his death, he reached the Jinshan Monastery where he was welcomed and shown a portrait of himself.⁴ The colophon Su Shi wrote for the painting not only served to describe his likeness but also to pose a question:⁵

2. Song shi 19.357-59. After Huizong ascended to the throne, a general amnesty was granted. The Emperor Zhezong died on the twelfth day of the first month in 1100. See Song shi 18.354.

3. Song shi 338.10801-821. Su Shi was assigned to Lianzhou 廉州 in the fifth month. See also Wang Baozhen 王保珍, Zeng bu Su Dongpo nianpu huizheng 增補蘇東坡年譜會證 (Taipei: Taiwan daxue, 1969) p. 231. Wang's chronology supplements previously published nianpu; it is the primary source for dating in this study. Hereafter, Nianpu.

4. Su Shi's return journey had brought him to the Jinshan Monastery 金山寺 in Yizhen 儀真, modern Yizheng 儀征 in Jiangsu. The portrait was painted by the famous Northern Song painter Li Gonglin, 李公麟 (1049--1106) also known as Li Longmian 李龍眠. See Song shi 444 for his biography, and also Wang Bomin 王伯敏, Zhongguo huihua shi 中國繪畫史 (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1982), p. 248.

5. Kong Fanli 孔凡禮, ed. Su Shi shi ji 蘇軾詩集 6 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), 8/48/2641. Hereafter, SSSJ. This edition is based on Wang Wengao's 王文誥 (1764--?) chronologically arranged edition: Su Wenzhong Gong shi bianzhu jicheng 蘇文忠公詩編註集成 6 vols. 1822 rpt. (Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, 1967). Wang collated material available in several previous editions. He used Feng Yingliu's 馮應榴 (1740--1800) Su Wenzhong Gong shi he zhu 蘇文忠公詩合註 that was printed in 1793 as the standard text for the poems, then collated variations from earlier editions. For a review of the texts available, see Wang Jinghong 王景鴻, "Su Dongpo zhushu banben kao" 蘇東坡著述版本考, "Shumu

A heart like wood turned to ash,⁶
 A body resembling the unmoored boat.⁷
 I ask you about lifetime achievements--
 Huangzhou, Huizhou, and Danzhou.⁸

Reflecting on his life as an official of the Northern Song court, Su Shi isolated his three exiles, asking ironically if they were to be viewed as the accomplishments of his lifetime. His career as a scholar-official had been characterized by alternating periods of service and exile. Thirty years of his life were devoted to service at the court or in provincial posts. Ten years were spent in the places of exile: Huangzhou 黃州 along the middle reaches of the Yangtze

jikan 書目集刊 4. nos. 2-3 (December, 1969-March, 1970), pp. 13-54. The current version is favorably evaluated in Liu Shangrong 劉尚榮 "Ping xinban de Su Shi shi ji 評新版的蘇軾詩集" in Su Dongpo yanyiu luncong 蘇東坡研究論叢 (Sichuan: Wenyi chubanshe, 1986), pp. 213-37.

6. The lines echo various passages from the Zhuangzi. See Zhuangzi yinde 莊子引得 Harvard-Yenching Sinological Index Series, No. 20. (Beiping: Yanjing Daxue, 1947), Ch 2. L. 2. See a translation in A. C. Graham, Chuang-tzu: The Seven Inner Chapters and other Writings from the Chuang-tzu (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1981), p. 48. "Can the frame really be made to be like withered wood, the heart like dead ashes?" 形固可使如槁木而心固可使如死灰乎."

7. Zhuangzi. Ch. 32. L. 11. The translation is from Burton Watson, The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), p. 354. "The man of no ability has nothing he seeks. He eats his fill and wanders idly about. Drifting like an unmoored boat, emptily and idly he wanders along."

8. SSSJ, 8/48/2641. "自題金山畫像" ."

River, Huizhou 惠州 in the southeast, and Danzhou 儋州 on Hainan Island.⁹

As an official of the Song court Su Shi had been motivated by an ideal of service. He had intended to perform deeds of lasting value that would establish his reputation and to compose excellent literature that would assure immortality for himself and his descendents.¹⁰ His self conception was shaped by the same expectations that had motivated scholar-officials throughout the centuries in China. But his aspirations were thwarted by punishments which banished him from the center of power and influence. Demotions and exiles jeopardized the realization of his goals; moreover, they appeared to limit, even to vitiate his attainments.

Even as Su Shi reflected on his own predicament, he surely thought of those among his contemporaries, immediate predecessors, and scholar-officials of earlier

9. The places are discussed in Chapter Two of this thesis; Huangzhou is present day Huanggang in Hubei; Huizhou is in Guangdong Province and Danzhou in Danxian, Hainan.

10. For an analysis of the ideal, particularly during the Tang Dynasty, see Ge Xiaoyin 葛曉音 "Lun chu, sheng Tang shige gexin de jiben tezheng 論初盛唐詩歌革新的基本特徵" in Zhongguo shehuikexue 2 (1985), pp. 191-208. The classic expression of this view is found in Cao Pi's 曹丕 [Wei Wendi 魏文帝] (187--226) "Dianlun lun wen 典論 論文". See Xiao Tong 蕭統 (501--530), Wen xuan 文選 Commentary by Li Shan (?--698), 3 vols. 1977; rpt. (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1983), 3.52. 6b-8a.

periods who had also failed in similar quests to conclude lives of service to the court with honorable retirement. Those banished from the court or provincial posts often lost both the right to memorialize the throne and the power to exert direct influence on court policy. Until a special or general amnesty allowed a return, they were condemned to life in exile or death in the place of banishment.

The frequent demotion and exile of officials of the court, this incontestable fact of Chinese history, is chronicled not only in the historical records, but also in the personal accounts of the statesmen-poets. Reflected in their poetry is the indignation, frustration and grief of separation from home. Laments of those facing involuntary separation had been voiced in China's earliest anthology of poetry, the Shi jing 詩經. And poetry expressing a desire to return home constitutes a major feature, in terms of thematic reaches, of the entire Chinese literary tradition.

The dilemma peculiar to the statesman, however, was first expressed in the corpora known as the Chu ci 楚辭 or Elegies of Chu. Su Shi, like the displaced commoners and courtiers who preceded him, longed to return to his homeland. He shared in a predicament which was made unmistakably prototypic in the writings of Qu

Yuan 屈原 (338--278 B.C.).¹¹ A minister of the state of Chu 楚 during the Warring States Period (403--221 B.C.), Qu Yuan was slandered by fellow ministers and rejected by his king. After wandering beyond the boundaries of his homeland, he sought to prove his integrity by choosing death. In the highly personalized poetry of his "Li sao 離騷," the poet complained that his lofty intentions had been misunderstood, and that he had been unduly punished.¹² The association of exile with return was forged in the poet's expression of his desire to return to his homeland.

During the centuries that separated Su Shi from Qu Yuan, numerous literary works evoked the memory of the poet, his literary achievement, and the myth of his encounter with sorrow. Images and themes relating to his dilemma and exile were used in the creation of literature that came to constitute a tradition. Literary works explored themes of loyalty and principled dissent, banishment and its attendant sorrow. As an educated literatus, Su Shi was familiar with the tradition; as a versatile genius, he used it creatively; as a talented

11. Shi ji, 84.2481-91. The biography of Qu Yuan and the importance of the figure are discussed in Chapter Four of this thesis.

12. Wang Yi 王逸 (fl A.D. 110--129), Chuci buzhu 楚辭補注 2 vols. (Taiwan: Zhonghua shuju, 1966), 1.1a-24a for the "Li sao."

poet, he contributed to the tradition. It is the manner in which he accepted and rejected features of the literary tradition on exile-related themes that distinguishes him. His particular treatment of the subject is the focus of this study.

Because the statesman was the figure in China who recorded his predicaments and responses, literature composed during and about exile contributes to a well-documented tradition. What Randolph Starn says of literature written by and about exiles in the Western tradition is applicable to China as well.

In language at least, exiles may return to their homes, revise the past to settle old scores, and plot a better future. Since antiquity there has been a literature of exile. Where the voices this literature contains register changing times and circumstances, they are no less historical than events, institutions and laws. Even so, many themes and many tones have resurfaced and resounded from exile again and again over time. In one way or another all exiles must face the experience of repudiation, displacement, and encounter with an alien world. They may take grief head on, refuse consolation, make all trouble their own, and cry out against real or imagined injustices. They can try to cut their losses by rationalizing, depersonalizing, or, what often amounts to the same thing, mocking them. If the mode is partly a matter of temperament, mood and historical situation, it also depends on alternative literary conventions and contrasting views of the human condition.¹³

13. Randolph Starn, Contrary Commonwealth: The Theme of Exile in Medieval and Renaissance Italy (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), p. 24.

While voices of the exiled statesmen-poets throughout Chinese history repeated themes and drew inspiration from imagery used by earlier exiles, literary conventions expressing their plight developed in diverse ways. Su Shi's voice was added during the eleventh century. He spoke not only for himself but also for a generation of men who endured the adversity of exile. During the reigns of Shenzong 神宗 (r. 1068--1086), Zhezong 哲宗 (r. 1086--1100), and Huizong, numerous major officials were sent into exile or pressured to depart from the court. From their place of exile or self-imposed retirement, many sought to regain a position. Return meant a recall that gave to the summoned exile a restored or new position beside the emperor or among partisan members of a favored group.¹⁴

Su Shi also anticipated a reprieve from his exile. In his desire to return to the court he resembled the exiled officials of various historical periods. However, unlike the literature of many of the traditional exiles, his expressions regarding a return to the court were fraught with ambivalence. Where such exiles spoke unequivocally of return or gui 歸 as recall, Su Shi

14. See Chapter One of this thesis for an account of factional disputes and efforts to regain power during the Northern Song.

drew upon a wider variety of meanings associated with return.

The Chinese term gui has the original meaning of "to return" or "to go back". Etymologically it is related to the idea of a woman's movement to her husband's home at the time of marriage. Basically however, it carries the idea of return to one's home.¹⁵ Extended meanings are numerous and include the idea of a return to the original source, concealment, and death. The term also came to connote retirement. During the Eastern Han 東漢 (25-220), Zhang Heng 張衡 (78--139) requested retirement by writing his "Gui tian fu 歸田賦" or "Rhapsody on Returning to the Fields."¹⁶ Accordingly, the term was used to refer to retirement from service at the court. Thus Tao Yuanming's 陶淵明 (365--427) poem on his homecoming, the "Gui qu lai xi ci 歸去來兮辭," immortalized in poetry the lofty action of leaving office to return to one's farm.¹⁷ In addition, the term was

15. For the meaning of the word "gui" 歸 See Xu Shen 許慎, Shuowen jiezi 說文解字 (Hong Kong: Zhonghua, 1972; rpt. 1979), juan 2a, p. 38. The word is derived from the components 帀 and 止 with the phonetic component 自. See also Bernhard Karlgren, Grammata Serica Recensa, 1957; rpt. (Stockholm: The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities), p. 152, graph 570. Gui is similar in meaning and sound to the word hui 回; Su Shi occasionally interchanges the terms.

16. Wen xuan 1.1.15; 1.1.20b-21a.

17. The "Gui qu lai xi ci" epitomizes Tao's stance regarding service. See Yang Yong 楊勇 Tao Yuanming ji

used in the Buddhist and Taoist traditions to refer to a return to the fundamental or essential truths. One devoted to the religious tradition could speak of gui zhen 歸真; for the Buddhist, returning to the true or the original (gui yuan 歸元) meant to escape from cycle of accumulating karma and to achieve nirvana.¹⁸ Particularly for the Taoist, gui gen 歸根 meant a return to the root or source. Both the Laozi 老子 and the Zhuangzi speak of the return of all things to a source that is ultimately one.¹⁹ Su Shi, through his early study of classical works and his increasingly focused

jiaojian 陶淵明集校箋 (Hong Kong, Wuxing ji shuju, 1971), 5.266-273. Studies of Tao's works assume the central importance of his decision to retire. See James Hightower, The Poetry of T'ao Ch'ien (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970).

18. Mochizuki Shinkō 望月信享 (1869--1948), Bukkyō daijiten 佛教大辭典 8 vols (Tokyo: Sekai seitan kankō kyokai, 1954). See vol. 1, p. 508, "gui yuan 歸元." This language is found in the Sūraṅgama-sūtra (Shou Lengyan jing 首楞嚴經), a Mahāyāna text translated by Kumārajīva.

19. Zhuangzi, Ch. 22 "Zhi bei you 知北遊"; Watson, Complete Works of Chuang Tzu, p. 235. See also Laozi, Ch. 16.; D. C. Lau, trans, Lao Tzu: Tao Te Ching (Penguin: Harmondsworth, England, 1963), 1.16.37, p. 72. "I do my utmost to attain emptiness; I hold firmly to stillness. The myriad creatures all rise together and I watch their return. The teaming creatures all return to their separate roots. Returning to one's roots is known as stillness. This is what is meant by returning to one's destiny. Returning to one's destiny is known as the constant. Knowledge of the constant is known as discernment." For Su Shi's use of the term in the Taoist sense, see SSWJ 3/52/1531, Letter # 41: "gui gen shou yi 歸根守一."

Consideration of Buddhist and Taoist texts, was familiar with these meanings. Therefore, when he used the themes of exile and return in his literature, he was drawing upon a diverse array of ideas and images.

The reasons for Su Shi's expression of a desire to retire were determined primarily by changed political conditions. The place to which he hoped to return also changed as his location changed. Where he was when he spoke of return, whether at the court as advisor, in the provinces as governor, or in the place of exile as demoted official, determined the concrete reference for the word "return". One thing alone remained constant: he sought reunion with his brother. In their youth, the two had promised to return to their family home after they had fulfilled their time of service, made their contribution to the court and country, and achieved fame. On the occasion of Su Shi's first provincial appointment and thus his initial departure from his brother, he wrote a poem that clarified the meaning of their promises and the consequences of their decision to enter into official service.²⁰

20. SSSJ, 1/3/95-96; "Parting from Ziyou From Beyond the West Gate of Zhengzhou on the Nineteenth of the Eleventh Month of the Year Xinzhou: Writing a Poem on Horseback to Send Him Off" 辛丑十一月十九日, 既與子由別於鄭州西門之外, 馬上賦詩一篇寄之. See Wang Shuizhao 王水照, Su Shi xuan ji 蘇詩選集 (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1984), pp. 3-4 for comments on the repeated reference to the promise made from facing beds listening to night rains.

Without drinking why am I still drunk and
 befuddled?
 This heart has already chased the one going
 back.²¹
 The man returning still thinks of our family
 home,
 But how will I console my loneliness?
 Ascending to a high place, I turn my head but the
 slope separates us,
 I see only your black hat appearing and
 disappearing in the distance.
 In the winter's cold, I worry that your clothes
 are too thin,
 As you alone ride an old nag plodding under the
 fading moon.
 Travelers are singing and the dwellers are happy,
 My servant chides me for my sad melancholy.
 Though I know that life must have its partings,
 I only fear that the passing years will suddenly
 float away.
 Beneath the cold lamp facing each other we
 recalled former times,
 When again will we listen to the pattering of the
 night rains?
 You know this feeling of brotherhood cannot be
 forgotten,
 Be careful not to crave the official's high post.

During times of difficulty Su Shi repeated the promise to
 return home to retire with his brother. The pledge
 served as a dynamic force, causing him to plan for the
 future. Although the desire to retire was tinged with a
 degree of escapism, it was, at the same time, tempered by
 a commitment to service that precluded the leisure of
 retirement until his duty to the country had been
 fulfilled. This fundamental conflict between service and

21. Wang Baozhen, Nianpu, p. 45. In the ninth
 month, Su Shi was appointed to Fengxiang 鳳翔. Su
 Che returned to the capital to accompany their father.

withdrawal is readily discerned in Su Shi's writings. The manner in which the tension between the two informs his poetry provides the framework for this study.

Literary and historical models also influenced the way Su Shi conceived of his desire to return. According to Li Zehou 李澤厚, a contemporary historian of Chinese aesthetics, Su Shi spoke more frequently of retirement than did any other poet of the scholar-official class, yet he did not have an opportunity to enjoy the traditionally sought experience of retirement:

From one point of view Su Shi can be considered an official loyal to his country, as a man who attained his post through scholarship and was committed to the fulfillment of his responsibilities, and as one who preserved Confucian teachings. ... In this respect he resembles Du Fu, Bai Juyi, Han Yu and the myriad of scholar officials who came after him. He was no different from them and even at times had an unsuspected adherence to traditional ways. However, the point we should take note of is that the image he has bequeathed to posterity is not this dimension, but exactly the opposite. And it is this aspect which makes him precisely Su Shi. Throughout his entire life, Su Shi never once went into seclusion, and he never really "returned to the fields." And yet he utilized the human feelings that can be expressed in prose and poetry and was able to speak more insightfully and profoundly about seclusion (tui yin 退隱), retirement (gui tian 歸田) and concealment (dun shi 遁世) than had anyone prior to him who had given lip-service to retirement or had actually withdrawn. ²²

22. Li Zehou, Mei de licheng 美的歷程 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1981), p. 161.

Given his frequent and profound words on retirement, why, then, did Su Shi not leave active service to the court? Chinese literati often adopted the pose of one who spoke frequently of retirement in order to present an image of one upright and aloof. The numerous connotations of gui were often reduced to the single desire of returning to the political center.²³ Su Shi failed to withdraw either because he was insincere, indecisive, or because he conceived of himself as one subject to external factors that he accepted as his fate. The relationship between his desire to retire and his conception of service was a complex one; moreover, it was modified as his position of service within the court changed. As the changes are traced, it becomes apparent that the fact of his demotions and exiles strongly influenced his concept of and desire to retire.

The particular perspective he brought to the perennial question of the relationship between engagement and withdrawal drew upon a tradition and contributed to

23. For example, see final line in Han Yu's 韓愈 (768--824) famous poem "Shan shi 山石" in Han Changli shi xinian ji shi 韓昌黎詩繫年集釋 2 vols (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1984), vol. 1, pp. 145-48. For comment on the poem, see C. H. Wang, "The Nature of Narrative in T'ang Poetry" in The Vitality of the Lyric Voice edited by Shuen-fu Lin and Stephen Owen (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), p. 230. As Professor Wang has stressed elsewhere in consultation, Han Yu, like numerous officials before and after him, uses the term "return home" to imply return to the center of political activities rather than the place of retirement.

it. While loyally serving the Song court, he questioned the value of that service, and when exiled, he did not simply ascribe blame to a corrupt court, but sought to determine the reasons for and the significance of his dilemma. His capacity to withstand adversity, even to utilize it in the creation of his art, became a distinguishing characteristic of his life and works.²⁴

The enduring appeal of Su Shi's poetry has been linked intimately with his personality. However, particular aspects of Su Shi as a cultural figure have received more attention than others; specified works have been seen to capture his essential characteristics. For instance, there has been a tendency to emphasize his optimistic nature, while ignoring other dimensions of his personality.²⁵ His wit and humor, boldness and spontaneity attracted people to him during his lifetime; and it is these qualities in his writings that have been most frequently appreciated and analyzed. So, too, certain periods of his life have received more attention

24. For this view, see Yoshikawa Kōjirō 吉川幸次郎, So shi gaisetsu 宋詩概説, Chugoku shijin sen. 2nd series, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1965), pp. 134-62. Translation of the work is in Burton Watson, An Introduction to Sung Poetry (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1967), pp. 105-22.

25. Assumptions of Su Shi's optimism underlie Lin Yutang's biography of Su Shi. See The Gay Genius: The Life and Times of Su Tungpo (New York: The John Day Company, 1947).

than others. Although there have been studies of the events of Su Shi's exiles and of the literature produced during those periods, they are not numerous.

An assumption regarding the relationship between Su Shi's exiles and literary achievement underlies a description of the Huangzhou exile. In the grave inscription written for Su Shi, his brother Su Che 蘇轍 (1039--1112) claims that after the exile, Su Shi's writing changed dramatically: "After he was exiled, he closed his door, his writing became like a rushing stream; I tried to catch up but could only stand dumbfounded."²⁶ On the basis of this assumption, a division of Su Shi's life and works into those before and those after his Huangzhou exile is now common. The opinion that there were distinctive developments in his literary style and thought underlies a number of studies, with periodization of his works one approach toward delineating continuities and changes.²⁷

26. Su Che, Luancheng ji, vol. 3, pp. 1421-22. The inscription was requested by Su Shi; see Zeng Zaozhuang 曾棗莊, Su Che nianpu 蘇轍年譜 (Shaanxi: Renmin chubanshe, 1986), p. 188. See Song shi 339. 10831-35 for his biography.

27. See Wang Shuizhao 王永照, "Lun Su Shi chuanguo de fazhan jieduan 論蘇軾創作的發展階段," in Shehui kexue zhanxian No. 1 (1984), 259-69 for a schema of development. Wang's questions regarding the criteria used for division and specific content of the periodization were the basis for several papers delivered at the Third Biennial Conference of the Su Shi Research Association held in Huizhou, China in September, 1984.

The idea that a profound change occurred during the Huangzhou exile of Su Shi serves as the basis for Stanley Ginsberg's study of the period.²⁸ According to Ginsberg, the experience of exile alienated Su Shi from his fellow officials, from the court he served, and from the society in which he lived. Basing his analysis on the fundamental notion that the Song Dynasty officials had inherited a paradigm of concepts regarding service and withdrawal, Ginsberg suggests that Su Shi acted within the tradition, using the period of withdrawal as a time of self-cultivation. Upon returning to official duties, he served with a new sense of purpose and a deepened understanding of his own condition and that of all persons. Yet, closer examination will reveal that Su Shi was never fully reconciled to the court he served.

If one accepts the view that Su Shi underwent significant changes during the time of his first exile, one can then ask whether or not the changes that occurred during the two exiles that followed were equally obvious and significant. The compelling character who emerged

See Lun Su Shi Lingnan shi ji qita 論蘇軾嶺南詩及其他 (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin chubanshe, 1986), especially Xie Taofang 謝桃坊, "Su shi fenqi pingyi" 蘇詩分期評議, pp. 6-23, and Zeng Zaozhuang, "Su shi fenqi pingyi de pingyi" 蘇詩分期評議的評議, pp. 24-41.

28. Stanley Ginsberg, "Alienation and Reconciliation of a Chinese Poet: The Huangzhou Exile of Su Shi" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1976).

during the Huangzhou exile is, like the literature composed during that time, perhaps best known and appreciated. It has been stated that "both his personality and his literature peaked at Huangzhou and he was not afterwards becoming anything else."²⁹

Su Shi's exiles in Lingnan 嶺南, namely, Huizhou and Danzhou, have been viewed negatively in some Western scholarship. Hatch says, "One tries to get over the late period of Su Shi's life as quickly as possible."³⁰ He adds, "Su Shi's creative desire was badly ravaged by the severity of the late exiles and no literary monuments emerged."³¹ In evaluating the achievement of the Hainan exile, Edward Schafer says, "If Su Shih's imagination was not significantly enlarged by his new experiences, neither, predictably, was his creative writing."³² Comparatively, fewer of the poems written during Su Shi's exiles in Huizhou and Hainan have been included in anthologies.³³ The style and content of those poems have

29. George Hatch, "Su Shih" in Sung Biographies 4 vols. Herbert Franke, ed. (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1976), pp. 900-68.

30. Hatch, Biographies, vol. 3, p. 953.

31. Hatch, Biographies, vol. 3, p. 955.

32. Edward Schafer, Shore of Pearls: Hainan Island in Early Times (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), p. 99.

33. For example, Liu Naichang 劉乃昌 selects thirty of approximately one hundred fifty poems. See Su

been compared unfavorably with the haofang 豪放 or bold and unrestrained style of earlier works.³⁴

However, some Chinese critics have evaluated the final period of Su Shi's life as one of significant literary achievement. His Northern Song contemporary, Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅 (1045--1105), for instance, regarded the poetry highly, as did Lu You 陸游 (1125-1210) of the Southern Song; both had praise for the Haiwai ji 海外集, the collection of poems written during Su Shi's Hainan exile.³⁵ Even the Qing scholar Ji Yun 紀昀 (1734--1805), at times eccentric in his reading of Chinese poetry, chose to write a commentary for Su Shi's anthology and to place red brush circles of approval on many of the poems from the late period.³⁶ Contemporary critic Wang Shuizhao 王水照 sees the Lingnan exiles as a continuation of the Huangzhou period

shi xuan ji 蘇詩選集 (Jinan: Jinan shushe, 1981). Burton Watson selects eleven of eighty-eight poems from the Lingnan period. See Su T'ung-po (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965).

34. For a study of various styles of ci, see Ye Jiaying 葉嘉瑩. "Lun Su Shi ci 論蘇軾詞" Zhongguo shehui kexue 中國社會科學 (1985.3), pp. 175-192.

35. For a review of various evaluations of Su Shi's poetry from exile, see Liu Naichang 劉乃昌 "Dongpo Lingnan shi de chengjiu he fengge 東坡嶺南詩的成就和風格," Lun Su Shi Lingnan shi ji qita. pp. 80-91. For Huang Tingjian's comments about Su Shi, see Wei Jingzhi 魏慶之 (13th C.) Shi ren yuxie 詩人玉屑 2 vols. (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1978), 1.7.388.

36. Ji Yun 紀昀 (1724--1805), Su Wenzhong Gong shi 蘇文忠公詩 (n.p.: 1836).

and points to Su Shi's formulation of a new literary ideal as a clue to the reading of poetry from the late period.³⁷

Exile may be seen to have both a causal and incidental relationship to the creative achievement of the poet. However, the specific interplay of the adversity experienced and the resultant literary creation is difficult to determine. Nonetheless, impressions such as the view Han Yu 韓愈 (768--824) held of Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (773--819) are convincing. According to Han, if Liu had not been sent into exile, he would not have been stimulated to write with the fervor that characterized works composed during his Yongzhou 永州 banishment. Furthermore, time in exile provided the conditions that led to the creation of distinctive models of guwen 古文 prose.³⁸

The essentially political fact of exile has long served as a stimulus to literary expression in China. During the time of their banishment, many scholar-officials expressed their plight in moving literary works. Particularly when the edict was seen to be a

37. Wang Shuizhao, "Lun Su Shi chuanguozuo de fazhan jieduan," p. 260.

38. Han Changli wenji jiaozhu, (Taipei: Hanjing wenhua shiye, 1983), p. 296. "Liu Zihou muzhiming 柳子厚墓誌銘." Also, see J. M. Gentzler, "A Literary Biography of Liu Tsung-yuan." (Ph.D. Dissertation: Columbia, 1966), p. 161.

moral affront, consolation was found in accounts of those who had preserved their integrity in exile.³⁹ A style of writing came to be associated with banishment. It was permissible, even expected, that the exiled official express himself in lyrical terms that were not normally acceptable in the court poetry of the period or in the occasional pieces composed by the literati.⁴⁰ Analysis of Su Shi's poetry must take into account the tradition which preceded him. Su Shi and the entire tradition of Song Dynasty poetry should be placed in the context of a changing poetic standard.⁴¹

Exile often led to a renewed or deepened interest in religion and philosophy. Study of Buddhism and Taoism, as well as contact with men in reclusion, was a common response of the literate exile, particularly if he had studied religious or philosophical texts prior to his

39. See Laurence Schneider, A Madman of Ch'u (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980) for an account of the influence of the writings of the exiled Qu Yuan on subsequent generations. Repetition of themes and images of the "Li sao" reveal the efforts of various poets to identify with the exiled minister.

40. For the idea that a tradition of exile literature developed in early China, see Steven Owen, Poetry of the Early T'ang (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), pp. 325-280 passim.

41. For a discussion of the particular characteristics of Song poetry, see Xu Fuguan 徐復觀 "Song shi tezhen shilun 宋詩特徵試論," Zhongguo wenhua fuxing yuekan 中國文化復興月刊 11. 10 (October, 1970), 27-40.

forced withdrawal or if previously he had cultivated friendships with monks or Taoists. Demotion and removal from duties of office provided some officials the leisure requisite for literary creation. They also wrote accounts of their travel to and from the court or provincial posts, thereby contributing interesting and valuable information on geographical features and historical sites. But as the duration of exile lengthened responses to it became more complex and meant employing appropriate strategies for survival. As the years passed and the circumstances changed, Su Shi's responses were modified as well. An analysis of how he both adapted and resisted will reveal not only his understanding of his predicament, but also his underlying view of the human condition. Although during times he was not in exile Su Shi had presented a variety of persona for his readers, those he created while in exile possess distinctive features which are deserving of careful examination and analysis. His literature reveals that he was able to sustain himself in exile in part because he had the capacity to create worlds in which to dwell.

This study draws upon biographical sources to present Su Shi within the context of his times. From the several hundred poems and numerous works in other literary genres composed during exile, a selection has

been made with a view to explicating how Su Shi conceived of his exiles and how he responded to them. A unique feature of Su Shi's literary corpus is the anthology that matches the rhymes of Tao Yuanming's poetry. Analysis will clarify the reasons for this effort and also show the significance of the poems.

The primary focus of the study is the elaboration of the exile experience as it is presented in Su Shi's poetry. Because he chose to record and to leave for posterity a significant body of work, it has been necessary in the present study to order that poetry into related wholes, either chronologically or thematically arranged. The selection includes works composed during exile as well as those written at other times that still speak of exile. Many poems of response in exile present a distinctive persona. Su Shi's presentation of self is often characterized by an apparent conflict. Ambivalence toward service results in repeated use of the term gui. As Su Shi ponders the possibility of amnesty, which will allow him to return to service, he also is drawn to the idea of retirement and reclusion. His ambivalence contributes to a tension within the poetry itself. Poems composed during return and about return are selected and analyzed in order to emphasize this fundamental feature of his poetry.

By specifying elements of variation and continuity in Su Shi's use of the literary tradition of exile, the way in which he reiterated or transformed conventional images and themes will become apparent. Finally, Su Shi is placed within a tradition that ascribes to adversity the power to stimulate the man of talent and worth to literary greatness. Su Shi's understanding of that tradition is clarified, and his own responses are considered in light of the theory.

CHAPTER ONE
THE CAUSES OF EXILE

An understanding of the significance of exile for Su Shi is dependent upon an awareness of the factors which brought about his expulsion from active service in the Song court. As an official, Su Shi was directly affected by the historical currents and the particular political conditions of the Northern Song period. The second half of the Northern Song, during which Su Shi served the court, was characterized by a series of partisan conflicts that led to the disgrace, demotion and removal of numerous high officials. These men were sent from the court or provincial posts into exile. If their associates regained power, many officials were summoned to return to court. However, if and when a rival faction gained control, the official would be subject to expulsion once again.¹

The conflicts were due, primarily, to differing views regarding the appropriate way to make the country economically viable and militarily strong. In addition to fundamental philosophical and ideological divisions,

1. For an analysis of the differing political and intellectual stances adopted by the leading officials, see James. T. C. Liu, Reform in Sung China (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959).

there was no unanimity regarding the most effective course of government policy and the optimum pace of political change. Despite differences, respected statesmen based their actions on principle; however, self-serving, petty men also gained positions of power. Ultimately, the inability of high officials to agree on a course of action contributed to the fall of the dynasty. Whereas the separation of banished officials from the court had created personal hardships, individual tragedies paled in the light of the removal of the court from the capital. When the Jin invaders from the north took the emperor Huizong and his eldest son hostage in 1126, his younger son led the court to eventual re-establishment in the south.² The themes of return, which once had been the cry of expelled officials, became the common lament of the entire court, removed from the capital and living in virtual exile.³

2. Song shi 20.417. "Huizong ben ji." See also Herbert Franke, "Treaties Between Sung and Chin" in Études Song: In Memoriam of Étienne Balazs, Series 1 (France: Mouton and Co, 1970), pp. 76ff. Huizong was taken captive in 1126 and died in captivity in 1135. The treaty of 1141-42 was concluded after Qin Gui 秦檜 (?--1155) had eliminated Yue Fei 岳飛 (1103--1142) and had obtained consent of the Jin for cessation of hostilities. The Huai River became the border between the two states; silver and silk were given as tribute. The Song state referred to itself as a vassal; in return, the Jin promised to send back the coffins of Huizong, his empress and his mother. The conquest of Kaifeng occurred on January 9, 1127. It was the virtual end of the Northern Song dynasty.

Removal from the center of power and the dominant culture was one of the most obvious results of exile. Those expelled no longer inhabited a space near the court and capital, two symbols of inclusion and influence. Essentially, the meaning of exile in pre-modern China is similar to the sense of the word in the West prior to modern times. Reviewing the meaning of exile, Randolph Starn has noted that the word is etymologically related to a geographical notion of space and location.

In his book of etymologies, Isidore of Seville traced the word exsilium to deep and lasting roots. Exile was fundamentally a matter of location and defined positions in space: 'Exile means, as it were, "outside the soil"- estra solum. For he who is "outside his own ground" is called an exile. So, for example, those who return from the space "beyond the threshold" to resume civic rights . . . which is to say, from beyond the boundaries of their homeland.⁴

3. The effort to regain the north became a theme in the literature of the Southern Song: poems by Lu You 陆游 (1125-1210) often made reference to the recovery of the north. His last patriotic poem was written on his deathbed. His sons were instructed to report to him the return to the Central Plains. See Burton Watson, trans, The Old Man Who Does As He Pleases: Selections from the Poetry and Prose of Lu Yu (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973), p. 68. Patriotic themes in poetry of Xin Qiji 辛弃疾 (1140-1207) and Fan Chengda 范成大 (1126-1193) were also common. See Yoshikawa Kōjirō for a brief introduction to the poetry of the major figures, pp. 190-220. Note also the symbolic significance of Yue Fei. See Hellmut Wilhelm, "From Myth to Myth: The Case of Yüeh Fei's biography" in Confucian Personalities, A. F. Wright and D. C. Twitchett, eds. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962), pp. 146-61.

The Western exile was viewed primarily as one who had crossed over or lived outside of a boundary. The Chinese exile, too, was a person limited by a boundary. However, as the Chinese terms used to indicate exile, banishment and expulsion suggest, the concept is fundamentally related to movement. The terms liu 流, zhu 逐, and qian 遷, each referring to a form of punishment by expulsion, are all terms indicating movement. In the Chinese context, the exile was the one removed from one place and sent forcibly to another. No longer allowed to remain at the center, he was expelled from his familiar sphere.

A commentary in the code of law developed during the Tang Dynasty clarifies the nature of the punishment by quoting from the Book of History: "The greatest criminals are sent to the four frontier areas or exiled beyond the seas. The next are exiled for life outside the Nine Territories and the next outside the Central States."⁵ In the earliest times, when kingdoms within

4. Starn, Contrary Commonwealth, p. 1. Starn relates the seventh century Isidore's definition to meanings used in ancient and modern eras as well.

5. The T'ang Code, trans. by Wallace Johnson (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), p. 59. The code quotes from the Shu jing 書經 "Shun dian" 舜典. Johnson modifies the translation from James Legge, The Chinese Classics, vol. 3: The Shoo King, III. 38. The irony of reference to men who would not submit during the rule of a sage is apparent in Zhuangzi, Ch.

the states had defined boundaries, the exile was sent beyond them. In the unified China after the Han, the one exiled could be sent beyond borders or simply to distant parts of a vast realm. Often, he was restricted to movement within a given sphere. The one exiled or banished was dismissed because he had committed an offense. According to the early legend noted in Tang Code commentary, the punishment of life exile was enacted by the emperor Shun because he could not bear to inflict the death penalty.⁶ Terms used to define the offense of the official and to indicate the form of punishment were codified together with regulations affecting other offenders in the Tang Dynasty code of law.⁷ This code was adopted, in most essentials, by the Song court. A term commonly used in the code for those expelled was liu; the banished official was sent away from the court or from his post. According to the Code, the official was able to use his post to redeem punishment; however,

Eleven "Zaiyou pian 在宥篇 ." For translation and notes, see Watson, The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu, pp. 116-18. The nine continents refers to China proper, exclusive of Hainan.

6. See Johnson, The T'ang Code, p. 59.

7. For the factors of privilege and responsibility which governed the way offenders from the official class would be punished, see Johnson, The T'ang Code, pp. 25-28.

he was not immune to exile.⁸ Generally, demotion in rank preceded or accompanied the punishment of exile.

While changes in China's political system occurred throughout the centuries, the fundamental relationship between ruler and subject remained a constant factor. The ruler had the power to reject the courtier or official at will. Once an official had been sent from the court, he had limited recourse: he awaited a change in the emperor's attitude toward him. Just as the emperor had the power to send an official away, he had the authority to summon him to return. When banished from the court, the official might express his grief in an effort to gain the emperor's hearing. A poem could set forth the official's desire to gain a reprieve and to be of service once again. The plea of Shen Quangi 沈佺期 (ca. 650--713), courtier under Empress Wu 武則天皇后(r. 960-705) who was banished after her death, expressed his longing to return to Luoyang.⁹ The fear of sickness, madness, even death itself, compelled him to

8. Johnson, The T'ang Code, p. 13. The Code continued to be the major source for criminal regulation throughout the imperial period. See pp. 25-26 for principles regarding reduction or redemption of punishment. See also Brian McKnight, The Quality of Mercy: Amnesties and Traditional Chinese Justice (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1981). For an explanation of the procedure followed by officials, see pp. 54-55.

9. See Jiu Tang shu 舊唐書 190b; Xin Tang shu 新唐書 202.

seek a reprieve. After arriving in Huanzhou 驩州, he wrote to lament his conditions in exile.

ON FIRST REACHING HUANZHOU¹⁰

Banished travellers--eighteen of us--
 But the decree for me was unlike the others.
 I was exiled the farthest-to the world's very
 end-
 And took longest to arrive, the last of them all.
 By water I went through the Daner's lands,
 Then overland through jungles of tattooed savages.
 My soul wandered to the very gate of the ghosts,
 And my skeleton will be left in Leviathan's
 mouth.
 Bearing with my hunger I lie down by night,
 At dawn move on swiftly, carrying sickness.
 I scratch out my hair in this southern
 wilderness,
 Brush away tears gazing at the northern Dipper.
 Oh, what year will reprieve arrive,
 That I may once again drink the wine of Luoyang?

Although it was possible that the exiled official would be recalled in an individually imparted reprieve, it was more likely that he would return during a general amnesty. During the Northern Song, amnesties were granted with relative frequency.¹¹ As Brian McKnight explains, demoted and exiled officials seldom spent a long period in exile.

10. See Quan Tang shi, 全唐詩, Poem #04978. The translation is by Owen, Poetry of the Early T'ang, p. 357, modified by rendering place names in pinyin.

11. McKnight, The Quality of Mercy, pp. 86-87.

Acts of grace would have had an even greater impact on men sentenced to exile (liu). Theoretically, exile was a long-term punishment. ... In T'ang practice, exiles were frequently either freed by amnesties or moved nearer to the center of the empire. The Sung policy was first laid down by the dynastic founder in an amnesty decree from the second year of his reign. Under this policy all those who had been sent to distant areas, whether they were criminals in exile or disgraced officials, on meeting with an amnesty were to be transferred to nearby jurisdictions. Those already in such jurisdictions were to be transferred again if possible. If they were already at the point where they could not again be transferred, their cases were to be reported by officials in the jurisdiction involved; and, with the exception of certain limited groups, they were to be freed.¹²

Policies regarding amnesty adopted by the first emperor, Song Taizu, were generally consonant with his relatively lenient policy toward civil officials.¹³ He did not condone maltreatment of officials, and protected them from execution.¹⁴ Under regulatory conditions for amnesty, officials could expect to be moved to posts increasingly nearer the capital.

12. McKnight, The Quality of Mercy, p. 79.

13. The policies of the founding emperor are discussed by Anthony Sariti, "The Political Thought of Ssu-ma Kuang: Bureaucratic Absolutism in the Northern Sung" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Georgetown University, 1970), pp. 34-36.

14. Examples from the Annals of Taizu and other references are collected under the entry of Taizu in Ding Zhuanjing, 丁傳靖 Song ren yishi huibian 宋人軼事彙編. See Song shi, 1-3, passim. Also, see Qian Mu 錢穆, Guo shi da gang 國史大綱, vol. 2 (Taipei: Shangwu, Guoli bianshiguan), p. 393.

Occasionally, the general amnesty had restrictions; officials could be excluded from the conditions which applied to others. For instance, during the reign of Zhezong, an amnesty was granted on the occasion of a ceremony honoring his deceased father, the Emperor Shenzong.¹⁵ Officials of the Yuanyou 元祐 (1086-1094) period who had since been exiled were excluded from the amnesty. Su Shi and his brother, still exiled in the South and assuming that they would have little hope of returning to the court while Zhezong ruled, each made the decision to build a home in the place of banishment. The exiled official, if relatively young, might expect to outlive the emperor who banished him and to anticipate that the new ruler would summon him back to court. However, Zhezong had assumed the throne as a child; when the Yuanyou partisans were banished, he was not yet twenty years of age. While the exiled official's ostensible motivation was to return to the court to be of service to the emperor, he often had other reasons for desiring a reprieve. It was incumbent upon the banished official to seek a redress for real or supposed wrongs. Furthermore, he often hoped to regain his position and to be exonerated in order to restore a reputation for himself and to provide a legacy for his family.

15. Song shi 18.343. "Zhezong benji."

CAUSES OF EXILE IN THE NORTHERN SONG (960--1127)

Major events of the Song Dynasty shaped the contours of Su Shi's life. His experience was typical in that he was engaged in partisan struggles. It was representational also in that he was demoted and exiled. It was exceptional in that his punishments were more severe than many of his contemporaries. Yet, he was more fortunate than some others in that he was granted a reprieve and allowed to return to serve the court. A brief review of the national events of the Song, emphasizing the reasons officials were sent into exile or summoned to return to office at the court or in the provinces will provide background for an analysis of Su Shi's changing conception of the relationships among service, withdrawal, and exile.

The Song Dynasty was established when Zhao Kuangyin, 趙匡胤 (927--976, a regional military governor under the last of the Five Dynasties kingdom of Zhou 周, was acclaimed leader by his mutinous troops who marched with him to the capital where he was enthroned.¹⁶ As a former military leader, Song Taizu 宋太祖 (r. 960--976) was aware of the threat a strong military could pose for the throne. He sought to avoid the crises which had plagued

16. Song shi 1.1-4. "Taizu benji."

the Tang emperors.¹⁷ His decision was to put governance in the hands of civil officials, lessening the likelihood that military officials would consolidate their power in local strongholds. He thus initiated the policy of zhong wen, qing wu 重文輕武 that gave civil officials greater authority than military leaders; it was a policy that came to characterize governance throughout the Northern Song.¹⁸ Precautions taken to confine the power of the military thus enabled Taizong 太宗 (r. 976-998), the brother of Taizu, to rule effectively, even though the country had not yet fully recovered from the years of conflict prior to the founding of the Song.¹⁹ The third ruler, Zhenzong 真宗 (r. 998-1023), continued to

For a discussion of the circumstances of Song Taizu's assumption of leadership, see E. A. Kracke, Jr., Civil Service in Early Song China (960--1067) (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1953), pp. 9-10. Kracke refers to the accounts in the Xu zizhi tongjian 1. 1a-4a; he notes that the degree of Zhao's cooperation in the coup is ambiguous, but that the minority of the reigning emperor and the need for a strong leader were factors in Zhao's elevation.

17. The involvement of the military in the coup and Zhao's subsequent treatment of military leaders is discussed in Edmund Henry Worthy, Jr., "The Founding of Sung China, 950-1000: Integrative Changes In Military and Political Institutions," (Ph. D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1975), pp. 170ff. See Qian Mu, Guo shi da gang, vol 2, p. 393.

18. Zhongguo tongshi cankao ziliao 中國通史參考資料 vol. 5. Zheng Guangming 鄭光明 et al., eds. (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1982), p. 35.

19. Song shi 4-5.53-102. "Taizong benji."

maintain relative peace throughout the period of his reign.²⁰

By the time Renzong 仁宗 (r. 1023-1058) ascended to the throne in 1023, however, it was apparent that the country was militarily inferior to its neighbors to the north, the Liao Khitans to the northeast, and the Tanguts in the northwest.²¹ When other areas submitted to the Zhao house in 979, the Liao had not been subdued. In 1038, the leader of the Tanguts, Li Yuanhao 李元昊, had declared himself emperor, had established the Xi Xia 西夏 kingdom, and begun to make incursions into the northern reaches of Song territory.²² In the face of a need to restructure the country economically and militarily, voices for reform were heard. The reform group led by Fan Zhongyan 范仲淹 (989--1052) proposed means for strengthening the country in order to control

20. Song shi 6-8.103-73. "Zhenzong benji."

21. Song shi 9-12.175-252. "Renzong benji." For the view that deterioration of relations between the Song and Xia did not begin until after the reign of Renzong, see Ruth Wilton Dunnell, "Tanguts and the Tangut State of Ta Hsia," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton, 1983), p. 138.

22. The relationships among the Xi Xia, the Northern Song and Liao are explained in Wu Tianchi 吴天埏, Xi Xia shi gao 西夏史稿 (Chengdu: Renmin chubanshe, 1983), pp. 49-55. Li's actions precipitated a protracted war with the Chinese. See Ruth Wilton Dunnell, "Tanguts and the Tangut State of Ta Hsia," p. 113. Li was known also as Weiming 嵬名 and his temple name Jingzong 景宗. For a review of the relationship of the Song to its northern rival states, see Herbert Franke, "Treaties Between Sung and Chin," pp. 55-84.

disturbances within and to resist attacks from without.²³ Although the emperor initially listened to the suggestions for reform, he was influenced by skeptics and slanderers. In 1044 he sent Fan to the frontier as a military leader; in 1045, he demoted him to the position of mere prefect. A fellow reformer, Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007--1072) had attempted to explain the stance of the men who sought reform. He defended Fan and like-minded men as a worthy faction.²⁴ Eventually, Fan was summoned back to the court, but the opposition was never silenced.

The issue of factionalism was to haunt the entire period of the Song. Implications of the critical power of the censors combined with the tendencies to create factions caused unmitigated tension. Personal antipathies were accompanying, if not underlying, causes of numerous demotions and exiles. As James T.C. Liu

23. For Fan's biography, see Song shi 314, especially reference to the reform, pp. 10269ff. The significance of Fan Zhongyan as a reformer is analyzed in James T. C. Liu, "An Early Sung Reformer: Fan Chung-yen" in John Fairbank, ed. Chinese Thought and Institutions (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), pp. 105-131.

24. Ouyang Wengong ji 歐陽文公集 . 3 vols. (Shanghai: Shangwu, 1933), 3/17/22-23. The "Peng dang lun" 朋黨論 is translated as "On the Partisanship of Friends" in Shih Shun Liu, Chinese Classical Prose: The Eight Masters of the T'ang Sung Period (Hong Kong: The Chinese University, 1979), pp. 140-43. See James T. C. Liu, Ou-yang Hsiu, pp. 53ff for an account of Ouyang's argument and its implications.

explains, partisanship remained a problem throughout the Song.

Malpractice aggravated by factionalism went on for decades after the reform. Many court officials felt reluctant to praise their colleagues for fear of being accused of factional favoritism. Equally hesitant to approve proposed actions, they took refuge in high-sounding platitudes and vague generalities, rarely coming to grips with the issues involved. However, they had no reservations about making negative judgments, feeling that such judgments would make them appear honest, frank and impartial. Even minor officials tried to get their criticisms heard. When unsuccessful, they would pay frequent visits to policy critic-advisers, supplying information or fabricating misinformation in order to stir up controversies against men they disliked.²⁵

Debates over policy degenerated into criticism of a personal nature. Accusations of factionalism, disloyalty to the emperor and immoral conduct turned the scholar class against itself. Men of upright intention were to have been summoned through the procedures for adding to and strengthening the bureaucracy. However, the failure to create the proper mechanism for use of critical power within the bureaucracy was a squandering of the talent which was sought for the official class.

The primary means of acquiring talent to assist in the ruling of the country was the jìnshì examination. When Ouyang Xiu served as major examiner, he required not

25. Liu, Ou-yang Hsiu, p. 62.

only a fine literary style, but also a clear grasp of the issues facing the country. Examination questions tested the potential officials on state policy. Civil officials were expected to discuss matters of policy; they considered it their duty to aid, even to admonish the ruler. Most officials of the Northern Song did not gain their position through hereditary privilege, but rather on their personal merit through success in the state examinations. In the examination of 1057, candidates, including Su Shi and his brother Su Che, were selected on the basis of their understanding of problems of state as well as on their clear, persuasive argumentation.²⁶

The power and prestige of the civil official was based on a number of factors: the re-invigoration of Confucian thought in the early years of the dynasty, the character of the early Song rulers, and the assumption that the official was to gain a position on the basis of moral and intellectual merit demonstrated in the examinations and in responsible service to the throne. By the final years of Renzong's reign, the principal figures in the controversies that shaped the following decades of the century had already gathered at the court

26. Su Shi's essay was "On the Most Gracious Penalties and Rewards 省試刑賞忠厚之至論 ." See SSWJ, 1/2/33-34. For Ouyang Xiu's role in the examination of 1057, see Liu, Ou-yang Hsiu, p. 70.

or had begun their years of service in the provinces. Ouyang Xiu and Han Qi 韓琦 (1008--1075) were at the court. Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021--1086), although serving in a provincial post, had begun to gain attention. Zhang Fangping 張方平 (1007--1091) and Fan Chunren 范純仁 (1027--1101), the brothers Cheng Hao 程顥 (1032--1085) and Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033--1107), Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019--1086), and the Su brothers, as well, were in the areas near the capital.

The brief four-year interlude of Yingzong's reign concluded with the ascension of the young, but capable Emperor Shenzong in the year 1068.²⁷ Aware of the need to strengthen the country, he was persuaded by Wang Anshi that drastic measures would have to be taken. The policies presented to Shenzong were generally approved, and Wang Anshi began the reforms. Those in the court who opposed him were either ignored or silenced. Some were sent to provincial posts, and some asked for sinecures outside the capital; still others remonstrated until, in disgust or frustration, they asked to withdraw from the court. A steady stream of officials left the court during the years 1069-1071. Even officials who had requested positions in the provinces felt that there was a touch of disgrace in their departure. It signified that they were unable successfully to oppose the reform

27. Song shi 14-16.263-315. "Shenzong benji."

measures. Ouyang Xiu was unable to lead officials opposing the reform; he was aging and no longer willing to attempt to re-direct the reform effort or mount opposition to it.²⁸

Thus with the support of Shenzong, Wang Anshi carried through a series of policy reforms.²⁹ Some Confucian-oriented statesmen found the acts too drastic a departure from the past. Furthermore, they criticized the utilitarian emphasis as being counter to the traditional concept of rule by men who possessed moral persuasive power.³⁰ Although Wang failed to gain the support of the senior statesmen and those influenced by them, he gathered a sufficiently strong following to implement the major reforms. Termed the xin fa 新法 or "new laws," the reforms affected both government operations and institutions. They included fundamental policy changes and should rightly be called the New Policies.³¹ By establishing a Finance Planning Commission to reorganize state finance, he controlled

28. Liu, Ou-yang Hsiu, p. 83.

29. Song shi 86.10543-44. Wang's first encounter with Shenzong is recorded as is Shenzong's decision to proceed with the policy changes.

30. James T. C. Liu, Reform in Sung China, p. 116.

31. The appropriateness of translating the term xin fa as "new policies" is explained in Liu, Reform in Sung China, p. 1.

major revenues and expenditures. Taxes, trade and currency reforms were far-reaching. To strengthen national defense, not only the national troops, but also commoners were expected to engage in defense of the country. To that end, Wang instituted a militia system which gained new recruits and a horse breeding system which required families in the north and northeast to raise horses which could be used by the military. In addition, Wang attempted to reform the bureaucracy to make it more efficient and responsive to the needs of the country.³² Changes in the examination were intended to aid the recruitment of officials philosophically and practically convinced of the reform policy.

Nevertheless, within the ranks of his group there was opposition. When Wang realized that Shenzong's support for him was wavering because of the reports of human tragedy resulting from the reforms, he made the decision to resign. He had threatened retirement in 1072, finally leaving the capital in 1074 to return to Jinling.³³ However, lack of effective leadership

32. Principles of the reform policies were presented in a memorial submitted in 1058. For translation of the "Wan yan shu," 萬言書 see H. R. Williamson, Wang An Shih, 2 vols. (London: A. Probsthaian, 1935-1937; rpt. Hyperion, 1973), vol. 1, pp. 48-84. For discussion of the reforms, see pp. 158-213.

33. A classic interpretation of Wang's decision to retreat is offered in Qian Mu, "Jin yu tui

prompted the emperor to insist that Wang return. The officials Wang blamed for causing an erosion of the emperor's confidence in the reforms, namely Zeng Bu 曾布 (1035--1107) and Lü Huiqing 呂惠卿 (1031--1111), were removed from office. In 1076 Wang retired for the second time and did not again return to the court.³⁴

Appointment of Lü Huiqing angered the conservatives, but Lu retained his position until the death of Shenzong in 1085. Only when the Empress Dowager, Shenzong's mother, assumed virtual leadership as regent to the boy emperor Zhezong were the supporters of the New Policies expelled from the court. Because the Empress Dowager Xuanren 宣仁 (d. 1093) had opposed the reforms, she recalled Sima Guang and gave him the responsibility of selecting a new group of governing officials.³⁵ With Wang's supporters removed from the court and Wang himself dead by the year 1086, the conservative group faced virtually no opposition as they set about to rescind the policies.

進與退, "Dongfang zazhi 東方雜誌, 19.5 (1985), pp. 11-17.

34. Wang Anshi's biography in Song shi 327 is devoted in large part to his role in the reform movement. Various studies of the reform effort detail Wang's movements. See Williamson, Wang An-shih, vol. 1, pp. 109-304. See also Jonathan Pease, "From the Wellsweep to the Shallow Skiff: Life and Poetry of Wang Anshi (1021--1086)" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Washington, 1986), pp. 99-133.

35. Song shi 17.317-19. Conditions surrounding the recall of Sima Guang are recounted.

Only limited protest came from Su Shi, who argued for a review of the policies and a selection of those which had proven to be effective.³⁶

With the death of Sima Guang in 1086, the struggle for leadership at the court became increasingly negative and intense.³⁷ Three factions vied for power. Most supporters of Sima were Northerners, and were known as the Shuo 朔 faction. Those following the leadership of Cheng Yi were identified as the Luo 洛 faction. Su Shi and his brother were considered the leaders of the Shu 蜀 faction; their following came primarily from the Sichuan area.³⁸ Those opposing the Shu group, particularly the followers of Cheng Yi, were relentless in their determination to remove Su Shi from court. While Su Che remained in his post at court, Su Shi left in 1088, taking the position of magistrate in Hangzhou. By 1091, Su Che had been promoted to the post of Executive Minister of the Right. He was influential in the expelling of Cheng Yi the following year.³⁹ As

36. Su Che, Luancheng ji, vol. 3, p. 1415.

37. Song shi, 336.10767. Sima Guang was not allowed to return to Luoyang, but expected to assume responsibility for the formulation of a new government.

38. For a summary of the factions that vied for power after the death of Shenzong, see Williamson, Wang An-shih, vol. 2, pp. 2-3.

39. See Williamson's analysis in Wang An-shih, vol. 2, p. 4.

Williamson notes in his study of history of the reform after Wang Anshi's death, "the histories record little but transfers, degradations, dismissals, and banishments, all based on party prejudices, jealousies, and strife."⁴⁰

When the young Zhezong came of age in 1093, he assumed the full powers of rule. Shortly before her death that year, the Empress Dowager expressed her fears for the fate of the officials whom she had recalled to the court. Her concerns were not unfounded. Zhezong changed the reign title from Yuanyou to Shaosheng, intending to honor his father and to restore Shenzong's policies.⁴¹ To that end, he expelled the officials, known as the Yuanyou partisans, and recalled the supporters of Wang Anshi's reforms who were then living in exile or serving in minor provincial posts.⁴² The fate of the Yuanyou partisans worsened as reformers such as Zhang Chun and Lü Huiqing were restored to power. In 1096, a general amnesty was granted on the occasion of the dedication of a temple to the memory of Shenzong. However, because the Yuanyou partisans were excluded, they were unable to begin a move back to the capital.

40. Williamson, Wang An-shih, vol. 2, p. 3.

41. The terms shao 紹 and sheng 聖 are intended to indicate a continuation of the glorious work of Shenzong.

42. Song shi 18.339-41.

The following year, perhaps because of renewed internal struggles, additional edicts of banishment were issued. Officials who were already in the South, were exiled to even more distant places. Su Shi, then in Huizhou, was the only one banished to Hainan Island. At the same time, a list of the offending officials was sent to every province in the land. The decree was written by Cai Jing 蔡京 (1047--1136) and was carved in stone in various places in the country. The promulgation prohibited harboring or assisting the officials.⁴³

Emperor Zhezong's death in 1100 brought the eleventh son of Shenzong to the throne.⁴⁴ Known as Huizong (r. 1101-1126), the emperor sought a conciliatory policy, issued a general amnesty and summoned the exiled officials of the Yuanyou period to begin their journeys back to the court. Unfortunately, Huizong's original plan to stress cooperation among the officials was displaced by a preference for restoration of the New Policies supporters. During the first few months, the banishment of officials such as Zhang Chun, who had been responsible for the decrees exiling many of the Yuanyou

43. The names of the Yuanyou partisans were promulgated throughout the empire. See for example: Guilin shi ke 桂林石刻 (Guilin: Neibu materials), pp. 31-32. The calligraphy for the stone carving was by Cai Jing 蔡京 (1047-1136). Five years later Huizong commanded that the stele be destroyed.

44. Song shi 19.357-63.

partisans, gave the returning Yuanyou officials hope. However, by the beginning of the new year it was apparent that the recalled officials would not find favor at the court.⁴⁵

Huizong's reign from 1101 to 1126 was characterized by a continuing deterioration of state power and official responsibility. The officials who had been restored were, for the most part, sycophants who encouraged the emperor's propensity for pleasure in order to solidify their own positions. Officials who had the welfare of the country in mind were by that time dead or in exile. Su Shi had already been buried. Su Che had gone into retirement and refused to receive anyone. After more than two decades of failed leadership, the situation at the court had become irredeemable.

In 1126 the Jurchen armies entered Kaifeng. Earlier, they had annihilated the remnants of the Liao state and had marched to the Yellow River. At this time, they captured the capital, took Huizong, the former emperor, and also his son Qinzong 欽宗 (1100--1161) in order to exact tribute.⁴⁶ The court was looted and

45. Policy shifts occurred very rapidly; See Song shi 19.359 regarding amnesty and restoration; p. 361 for the exile of Zhang Chun; p. 367 for the proscription against the Yuanyou officials.

46. Song shi 22.415-18; 23.421-23. The eldest son of Huizong, Huan 桓, had been named the heir apparent in 1115. He became emperor in 1126. Herbert

members of the royal family were taken to the north. As a result, the officials as well as the ruler became exiles within their own land, retreating south to create a capital at Lin'an 临安 thus bringing an end to the Northern Song period.⁴⁷

Causes and Context of Su Shi's Exiles

Background Causes of the First Exile

The nine emperors of the Northern Song ruled for a total of 168 years. Su Shi served under five of them, namely, Renzong, Yingzong, Shenzong, Zhezong and Huizong. The history of the latter period of the Northern Song is the history Su Shi helped to create. The pattern of his life as an official did not conform to his original expectations, but rather followed a direction largely determined by his exiles. Su Shi's assumptions regarding the ideal life pattern of the official had been drawn from classical views. He had expected to serve at increasingly higher levels of responsibility and power, then to conclude his life in retirement. Instead, his career was shaped by an erratic rise to a position of

Franke, "Treaties Between Song and Jin," pp. 68-80. For a discussion of the political and military events, see Edward Harold Kaplan, "Yueh Fei and the Founding of the Southern Sung" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Iowa, 1970), pp. 38-70.

47. The Southern Song capital of Lin'an was located in present day Hangzhou.

fame followed by a fall as a disgraced official. He was elevated to a position of power only to be relegated to a minor post with no official responsibilities.

Furthermore, the movement from court to provinces and then to a remote place of exile was a cycle Su Shi experienced twice in his lifetime.

Expectations Su Shi held regarding his service to the throne and the contribution he could make to the country were heightened by his early successes. Displaying a brilliance which drew the attention of high officials and even the emperor, Su Shi was predicted to have a successful career. For the jinshi examination of 1057 Su Shi and his brother were brought to the capital by their father Su Xun 蘇洵 (1009--1066). They arrived bearing the recommendation of Zhang Fangping who had served as the magistrate in Chengdu, capital of their native Shu.⁴⁸ Su Xun, who had himself failed the examinations, had determined to prepare his sons well; he was rewarded by their achievements.⁴⁹ Su Shi's strong

48. Song shi 318.10355. For a discussion of the relationship between the Su family and Zhang, see Zeng Zaozhuang, Su Xun ping zhuan 蘇洵評傳 (Sichuan: Renmin, 1983), pp. 58-63. Zhang was considered the sponsor of the Su brothers and remained their supporter until his death.

49. Reasons for and implications of Su Xun's failure to pass the examinations is analyzed in George Hatch, "The Thought of Su Hsun (1009--1066): An Essay in the Social Meaning of Intellectual Pluralism in the Northern Sung" (Ph.D. dissertation, Washington, 1972).

essay on "Generosity in Rewards and Punishments" 省試
 刑賞. 忠厚之至論 " placed second on the jinshi
 examination.⁵⁰ Letters which Su Shi wrote to examining
 officials Ouyang Xiu and Mei Yaochen 梅堯臣 (1002--
 1060) elicited additional encouragement. The three Sus
 enjoyed a moment of acclaim at the capital.⁵¹ However,
 the celebrations and honor ended abruptly when the family
 learned of the death of Madame Su, née Cheng 程 at the
 family home. In the fourth month of 1057 they left the
 capital to return to Meishan.⁵² When the period of
 mourning had been completed, Su Xun made plans to return
 to the capital area and settle there. Late in the year
 1059, the entire family arrived in Bianjing.⁵³

For Su Xun's request for Zhang's assistance, see Jiayou
ji 嘉祐集 11.9b-10a, Letter #2: "Shang Zhang Shilang shu
 上張侍郎書." See also Zeng, Su Xun, p.25.

50. SSWT 1/2/33-34. This essay is likely the
 earliest extant prose work by Su Shi. For the event, see
Song shi 338.10801; see also Su Che, Luancheng ji, vol.
 3, p. 1411.

51. Ouyang Xiu's Tomb Inscription for Su Xun lauded
 the talents of the Three Su. See Ouyang wen Gong ji
 1/4/84-90: "故霸州文安縣主簿蘇君墓誌銘." For a
 discussion of the events associated with the 1057
 examination, the successes of the Su brothers, and the
 responses of examiners, see Jonathan Chaves, Mei Yao-
 ch'en and the Development of Early Sung Poetry (New York:
 Columbia University Press, 1976), pp. 36-40.

52. Su Shi's earliest extant poem was written
 during the mourning period. See Zeng Zaozhuang, Su Shi
ping zhuan, pp. 31-33.

53. The return trip was the occasion for the
 collection of one hundred poems, the "Nanxing ji
 南行集." See Zeng, Su Shi ping zhuan, pp. 33-38.

When the special examination summoning the wise and virtuous to governance was held in the ninth month of that year, both of the Su brothers participated. The essays for the xianliang 賢良 examination were responses to twenty-five questions on historical and classical themes and twenty-five on policy. Su Shi's responses revealed a maturity of thought that demonstrated his firm foundation in the historical and philosophical tradition. His essays proved him capable of drawing upon the past to elucidate present problems. Essays on historical themes provided the opportunity to express a variety of positions on the theories of governance.⁵⁴ In the required essays on historical figures, Su Shi's analyses of Confucius, You Si, Mencius, Han Feizi, Yang Xiong, and Han Yu articulated a view of human nature and probed the purpose of human endeavor.⁵⁵

According to Zeng, Su Xun ping zhuan, p. 84, Su Xun had no intention of returning to Shu.

⁵⁴. The essays are collected as the Yingzhao ji 應招集, a series of fifty essays. See SDPQJ 2/1-10.726-781.

⁵⁵. Wang Baozhen, Nianpu, pp. 42-44. For a discussion of the content of the essays, see Jin Zheng 金靖 Su Shi's Ren qing shuo pingshu 蘇軾人情說評述 (Master's Thesis, Sichuan University, 1984). Christian Murck has analyzed the important three-part essay on the Zhong yong. See "Su Shi's Reading of the Chung yung" in Theories of the Arts in China, eds. Susan Bush and Christian Murck (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), pp. 267-92. George Hatch has the best general introduction to the essays. See "Su Shih" in Sung Biographies, vol. 3, pp. 909-19.

The importance of the essays has been perceptively assessed in George Hatch's biography of Su Shi:

The portfolio essays are a free composition which reverts to his own social experience and family education. But in the ambiguities of the material lies the ground of his social thought, tensions across parallel and irreconcilable themes which preoccupied him for the rest of his life. We remember that Su Shih, like his father, entered Sung intellectual life at a moment of transition toward Neo-Confucian cultural values. The curious problems of his own unsuccessful search for political value may help to illumine the larger event.⁵⁶

On the occasions of the examinations, Su Shi came into contact with some of the best minds and the most politically influential figures of the era. Taking the prefectural examination in 1056, the jinshi in 1057, and the xianliang in 1061, all during the reign of Emperor Renzong (r. 1023--1063), he established his reputation as a young man of uncommon literary ability. When he returned to the capital in 1065 after completing the three years of his first assignment, the new emperor, Yingzong (r. 1063--1067), wished to make an exception because of his talent and to appoint him a member of the Hanlin Academy.⁵⁷ However, at the recommendation of the

56. Hatch, Sung Biographies, vol. 3, p. 911.

57. Song shi 338.10802. The precedent had been set by Emperor Xuanzong of the Tang who summoned Li Bai. See Stephen Owen, The Great Age of Chinese Poetry: The High T'ang (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), pp. 115-16.

prime minister, Han Qi 韓琦 (1008--1075), who feared accusations of partiality, a special examination was arranged in the second month of 1065 to test the candidate. Su Shi received a third rank, one given rarely and awarded only twice during the Northern Song. He was appointed to the Institute of History as an auxiliary official.⁵⁸

The climb to a position of authority and power was interrupted by two periods of mourning as required by the Confucian tradition. From the fourth month of 1057, following his successes in the jinshi exam until the second month of 1060, travel to and from the Meishan home to observe the mourning period for his mother kept him from the capital. From the fourth month of 1066 until the final month of 1068, he was again absent from the capital while in mourning for his father.

Conditions at the capital had changed radically during Su Shi's second absence. Because Wang Anshi had been made Second Privy Councilor in 1068, many policies had already been set in motion by the time the Sus returned to the capital.⁵⁹ While his brother was

58. Su Che, Luancheng ji, vol. 3, pp. 1411-12. Hatch, Sung Biographies, vol.3, p. 910. Only four candidates achieved the third rank in the 170 years of the Northern Song. Only 39 candidates passed the xianliang during that time, as compared with 22,000 who gained the jinshi.

appointed to one of Wang's programs, Su Shi served as Supervisor of the Petitioner's Drum Bureau and Supervisor in the Bureau for the Announcement of Appointments.⁶⁰ In an effort to keep him occupied with duties and to prevent him from criticizing the reform policies, the leaders of the reform party arranged for his assignment as the acting judge of Kaifeng Prefecture in 1071.⁶¹

Recommendations for higher positions had gone unheeded: Fan Zhen 范鎮 (1008--1089) had recommended him to serve as a censor in 1070, but Wang Anshi's appointees held those positions. Sima Guang had also recommended him, but no appointment resulted. The major reason for his lack of success at the capital was the power of Wang Anshi and the program of reform. Su Shi's opposition to the New Policies was motivated by several factors. He disapproved of the radical nature of the policies, and was philosophically inclined to see reform take place at a gradual and steady pace.⁶² He had expressed his views

59. Song shi 14. See Williamson, Wang An-shih, vol. 2, pp. 395-403 for an outline of the reform policy.

60. Su Che, Luancheng ji, vol. 3, p. 1412.

61. Su Che thought the move was meant to encumber Su Shi. See Luancheng ji, vol. 3, p. 1412. Shao Bowen has accepted this view, adding that Lü Huiqing was jealous of Su Shi's talents. See Shao Bowen 邵伯溫, Shao Shi wen jian lu 邵氏聞見錄, 12.127.

62. See Liu, Reform in Sung China, p. 29 for a discussion of the Shu adherents' preference for gradual change.

in memorials to the Emperor Shenzong, sent up in 1070.⁶³ Initially, Su Shi did not assume the mantle of the opposition group. But as increasing numbers of officials requested provincial appointments and left the capital, Su Shi began to realize that his was one of the only remaining voices of dissent. As Freeman notes, many of those opposing the reform withdrew to the former capital of Luoyang.⁶⁴

By the end of 1070 most of the old guard of bureaucrats had lost their posts and had either been demoted or had retired to the provinces. In accord with the usual bureaucratic procedure of the day, they were not sent to some distant exile, but were employed in offices of great prestige and some responsibility in various places in China. Eventually, however, a great many of the older men entirely withdrew from active office and retired, many of them to Lo-yang. In the Western Capital a coalition was forged that challenged the political hegemony of Wang An-shih and his followers. That ancient city became a rallying point for the anti-reformers, a gathering place for the dissident and politically dispossessed.⁶⁵

63. Su Shi clarified his opposition to the reform measures in two memorials. See *SSWJ*, 2/25/729-742 for "Shang Shenzong Huangdi shu 上神宗皇帝書", advanced in 1071.2; *SSWJ*, 2/25/758-751 for "Zai Shang Huangdi shu 再上皇帝書", advanced in 1071.3.

64. Reasons for the departure of numerous high officials to Luoyang, is discussed in Michael Freeman, "Lo-yang and the Opposition to Wang An-shi: The Rise of Confucian Conservatism, 1068-1086," Chapter 2.

65. Freeman, "Lo-yang and the Opposition," p. 30.

Though there were few voices left to support him, Su Shi persisted in his boldness at the capital. While serving as examiner on the jinshi examination committee in 1071, he proposed a question which was designed to challenge the unlimited authority that Shenzong had entrusted to Wang Anshi. The question required the analysis of historical instances when a single person advised the emperor and wielded power.⁶⁶ Supporters of Wang Anshi recognized the choice of topic as a direct attack on the man and his policy. They countered with an accusation that Su Shi and his brother had transported taxable items during the trip from the capital to Meishan in 1066, and that they had profited from the sale of salt, a monopoly of the government.⁶⁷ Recognizing the impossibility of dealing with the censors, Su Shi requested a provincial appointment. In 1071 he was assigned to Hangzhou as vice-prefect.⁶⁸ During his years

66. Wang Baozhen, Nianpu, p. 82. Song shi 338.10808 records the question; pointing to the tyrannical methods of former rulers; it was said to have infuriated Wang Anshi.

67. James T. C. Liu points to the event as an example of the way censors could selectively accuse officials. See Reform in Sung China, p. 60-61. Su Shi was censored for shipping salt, lumber and chinaware while on home leave for his father's funeral. Liu states that Wang Anshi criticized opponents for minor infractions while overlooking major offenses committed by those he chose as policy makers.

as provincial magistrate, Su Shi continued to criticize the New Policies, pointing to particular hardships they brought on the populace. Determination by reformers to eliminate an effective voice of criticism brought about Su Shi's first exile.

The First Exile: Huangzhou

Although many officials were demoted and exiled during the final years of the Northern Song Dynasty, Su Shi was the only one to have been tried in a special court case that based its findings on literature composed by the accused. A record of the case, known as the Dongpo Wutai shi an 東坡烏臺詩案 is extant; it includes the memorials accusing Su Shi of crimes, the court proceedings, and the punishments meted at the conclusion of the trial.⁶⁹ Since details regarding his arrest, imprisonment, trial and banishment are found in accounts elsewhere, a summary of events will be sufficient here.⁷⁰ Studies reveal that the accusations

68. Wang Baozhen, Nianpu, p. 82. Su Shi made the request because numerous recommendations for a higher position had been rejected or ignored.

69. See Peng Jiuwan 朋九萬, Dongpo Wutai shi an 東坡烏臺詩案, Congshu jicheng 叢書集成 edition. In addition to the literary works selected as examples of Su Shi's seditious behavior, accounts of his relationships with others who opposed the reforms are cited.

leveled against Su Shi were motivated primarily by revenge and the determination of the political opposition to silence him.

Su Shi's disapproval, anger and increasing reluctance to be associated with the New Policies are evident in many of the poems written during his service in the provinces from 1071 to 1079.⁷¹ The political implications of the historical allusions and satire in his compositions were judged by the censors to be an offense in the eyes of the court. His accusers contended that he intended to criticize the court, and thus the emperor, by implying that hardships faced by the people in times of drought and natural disaster were the result of the emperor's policies.

Lines from a series of poems composed in Hangzhou were set forth as proof of his crimes. Su Shi had written of the suffering he witnessed after reaching the

70. Recent accounts include Zeng, Su Shi ping zhuan, pp. 121-130; Li Yibing, Su Dongpo xin zhuan, pp. 277-98. These relate much of the information found in Wang Wen'gao's "Zongan," 19.773-87. For details regarding the event, including persons involved in the making the accusations and conducting the trial, see Ginsberg, "Alienation," esp. pp. 65-82.

71. Accusations of slander were based on material in Prince Wang Xian's collection of Su Shi's poems from Hangzhou, Qiantang ji 錢塘集, which was published before 1075. See Zeng Zaozhuang, "Su Shi zhushu shengqian bianke qingkuang kaolue," 蘇軾著述生前編刻情况考畧, " Zhongguo wenshi luncong (1984.4), pp. 193-207.

province in 1071. Describing an old man in need, he satirically compared him to Confucius.

MOUNTAIN VILLAGE⁷²

The old man of seventy has a sickle at his waist,
 Regretting that mountain bamboo and bracken are
 sweet in spring.
 Could it be that hearing the sounds of Shao he
 became oblivious to taste?
 For these three months he's had no salt for his
 food.

The allusion to Confucius, who joyfully forgot the taste of food for three months after he had heard classical music in the state of Qi 齊, is harsh criticism of a society that forces old men to labor and to do without salt.⁷³ In the fourth poem of the series, Su Shi tells of families whose children have a "city accent" because financial need has forced them to work in the city for half the year.⁷⁴

The poems also reveal Su Shi as an official reluctant to enforce the New Policies. In writing to his brother, Su Shi speaks of his regret that he is required to impose the new laws. He draws a satirical contrast

72. SSSJ, 2/9/437-39, Poem #3, "山村五絕".

73. Lunyu 7.14. Confucius heard the music of Shao, that is the music of Shun, while in Qi. See D. C. Lau, The Analects, p. 87: "The Master heard the shao in Ch'i and for three months did not notice the taste of the meat he ate.

74. SSSJ, 2/9/437-39, Poem #4. "山村五絕".

between his position and that of Ziyou. As a teacher, Ziyou was not directly involved in the administration of the measures of the New Policies in local government. Su Shi praises him for his lofty behavior and commends him for his Confucian idealism that sustains him as he lives in coarse, cramped quarters while he holds firmly to principles of conduct. In contrast, Su Shi presents himself as one living in luxurious surroundings while implementing policy that harms the people. He admits: "Unashamed, I do things that formerly brought shame; I sit facing exhausted people, increasing canning and whippings."⁷⁵

When accused of opposing the basic policies of the court, Su Shi was quoted as saying that Ziyou "reads ten thousand volumes, but never one on law."⁷⁶ Praise of Ziyou and other officials who had been demoted or pressured to leave the court were interpreted as a judgment that those responsible for advising the emperor were unworthy of their positions.⁷⁷

Other charges were leveled, these referring to his complaints about onerous duties in official life and his frequent statements that he wished to retire from service

75. SSSJ, 2/7/324. "戲子由 . "

76. SSSJ, 2/7/324.

77. Dongpo Wutai shi an, pp. 14; 17 and 19. See poems to Ziyou, Liu Bin and Zhang Fangping.

to the court.⁷⁸ But it was precisely his critique that the court had dismissed capable men such as his brother and Zhang Fangping, and by implication himself, that provoked the ire of his accusers. Specifically, his disparagement of the recently appointed officials resulted in memorials calling for his arrest.

After reaching his new post, Huzhou 湖州, in the fourth month of 1079, Su Shi wrote the customary report informing the throne of his arrival and of the situation in Huzhou.⁷⁹ The report included a satirical reference to the increase in "clever" officials at the court; Su Shi stated that he obviously did not possess talent equal to that of those appointed and that he would remain in the provinces serving the emperor.⁸⁰ His remarks infuriated those who had assumed power after Wang Anshi's second retirement in 1076.¹⁰ as First Privy Councilor.⁸¹

78. A poem used as evidence was a complaint about dredging a salt canal in the rain. See SSSJ, 2/8/388. The poem is translated below.

79. Present day Wuxing 吳興 in Zhejiang Province.

80. SSWJ, 2/23/653-54. DPWJSL, 1/25/404-405. "Huzhou xiebiao" 湖州謝表. The passage reads: "How could I be unaware of your grace? Certainly I have been favored with your majesty's goodness. Your benevolence reaches to all living things on earth and in the seas. When you bring men into your service you do not require that they be excellent, but rather are accepting of their lack of ability. You know of my stupidity in not being able to keep up with the times, and you know how difficult it is for me to keep pace with those who recently have been advanced."

The recently appointed officials, namely Li Ding, 李定 (d.1087), Shu Dan 舒亶 (d. 1104), and He Dazheng 何大正 advanced memorials accusing Su Shi of slander and treason.⁸² Charges were thus brought against him, and imperial guards were sent to Huzhou to bring him back to court. Arrested at his home on 1079.7.28, Su Shi was then held in the censorial prison and brought to trial on charges of slandering the emperor.⁸³ Other charges included his criticism of the New Policies and his unwillingness to implement them.

The less immediate causes for Su Shi's difficulties were several, not the least of which was his temperament and his propensity for direct criticism and forthright speech. Because high ranking officials such as Ouyang Xiu, Sima Guang, Han Qi were no longer willing or able to continue the criticism, Su Shi had taken responsibility for the attacks on Wang Anshi's policies. An additional factor, namely, his idealism and desire to be of service

81. See Williamson, Wang An-shih, vol. 1, pp. 347-64 for the circumstances of Wang's retirement; see also, Jonathan Pease, "From the Wellsweep," pp. 161-62.

82. Dongpo Wutai shi an, pp. 1-4. A likely source for the works which court officials used was Su Shi's colleague Shen Gua 沈括 (1031--1095) who had requested the poems when he visited Su Shi in Hangzhou. For this view see Li Yibing, Su Dongpo xin zhuan, vol. 1, pp. 278-79, and Zeng Zaozhuang, Su Shi xin zhuan, p. 123.

83. The chronology is given in Wang Baozhen, Nianpu, pp. 127-28; 134-36.

to the people, prompted his opposition when he witnessed the suffering brought about by the New Policies.

Although Su Shi had received advance word that imperial guards had been sent to arrest him, he had no recourse but to submit. He was taken from his post in Huzhou to the capital where he awaited trial. His feelings at this time were not expressed in written works, however, a report written several years later recalled the events. Imprisoned for one hundred days in the censorate prison, Su Shi had become the object of a desire for revenge. The factional leaders were determined that he should die. Initially, Su Shi pleaded not guilty, fearing that he would implicate his friends. However, later, he stated that he was guilty of composing poems as accused. Su Che testified that Su Shi's motives were sincere, and that he had intended by his actions and writings to bring the emperor to a greater awareness of the problems and hardships caused by the New Policies. Allowing that his brother might be accused of foolish mistakes, Su Che insisted that malice was never a motivating factor. Requesting that Su Shi be released, Su Che offered to take his brother's place in prison.⁸⁴

84. Su Che states that Su Shi's criticisms were inspired by loyalty and the desire to influence the emperor. See Luancheng ji, vol. 3, p. 1414.

Memorials calling for Su Shi's release were advanced by Zhang Fangping and Fan Zhen.⁸⁵ The effective appeal to Shenzong was a reminder that the founder of the Song Dynasty had proscribed the execution of high ministers; Zhang Chun stated that Renzong had called Su Shi a treasure for the age.⁸⁶ Wang Anshi asked how an enlightened emperor in an enlightened age would allow the death of a talented official.⁸⁷ With the support for Su Shi a sufficient counter to the demands of court officials who wanted to kill him, Shenzong was able to make his own decision. Finally, on 1079.12.29, having rejected demands for Su Shi's death, the emperor set forth the decree that sentenced Su Shi to exile in Huangzhou.⁸⁸

85. Zhang Fangping's memorial was candid and caustic; fortunately his son hesitated to forward it. Zhang also called Su Shi the greatest talent in the empire, a phrase certain to stir up further controversy. An appeal to the emperor to compare Su Shi to Han Yu states that Xuanzong eventually came to realize that Han Yu spoke only out of concern for the country. The text of Zhang Fangping's memorial is given in the Xu zizhi tongjian changpian, 301.14-15. For a discussion of it, see Zeng, Su Shi pingzhuan, p. 129.

86. It should be noted that Zhang Chun was at this time a friend. However, the court's decision to exile Su Shi to Hainan is generally attributed to Zhang.

87. Zeng, Su Shi ping zhuan, p. 130.

88. Wang Baozhen, Nianpu, pp. 138-39. For a discussion of these events, see Li Yibing, Su Dongpo xin zhuan, vol. 1, pp. 305-309.

In addition to Su Shi, three persons who were closely related to him were banished, namely Su Che, Wang Xian 王詵 (d. after 1100) and Wang Dingguo 王定國 (1048--after 1104). These men had frequently received poems and letters from Su Shi and were to said to have encouraged him in his attacks on the court. Wang Xian, brother-in-law of Shenzong had collected Su Shi's poems from Hangzhou and had circulated the anthology. Fines were levied against Sima Guang, Fan Zhen 范鎮, Zeng Gong 曾鞏 (1019--1083), Zhang Fangping, Huang Tingjian and others. In all, thirty two persons were punished for their association with Su Shi and for complicity by exchanging poetry with him or receiving his compositions.⁸⁹ The censors viewed the men as a group, saying that their identifying characteristic was their unwillingness to support the policies of the throne and their resentment for being denied positions of leadership.⁹⁰

Released from prison, Su Shi travelled directly to Huangzhou, leaving the capital just before the new year. During the four years of exile in Huangzhou dating from his release from prison in 1079.12 until his departure in 1084.3, Su Shi's movements were restricted. Furthermore,

89. Dongpo Wutai shi an, pp. 31-32 lists the officials who were punished.

90. Dongpo Wutai shi an, p. 5.

he was not informed of court matters nor allowed to send memorials to the throne. His sole recourse was to wait until the emperor changed his mind. Apparently, the emperor was allowing sufficient time to assure that those who had opposed Su Shi would not cause trouble. When Shenzong granted a reprieve in the first month of 1084, he transferred Su Shi from Huangzhou and assigned him to Ruzhou 汝州. Although there was no change in status, the move was an ostensible effort to initiate a movement back to court. The decree, written in the emperor's own hand, represented a rarely granted individual reprieve.⁹¹

Period Following First Exile

The period immediately following his amnesty was a bittersweet time in which Su Shi experienced release from his place of banishment while he faced a problem of where to make his home. On the journey to his new post at Ruzhou, Su Shi was joined on an excursion to Lu Mountain 廬山 by the monk Canliaozi 參寥子 (d. 1002?), who had just spent several months with him in Huangzhou.⁹² Passing through the Nanjing area, Su made a visit to Wang Anshi who was then retired on Ban Mountain 半山. The

91. Wang Baozhen, Nianpu, p. 158. Li Yibing, Su Shi xin zhuan, vol. 1, p. 399 explains the particularity of the amnesty.

92. See SSSJ, pp. 1209-10 for poems written with Canliaozi on excursions.

two were said to have discussed literary and religious topics rather than political issues. Wang encouraged Su Shi to retire in the Nanjing area.⁹³ Experiencing economic difficulties in the care of his large family, Su Shi requested retirement at Changzhou 常州. The request of 1084.11 was granted, and he purchased land with the intent of farming to support his family.⁹⁴ However, before he could settle in Yixing 宜興, he received an assignment to serve as prefect of Dengzhou 登州.⁹⁵ Yet, only five days after reaching his post in the tenth month of 1085, he received a summons back to court. He had been recommended by the new Prime Minister Sima Guang. He was to join the group of men, comprised primarily of officials who had opposed Wang Anshi's reforms, who had now been given positions of leadership.

A fundamental change had occurred at the court following the death of Shenzong in the spring of 1085 when his ten-year-old son assumed the throne. Actual power was in the hands of the Empress Dowager, nee Gao, wife of Yingzong and mother of Shenzong, who invited Sima

93. For a discussion of the exchange of poems, see Jonathan Pease, "From the Wellsweep," pp. 195-201.

94. SSWJ 2/23/657-58. He requested permission, then thanked the emperor for the favor: "乞常州居住表 ; 到常州謝表."

95. Wang Baozhen, Nianpu, p. 165. See Xu tongjian, 78, the fifth month of 1085, for his assignment to Dengzhou, modern Penglai in Shandong.

Guang to leave his place of retirement in Luoyang and form a new government.⁹⁶ Gratitude for the favors received from both emperors was expressed in the customary report Su Shi wrote on the occasion of his Dengzhou appointment. He stated that Shenzong had saved him from those who wanted to see him dead, and that Zhezong had saved him from being cast aside and left unused as an official.⁹⁷ Su Shi was one of several officials who had been expelled by the reform faction. His return to the court was the consequence of the expulsion of Wang Anshi's supporters. Whether or not he had concrete proposals for the new government, Sima Guang certainly would have considered Su Shi sufficiently competent to serve the new court.⁹⁸

Called back to the court as an official in the Ministry of Rites, Su Shi rose several ranks in less than a month. Before the end of 1086, he was appointed Hanlin Academician and Drafting Official of the Secretariat. The following year he received a concurrent appointment

96. Song shi, 336.10775. For an account of the major activities of the Yuanyou period, see also Li Yibing, Su Dongpo xin zhuan, vol. 1, pp. 457-72.

97. SSWJ, 2/23/659-60, #1; DPWJSL, 1/25/414-15.
"登州謝表".

98. Hatch, Sung Biographies, vol. 3, p. 955 says "promotion seems to have been as much compensation for past injury as the measure of ability."

as Reader in Waiting to the young emperor, Zhezong.⁹⁹ Initially, Su Shi himself had reservations about the rapid rise in positions of power, feeling that he was not yet ready to participate fully in the governance of the realm.¹⁰⁰ Under the leadership of Sima Guang, the court officials had begun immediately to rescind the New Policies, claiming that Wang Anshi and Lu Huiqing had brought havoc to the empire.¹⁰¹

Eventually, Su Shi began to express his opposition to the procedures, writing a number of memorials to explain why he thought the policies of the previous emperors should be reviewed and judged on their particular merit. He stated that because twenty years had elapsed since the passage of several of the new policies, the relative value of given acts should be reconsidered. While Su Shi had not changed his mind about the major issues confronting the court, namely, selection of officials, military preparedness, and economic stability, he did express slightly altered views regarding the specific policies which should be used to

99. Wang Baozhen, Nianpu, p. 168. He was promoted in rank to the seventh grade and appointed to the Hanlin Academy.

100. Zeng, Su Shi ping zhuan, p. 166.

101. Song shi, 336.19768 recounts Sima Guang's decision to rescind the policies. See also Liu, Reform in Sung China, p. 9.

solve the problems. The cause of disorder, according to Su, did not rest with policy but with the people who put the policy into effect.¹⁰² Although he offered no specific alternate policy, he called for selection from the best of the past. Accordingly, he supported the Hired-Services Act, noting that for some people the option to pay for corvee work had proven beneficial. While Sima Guang and his close associates wished to abolish completely the New Policies, Su Shi argued for keeping several plans. In addition to Su Shi, his brother and other moderates supported the Services Act, but none as vehemently as Su Shi. The opposition mocked him, calling him "another Wang Anshi."¹⁰³ However, it was not that Su Shi had assumed a new position with regard to the policies, but rather that he looked at the practical implications of a given policy. In principle, he still opposed the New Policies and did so until his death.¹⁰⁴

His opposition was to whatever he thought lacked reasonableness and suitability for leading the country. Consequently, during the reigns of the three emperors

102. Su Shi's stance places him firmly within the Confucian tradition that stressed the Mencian notion of good men, not laws, as the source of good government.

103. See Wang Shuizhao, Su Shi, p. 87 for this anecdote.

104. Zeng, Su Shi ping zhuan, p. 174.

Renzong, Shenzong and Zhezong, Su Shi found himself to be at odds with the major official group at court, and even with the emperor himself. Because Renzong was cautious, Su Shi called for change and movement; because Shenzong listened exclusively to Wang Anshi's proposals for change and moved with precipitate action, Su Shi called for a deliberation; because Zhezong's grandmother, the empress dowager, together with her selected officials, was conservative, Su Shi proposed openness to action.¹⁰⁵

Su Shi's fundamental stance was that officials who advised the emperor should have the right and duty to express their views. Thus he was uncomfortable with the atmosphere which prevailed not only during Wang Anshi's tenure, but also during the time of Sima Guang's leadership. One of the most irritating features of Wang Anshi's policies was the insistence that others conform. Using the metaphor of the monotone color of a field of rushes, Su Shi described the conformity Wang Anshi preferred and expected from others.¹⁰⁶ In this respect, Su Shi was responding from a basic conviction that the freedom to express a contrary view ought to exist.

105. During Su Shi's first meeting with Shenzong, he told the emperor that he should not engage in precipitate action. See Su Che, Luancheng ji, vol. 3, p. 1412.

106. SSWJ, 4/49/1427-1428. "答張文潛縣丞書". In a letter to Zhang Lei, Su Shi expressed his disapproval of the conformity expected of officials.

In the factional disputes which prevailed at court, Su Shi unwittingly, perhaps unwillingly, became the spokesman for the Shu faction.¹⁰⁷ Because of the tension which existed between him and Cheng Yi on a personal level, their political positions brought increased conflict.¹⁰⁸ The followers of Cheng Yi, the Luo faction, caused repeated difficulties for Su Shi during this period. Attacks were made with a degree of persistence and intensity that caused him to feel that he was being persecuted. Eventually, he felt compelled to escape by seeking assignment to the provinces.¹⁰⁹ In the memorial "Request to Serve in the Provinces in Order to Avoid Jia Yi," he complained that he could not escape troubles

107. Groups were distinguished on the basis of political and intellectual positions. The Luo and Shuo factions had much in common. They opposed the Wang faction and were not satisfied with the responses of the Shu faction. See, James T. C. Liu, Reform in Sung China, pp. 26-29.

108. See anecdotes collected in Yan Zhongqi 顏中其, Su Dongpo yishi huibian 蘇東坡軼事彙編 (Changsha: Yue Lu shushe, 1984), p. 109. Wang Shuizhao, Su Shi, pp. 87-89, explains that Su Shi thought Cheng Yi lacked "renqing 人情" or human feeling. Hatch discredits Su Shi's stance by showing that Cheng Yi also upheld a humanistic ethic, and was equally a philosopher of "renqing." Su Shi's attacks are termed a "shallow foolishness." See Sung Biographies, pp. 959-60. However, Jin Zheng argues that the two differed precisely in their interpretation of human response. See "Su Shi's Renqing shuo shuping."

109. Consistent attacks after entering the Hanlin led Su Shi to write several requests. See SSWJ, 2/28/816. "乞罷學士除閑慢差遣劄子".

while remaining in a place with people who disliked him. Admitting only the personality clash with Cheng Yi, Su Shi said that there were no substantial causes for attacks on him. He argued:

I never had a grudge against Jia Yi. It was only that I disliked Cheng Yi's bad actions and showed it in my words and demeanor, and also because I have a very unyielding personality, that Jia Yi, a devoted member of Cheng's Yi's faction attacked me. ... Because I did not request an early appointment in the provinces, this has happened. Now, if I do not leave at once, in several day's time I will meet with disaster at the hands of Jia Yi.¹¹⁰

Once again Su Shi had found himself at odds with the group holding power at the court. He analyzed the cause of the problem in terms of the willingness and desire of others to conform, saying that when Wang Anshi was in power, most officials wanted to follow his policies and views; likewise when Sima Guang served as prime minister, there were numerous people who blindly followed his lead.

In a lighter vein, an interpretation of his situation was given by his concubine, Wang Zhaoyun, whose answer to Su Shi's question evoked laughter. According to anecdotal literature, when Su Shi returned from court one day, he vented his frustrations to a group of young women entertainers attached to his home, asking, "What is

110. SSWJ, 3/33/934-35. "乞外補迴避賈易劄子." The memorial is dated 1091.6.

in this big belly of mine?" Predictable answers were given: "A belly full of fine compositions," and, "A belly full of wonderful ideas." Only Zhaoyun responded perceptively, "A belly full of anger and frustration for not being in tune with the times."¹¹¹

The reasons for his inability to act harmoniously with the group in power may be observed, in part, in his personality traits. He was unwilling to conform and unwilling to withhold an opinion. It might appear that he did not want to cooperate with those in positions of power. According to the interpretation of Southern Song philosopher Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130--1200):

Su Shi cared only about criticizing Wang Anshi. However if one had made him the prime minister and he was allowed to bring in a group of men like Qin Guan and Huang Tingjian, the situation would have been even worse.¹¹²

Not only Zhu Xi, inclined to disapprove of what he termed Su Shi's za 雜 "mixed" philosophical tendencies, questioned Su Shi's capability as a

111. The anecdote is given in Li Yibing, Su Dongpo xin zhuan, vol. 2, p. 551. For a discussion of the association of officials and entertainers during the Song and Su Shi's practice, see Cheng Shankai, 成善楷, Dongpo yuefu zhong geji ci de meixue yiyi 東坡樂府中歌妓詞的美學意義, " in Dongpo ci lun cong (Chengdu: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1982), pp. 90-119.

112. Zhu Xi 朱熹. Zhuzi yulei 朱子語類, juan 130. For an assessment, see Wang Shuizhao, Su Shi, p. 87.

statesman.¹¹³ As others have observed, Su Shi's political views were often at odds with those of his contemporaries.¹¹⁴ However, in opposing Sima Guang, Su Shi was not making a challenge to enhance his own position.¹¹⁵ Only because the matter was of great importance did Su Shi oppose the leader he admired and had believed should lead the country. Earlier, Su Shi had written urging Sima Guang to leave his retirement in Luoyang and to accept the call heard throughout the realm to take up the mantle of leadership.¹¹⁶ It can reasonably be said that Su Shi held definite positions on government matters and wished to present them. Furthermore, he was attacked by people whose sole intention was to oppose him. During the early years of the Yuanyou period, when Su Che served as a Vice Prime Minister, he made decisions regarding several of Wang Anshi followers which resulted in their banishment from

113. General criticism of the Three Sus was specified in Zhu Xi's remarks on Su Che's metaphysics. For a discussion of the philosophical issues, see Hoyt Cleveland Tillman, Utilitarian Confucianism: Ch'en Liang's Challenge to Chu Hsi (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), pp. 197-98.

114. Hatch, Sung Biographies, vol. 3, pp. 957-59.

115. For the view that Su Shi did not wish to oppose Sima Guang but felt that he should speak, see, Wang Shuizhao, p. 86. Also, see Songshi jishi benmo, juan 43.

116. SSSJ, 3/15/732-34, "The Solitary Joy Garden of Sima Junshi 司馬君實獨樂園."

the court. Su Shi as official in the drafting office wrote the memorials exiling men such as Lú Huiqing.¹¹⁷ For their actions, the brothers incurred animosity.

The Second Exile: Huizhou

The second exile of Su Shi did not occur as a direct punishment for his criticism of court officials. He was not singled out for demotion and eventual exile. Rather, he was one of a group of high ranking officials associated with the initial years of the Yuanyou reign period who were removed from the court or from prefectural posts when opposing factions gained favor with the emperor.

The ostensible sign of the changing political situation was the adoption of a new reign title by the young emperor Zhezong who had assumed full control of the throne after the death of the Empress Dowager nē Gao 高 in 1093.¹¹⁸ Intending to restore the policies and officials of the earlier period as well as to assert his independent position, Zhezong initiated a new reign

117. The role Su Che and Su Shi played in the exiles of other officials is not well documented. Williamson thinks that Su Che was responsible for the banishment of Cheng Yi. See Williamson, Wang An-shih, vol. 2, pp. 4-5.

118. Song shi 17. "Zhezong benji." The death of the Empress Dowager in the ninth month of 1093 resulted in Su Shi's loss of his primary support at the court.

period in 1094.4.12, calling it Shaosheng in honor of his father.¹¹⁹ Implications of the change were apparent to those who had been involved in the earlier shift of power. Demotions and banishments caught almost all who had served in the Yuanyou years. Su Che was removed from his premiership and banished in consecutive moves to Yunzhou 筠州 during the early months of the new reign.¹²⁰

Su Shi was the first to be sent across the southern mountains which separated the North from the southern regions. The initial edict of demotion given in the fourth month of 1094 directed Su Shi to leave Dingzhou and to become the prefect of Yingzhou 潁州.¹²¹ He was stripped of his academician status. On the trip to Yingzhou in the sixth month, he was demoted to the sixth rank and assigned as assistant office chief of Jianchang 建昌 commandery in Jiangnan 江南. His residence was restricted to Huizhou, and he was denied official responsibilities.¹²² Before he reached his destination

119. See Wang Wen'gao, "Zongan," 37.1265, and also Wang Baozhen, Nianpu, p. 206.

120. Zeng Zaozhuang, Su Che Nianpu 蘇轍年譜 (Shaanxi: Renmin chubanshe, 1986), p. 160. The demotions to Ruzhou 汝州, Yuanzhou 袁州, and Yunzhou 筠州 are given chronologically. See also Xu tongjian 83.

121. Wang Baozhen, Nianpu, p. 205. Yingzhou is present day Yingde, Guangdong. See Zeng, Su Shi ping zhuan, p. 204.

he was demoted a third time. It was not surprising that the demotion followed a memorial outlining his alleged offenses presented by Zhang Chun, Cai Jing and Lai Zhizhao in the sixth month.¹²³

Decisions Su Shi made for the care of his family revealed that he hoped his time in exile would be brief. But, because he could not be certain of the duration, he arranged to have sons Mai 邁 and Dai 迨 stay in the family home at Yixing. Releasing his concubines and servants, he took with him only his youngest son, Guo 過 his concubine, Zhaoyun, and two close family servants.¹²⁴

The trip to Huizhou was made primarily by boat; Su Shi had appealed to the emperor, and Zhezong had granted the favor of the use of a boat for his former tutor's journey into exile.¹²⁵ Arriving on 1094.10.2, Su Shi wrote the customary report expressing gratitude that his life had been spared, humbly admitting his faults and pledging to purify his heart. He expressed regret that he had been relegated to the land of miasmatic vapors and that he thus would not be allowed to serve the court.¹²⁶

122. Wang Baozhen, Nianpu, p. 205. See also, Wang Wen'gao, "Zongan," 37.1268

123. Wang Baozhen, Nianpu, p. 207.

124. Wang Wen'gao, "Zongan" 37.1280. See colophon in SSWJ, 5/66/2072.

125. An account of the request for boat given in Wang Wen'gao, "Zongan," 37.1270.

During a period of almost three years spent in the Huizhou exile, Su Shi sought stability in the face of numerous changes of residence. He stayed in official quarters, in monastery buildings, and finally moved to an abandoned monastery which he bought and renovated to serve as his permanent home. The decision to make the White Crane Peak his home was probably prompted by his exclusion from the general amnesty granted in 1095.11 by the Emperor Zhezong.¹²⁷ In a letter to his brother-in-law Cheng Zhengfu, Su Shi said, "When I learned of the recent events I gave up hope of ever returning."¹²⁸

Although Su Shi was publicly known as an official who had offended the throne, his prestige as a high official and noted literatus attracted some people to him. Several local authorities enjoyed his company and provided assistance until they were reprimanded or removed from jurisdiction. Even though he was without official responsibilities, Su Shi contributed his knowledge and experience to governance. He managed to

126. SSWJ, 42/24/706-707. "Customary Report from Huizhou 惠州謝表 . "

127. Song shi 18.343.

128 Extant letters from Su Shi to Cheng Zhengfu number more than seventy. See SSWJ, 4/53-54/1589-1621. Su had written to request Cheng to inquire whether or not he had been given a reprieve in the general amnesty. For the letter expressing regret, see Su Dongpo quan ji, vol. 2. p. 211, Letter #13. See Li Yiping, Su Dongpo xin zhuan, vol. 2, pp. 858-59 for a discussion of requests made to Cheng.

obtain funds, primarily with the aid of Su Che's wife. With the monies gained, he helped to establish clinics and to assist in the plan to build bridges for Huizhou's West Lake, though not on the scale of the earlier Hangzhou West Lake project.¹²⁹

The Third Exile: Danzhou

Reasons for Su Shi's banishment to Hainan Island are not as well documented as those for the previous two exiles. In 1097.2R.20. an edict was signed demoting him to Danzhou on Hainan Island. One source claims that having read a poem Su Shi had written describing his life of leisure in Huizhou, Zhang Chun was provoked by the implication that Su Shi found pleasure in his place of banishment. Zhang then ordered that Su be sent to the most distant place in the realm--Hainan.¹³⁰ While the anecdote possesses a convincing quality, it is more likely that the demand for Su Shi's exile came from others at the court who wanted to assure that their opposition had been eliminated.¹³¹ Although Su Shi

129. For the projects in Huizhou, see Li Yibing, Su Dongpo xin zhuan, vol. 2, pp. 849-58.

130. Song shi 18.346. "Zhezong benji."

131. For anecdotes, see Yan Zhongqi, Su Dongpo yishi huibian, pp. 213-14. Zhang Chun was also reported to have chosen the places for the Su brothers on the basis of their names: Danzhou 儋州 for Su Zizhan

learned first of his brother's demotion to Leizhou, the edict exiling him to Changhua commandery in Qiongzhou came the following month in 1097.4.17.¹³² Determined to see his brother once again, Su Shi traveled to Leizhou for a meeting. The leave taking from family described in the customary report Su Shi sent upon arriving in Changhua after crossing the sea from the Leizhou Peninsula reveals that he feared it was a final farewell.¹³³ In a letter to a friend he wrote:

Whoever is cast off into this desolateness in old age has no hope of returning alive. Yesterday I made the decision with my eldest son Mai and have arranged for my final affairs. Today we reach Hainan, the first thing I should do is to make a coffin and then I ought to prepare a grave. I have left word with my sons. If I die, I should be buried there beyond the sea.¹³⁴

Exile in Hainan, with residence in Danzhou as an associate official without responsibilities, included the stipulation that he was not allowed to reside in official residences. In 1098.4. after being ousted from the Yamen where he had stayed since his arrival in 1097.2, he was forced to build a dwelling. With the aid of local

蘇子瞻 and Leizhou 雷州 for Su Ziyou 蘇子由, because of the similar components in the characters.

132. Song shi 318.10817.

133. SSWJ, 2/24/707. The report is dated 1097.7.2.

134. Letter to Wang Minzhong found in SSWJ, 4/56/1695, Letter #15. See also Wang Wen'gao, "Zongan" 41.1377.

students and friends, he completed the three-room dwelling known as the Guanglang Retreat.¹³⁵

Three years in the Danzhou exile posed challenges, both physical and spiritual, not encountered in previous exiles. Su Shi's responses were characterized by both an accommodation to the environment and also by a rejection of the idea that he would not be allowed to return. Even though Zhezong's death had occurred in 1100.1.22, the edict for Su Shi's transfer to Lianzhou, 廉州 was not received until the fifth month.¹³⁶

Return to the North

Several problems were encountered as Su Shi returned to the North, the most serious being determination of a place to live. Su Shi was anxious about his family's welfare and eager to arrange for life in proximity to his brother. Once Su Shi had reached the mainland and begun the journey northward, his health became his most critical concern. Although plans to return to Shu for retirement had been spoken of by both brothers, and although the wish to be buried in Shu had been expressed by both, it was not feasible for them to return. It was rumored that a rebellion which had broken out in Shu was

135. Li Yibing, Su Dongpo xin zhuan, vol. 2, pp. 921-923.

136. Song shi 18.354. "Zhezong benji."

led by a figure known to have opposed the court's treatment of the Su brothers. Nevertheless, return to the center of power at the court may have been feasible. The death of Zhezong and the ascendancy of Huizong in 1100.1 had brought about the exile of Zhang Chun.¹³⁷ The Su brothers were likely candidates for high court positions once again.

When Su Shi arrived in Jinling on the first day of the fifth month in 1100, he received a letter from his brother urging him to travel directly to Xuchang 許昌, Su Che's place south of the capital, Bianjing. However, in his letter of response, Su Shi stated that after learning from friends of changing political conditions in the North, he had decided that it would be unwise to live near the capital.¹³⁸ Huizong's preference for officials who had been in power during the reigns of Shenzong and Zhezong was already evident.¹³⁹ For that reason, he was determined to make his home in Changzhou.

Even though Su Shi had been ill numerous times during his years of exile, he had managed to use his

137. Song shi 19.361.

138. SSWJ, 5/60/1837-38, Letter #8.

139. See Zeng, Su Shi ping zhuan, pp. 321-32 for analysis of the situation. Zhang Chun was not exiled because of his opposition to the Yuanyou partisans, but rather because he had not supported the selection of Huizong as emperor.

medical knowledge to cure the various illnesses. But during the period of return, he suffered from a recurrent problem with piles. His final illness was quite likely an amoebic dysentery resulting from drinking river water during hot days of delay before making the boat trip to Changzhou. His cures were ineffectual. Realizing that he would not recover, he called his family to him and gave word for his last affairs, including the directive that he should be buried beneath small Emei Mountain in the Song Mountain range and that his brother Su Che should write the tomb inscription.¹⁴⁰ His death occurred on 1101.7.28 in Piling 毗陵, Changzhou. A memorial service attended by the Grand Academicians was held. He was buried in 1102.6R.20, as he had requested, in Ruzhou, Jiacheng Prefecture 郟城, beneath small Mount Emei 峨嵋, a peak in the Song 嵩 mountain range.¹⁴¹

Conclusions

Because of the policies promulgated by the founder of the Song dynasty, officials who were found guilty of offenses were generally treated with greater leniency

140. Su Che, Luancheng ji, vol. 3, p. 1410; 1421.

141. Reasons for and details regarding the choice of burial place are discussed in San Su fen ziliao huibian 三蘇墳資料彙編, ed. by Jiaxian Archives Office (Henan: Henan daxue, 1986), pp. 84-95.

than were officials of earlier periods. However, as the central government sought to solidify its power in order to repel intruding tribespeople from the North, disputes among the officials as to the course to be followed and the effectiveness of given policies led to a weakening of the state. Su Shi was a major figure in the disagreements which continued throughout the years following Wang Anshi's reform efforts. He and his brother were reputed leaders of the Shu faction which figured prominently in disputes during the Yuanyou period. An increase in the number of men who sought official careers created a surfeit in officialdom and intensified the way in which factions vied for control of the most important positions at court and in provincial posts.

The prominence and standing of Su Shi as an official whose literary works enjoyed wide circulation was a significant factor in bringing about his first exile. His strong public opposition to the proposals of Wang Anshi and the reformers was heard by officials throughout the empire. Su Shi was an unofficial spokesperson for the opposition. His written critiques articulated the spoken criticisms of the older generation. Yet he lacked the support of persons in power and underestimated the degree to which his criticism would be tolerated at the court. He had not calculated the commitment of the

emperor Shenzong to the reform and to the reform faction. Supporters of Su Shi had themselves been sent from the court or had chosen voluntary retirement. After his arrest, he was powerless before his accusers. Because of the public nature of Su Shi's criticisms, even the emperor, who apparently had no intention of harming Su Shi, was not able to dismiss the charges against him.

In the cases of the second and third exiles, Su Shi was unable to extricate himself from association with the Yuanyou partisans. Emperor Zhezong perceived an intimate connection between his former tutor, Su Shi, and the party which he came to believe had shown disrespect for his father Shenzong. While Su Shi did not articulate the specific causes of his own exiles, he was aware of their historical precedents and of the various political, social and personal factors that brought them about.

CHAPTER TWO

ACCOMMODATION IN THE PLACE OF EXILE

The Journey Into Exile

Exile moved the official away from the cultural and political center to a place which was often distant and isolated. The most severe punishments sent men to unfamiliar, frequently hostile environments. Even the journey into exile posed a threat to life. Movement toward the place of exile demanded courage and stamina. Once in the new environment, the exile was required to adjust and adapt. How the adaptation occurred often determined whether or not the official survived in exile. Su Shi's capacity to adapt has been lauded. Through a examination of the conditions of his exiles, it will be possible to determine the ways in which his situation and his modes of accommodation compared with those of other exiled officials. Furthermore, it will be evident that tributes to his indomitable spirit have been justified.

Of itself, entrance into official service in traditional China usually required departure from one's home and, subsequently, residence in the capital or in a provincial appointment. Men seeking official positions

were willing to leave home in order to gain not only esteem and financial stability, but also the opportunity to provide a legacy for their family. A career characterized by movement from one position to another was accepted as a necessary, even if undesirable, component of official life. While traveling to take up service in various posts throughout the country, officials of the Song period often traversed much of the empire. Su Shi served in ten different locations during his career as an official; in addition, he was sent to three places of exile. It is likely that no scholar-official before him had seen as much of China; certainly none had recorded the historic sites and scenic beauty in poetry as extensively as had Su Shi.¹ Although Su Shi was inspired by the various landscapes and became attached to the places where he dwelled, he often complained that his life was one of continuous movement. He termed his life a sojourn, the places he traveled not always of his own choosing: "My life is sojourns only; I do not go where I want to go."² As Yoshikawa Kōjirō has

1. For a discussion of the importance of landscape poetry in Su Shi's corpus, see Tao Wenpeng 陶文鵬 "Lun Su Shi de shanshui shi 論蘇軾的山水詩" (Ph.D. dissertation, Zhongguo shehuikexue yuan yanjiu yuan, 1981).

2. SSSJ. 4/20/1022-23. The line is from "Crossing the River Huai 過淮" written during the journey into exile.

elaborated, this theme recurred in Su Shi's poetry. The motif of the sojourner manifested the poet's sense of the transitory nature of human existence.³ He wrote from exile in Huizhou, "My life is made of sojourns only; Where is it that I can call my home?"⁴

Although frequent and unexpected movement was something Su Shi ascribed to his life in particular, it was, in fact, an inherent feature of the life of the official. Scheduled changes of position were regulated by the system of appointments in the Song. Generally, civil officials were given new appointments every three years while military officials were changed according to a five-year schedule.⁵ In addition to regulated changes of position, unexpected demotions and exiles caused the official to move from his post. In such cases, banishment often was to a place beyond the recognized sphere of the dominant Han culture. The places,

3. Yoshikawa Kojiro, So shi gaisetsu (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1965), pp. 146-47. See also the Chinese translation by Zheng Qingmao. Song shi gai shuo (Taipei: Lianjing, 1977), pp. 154-55.

4. SSSJ, 7/41/2261. "Matching Tao's 'Imitations' 和陶擬古."

5. For an explanation of the system of official appointments and ranks during the Song, see Yu Zongxian 俞宗憲, "Song dai zhiguan pinjie zhidu yanjiu 宋代職官品階制度研究," Zhongguo Renmin Daxue shubao ciliao she 21 (1984), 3-34. The establishment and development of the mokan 磨勘 system is discussed on pp. 17ff.

particularly the area south of Yangtze, where malaria was common, and the far north, characterized by intense cold, were viewed as a severe punishment in themselves. During the Han Dynasty, demoted officials were often sent to the north; exile to the south became more common during the periods of the Three Kingdoms (220--265) and the Six Dynasties (222--589). Tropical climate and unfamiliar terrain characterized the places feared by the northern officials. During the Tang, the most dreaded place was Huanzhou 驩州 in present day Vietnam.⁶ By the time of the Northern Song, Hainan Island had replaced Huanzhou as the place causing most anxiety for political exiles.

Consequently, while exile was essentially a political fact involving demotion and the attendant loss of the privileges and responsibilities of governance, it was inextricably tied to the idea of place. Power in the central government meant proximity to the court; loss of power and status was the fate of those outside. Chinese literary culture was essentially a metropolitan product. The bureaucratic system, however, was designed to move men away from the capital in assignments to posts outside. Nonetheless, the exiled official always hoped

6. Responses of exiled northern ministers during the Tang are recounted in Edward Schafer, The Vermilion Bird, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), pp. 37-44.

to return to the place where involvement and recognition were possible.

Even though the exiled Chinese official was removed from the sphere of power, he was not expelled from the realm. Unlike the exiles of many other lands, the Chinese was not sent beyond the boundaries of his country. In China, the emperor also controlled the territory where the banished official could be sent. It is true that exile in its most fundamental sense pointed to a location, to a position in space.⁷ As Randolph Starn explains in his study of exile in medieval and renaissance Italy, the fundamental definition of exile contrasted home or native land with a place of separation. The common understanding of the exile as one who crossed over or lived outside some home boundary gave rise to a set of related terms including legal expressions.⁸

In the Chinese context, the exiled official remained within the political boundaries, he did not simply clamor to cross back over a boundary. Rather, he sought to return home. Home referred to his ancestral dwelling place or to an estate he had purchased during his tenure

7. Starn, Contrary Commonwealth, p. 1.

8. Starn, Contrary Commonwealth, p. 2.

of office. Home meant, too, the capital and the court located there.

At the time of his formal banishment, the exiled official often made his way from the capital or place of governance, reflecting on the fact that he was moving ever more distant from the center of culture and political power. Descriptions of the journey of the official traveling toward his place of exile often revealed a growing awareness of the importance of place and distance. The Tang official Han Yu captured the essence of the situation in his outcry at the time of his exile to Chaozhou 潮州 :

In the morning a sealed memorial was presented
through the nine layers of Heaven,
By evening, dismissed to Chaozhou, an eight
thousand mile road.⁹

The journey was feared not only because it brought separation from the familiar, but also because the trip often brought death to the official or an accompanying member of his family. Poet-officials of the Tang Dynasty

9. "Banished and Demoted, I Come to the Lantian Barrier: For My Nephew Xiang 左遷至藍關示姪 孫湘 Han Yu 韓愈, Han Changli shi xinian ji shi 韓昌黎詩繫年集釋, 2/11/1097. The poem was written in 819 on the way to Chaozhou. It is translated in Stephen Owen, Meng Chiao and Han Yu, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1975), p. 282. "Mile" is the translator's term for li 里, which is approximately one third of a mile.

who were banished to the distant south, Namviet 南越, expressed their fear of death on the journey.¹⁰

ENTERING HELLGATE PASS¹¹

I've always heard of the road to the rivers of
plague,
Now I myself have come to Hellgate Pass.
In this land no man ever grows old,
How many of the exiles here ever returned?
Ever since I have left the capital,
My hair is falling, my face shriveling.
By evening I lodge among poisonous insects,
By dawn I walk over mountain roads.
My horse stands poised over thousand-foot
ravines,
My boat is menaced by ten thousand bends.
If you would ask me where my exile is --
In the southwest, where all are barbarians.

Su Shi also dreaded the perils of a long journey into exile. Before leaving for Huizhou, he expressed fear that he would not live to complete the trip. However, despite complaints about the journeys into exile, he was willing to record his travels in poetry, often dated and providing details of the events of the journey. The accounts were not systematic documentation resembling formal travel diaries kept by officials who recorded formal missions or other travels.¹² However,

10. See Schafer, The Vermilion Bird, p. 31 for expressions of fear of death on the journey.

11. Quan Tang shi, # 05097 by Shen Quanqi. Translated by Owen in The Poetry of the Early T'ang, p. 356.

12. James M. Hargett, "Some Preliminary Remarks on the Travel Records of the Song Dynasty (960--1279)" in CLEAR: Chinese Literary: Essays, Articles, Reviews vol. 7, Numbers 1 and 2. pp. 67-94, especially pp. 77-85. See

analysis of the combined poems from each of Su Shi's exile periods allows a reconstruction of details of his journey and of the places he saw along the way.

Su Shi had been influenced by the practice common during the Song of composing while traveling. Prose works which possess features of the travel record constitute a significant part of Su Shi's writings. He contributed to the development of a genre which became increasingly popular during the Song.¹³ The features and purposes of the you ji, 遊記 travel record, have been described by James Hargett:

Several reasons account for the popularity of composing travel diaries during the Song. To begin with, land and river travel lines were more extensive and convenient than they had ever been in any previous period in Chinese history,... the travel diary was an ideal literary vehicle by which one could record quotidian activities. And lastly, members of the enormous Song civil service bureaucracy, whose numbers far exceeded that of any previous period, quite often held a variety of different government posts throughout their careers.¹⁴

for example Lu You's diaries compiled as the Ru Shu ji studied in Chun-shu Chang and Joan Smythe, South China in the Twelfth Century: A Translation of Lu Yu's Travel Diaries, July 3-December 6, 1170 (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1981).

13. Bei Yuanchen 貝遠辰 and Ye Youming 葉幼明, Li dai youji xuan 歷代遊記選 (Hunan: Renmin chubanshe, 1980). For a brief account of the development of the literary form, see pp. 1-15.

14. Hargett, "Travel Diaries," pp. 71-72. One of the best examples is Lu You's Ru Shu ji 入蜀記 which recorded a 1800 mile trip from Shangyin to Kuizhou in Shu lasting 157 days.

Such travel records were characterized by common features. They contained first-hand accounts describing an excursion of some kind. Frequently, they were written in diary form with individual entries chronologically arranged. Travel records provided factual descriptions of geographical subjects, notable landmarks, customs and products of an area. Furthermore, they often included selected comments from the author.¹⁵

Su Shi not only recorded his excursions, he often philosophized on the significance of the trip or of the scene encountered. Furthermore, the Su family had become accustomed to recording their travels. According to the preface of the Nanxing ji 南行集, the Southern Journey Collection, that Su Shi wrote for the collection of poems which he, his brother, and his father composed during the journey back to the capital in 1059, the sights along the way were the natural inspiration for literary creativity.¹⁶

15. Hargett, "Travel Diaries," pp. 71-2.

16. The Nan xing ji 南行集, also known as the Jiang xing changhe ji 江行唱和集, has recently been reconstructed by Zeng Zaozhuang on the basis of poems contained in other collections by the Three Sus. Work forthcoming.

PREFACE TO SOUTHERN JOURNEY COLLECTION¹⁷

As for the ancients who composed literature, their skill was not in their being able 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 fruits which when filled with their essence are seen in their externals, 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 compose with the idea of composing in mind. During the year of ji hai (1059) we accompanied our father on a journey in the Chu area. We had leisure time on the boat, but 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 traces of the sages and worthies, and whatever our eyes and ears came in contact with, welled up within us and we then expressed them in words and exclamations.

The mood of confidence and spirit of optimism contributed to delight in the scenery viewed along the way. The promise of fame to be gained through government service influenced the tone of the Nanxing ji poems. In contrast, Su Shi's situation and mood differed significantly during journeys to his exiles. Nonetheless, he did not fail to record the places and

17. SSWJ, 1/10/323. "南行集序." The preface for the poems composed during the journey by boat was written by Su Shi. A postface for the overland journey compositions was composed by Su Che. See Niu Baotong 牛寶彤, San Su wen 三蘇文 (Chengdu: Renmin chubanshe, 1983), pp. 111-12.

scenery, expressing his emotions and imbuing the landscape descriptions with his feelings.

While the journey to the place of exile was not an excursion, it was a movement through spaces which had been heard of or imagined but seldom described in poetry or travel records. Works Su Shi composed on the way to exile are not travel records in the strict sense of the term, but they supplement the corpus of writings on the regions he traversed. While he was not indifferent to the distinguishing and essential features of the areas viewed, what he saw was dependent not only upon the landscape itself but also upon the state of mind which inspired his view.¹⁸ Although Su Shi was capable of seeing beauty wherever he went, his depiction of the loveliness or bleakness of a scene was determined primarily by his emotional state during the time of travel.

Huangzhou: Overland Journey Into Exile

The journey from the capital Bianjing to Huangzhou was essentially an overland trip.¹⁹ It took Su Shi and

18. The relationship between feeling and landscape is discussed in Tao Wenpeng, "Qing xiong qi fu bian huan feidong 清雄奇富變幻飛動" in Zhongguo gudian wenxue luncong 中國古典文學論叢 No.1. (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1984), pp. 219-33.

19. The Song Dynasty capital, Bianjing, was located in present day Kaifeng in Henan Province.

Su Mai, his eldest son, almost a month to reach their destination. Because of the regulations requiring him to leave the capital immediately, he began the journey after his release from prison early in the New Year of 1080 while those in the city were still celebrating the festival.²⁰ The route traveled took him first to Chenzhou 陳州, about 300 li southeast of the capital, where he met his brother, Su Che, who had come from his post in Nandu 南都 to meet him.²¹ Although Su Che had been demoted to Yunzhou 筠州 to serve as collector of wine and salt taxes, he had not been required to leave at once for his post.²² The brothers stayed with the family of their recently deceased cousin Wen Yuke 文與可 (1019-1079) in Chenzhou in order to arrange for the transport of the coffin of Yuke back to Shu. Su Shi contrasted his journey into exile with that of relatives returning to his native Shu.²³ After parting with Su Che on the fourth day, father and son continued alone on

20. Meng Yuanlao 孟元老, Dongjing meng Hua lu 東京夢華錄 edited by Deng Zhicheng, 鄧之誠. All formal business at the capital was suspended for three days of celebrating.

21. Chenzhou is present day Huaiyang in Henan; Nandu is present day Shangqiu in Henan.

22. Zeng Zaozhuang, Su Che Nianpu (Shaanxi: Renmin chubanshe, 1986), p. 78.

23. SSSJ, 4/20/1017-1018. Wen Yimin 文逸民, Su Che's son-in-law was responsible for returning the casket to Shu.

horseback to the place of exile. As they crossed the River Huai, Su Shi recorded the scene and the feelings which the journey evoked:²⁴

At dawn when we left the area of Xinxì,
For the first time we waded the emerald waters.
At dusk we lodged in a village south of the Huai
River,
Having already traversed a thousand red peaks.²⁵
At the ancient garrison roc and the flying
squirrel screech,
Fog and mist darken the abandoned post station.
I turn toward the junction of lands of Liang and
Chu,
Forever separated from the central plain.
Where is this place Huangzhou located?
I imagine it is there in the old Yunmeng swamp
region.²⁶
My life is like a sojourn only,
I cannot, after all, choose the place I would go.
But if there are fish and rice fields,
My life's needs are already completely met.
I'm especially happy about my young son,
Who though young, is able to be content with
circumstances.
He has followed me through the difficulties,
His spirit strong as iron and stone.
I ought then to enjoy talking with him,
Why just burden him with my infirmities?

Images in the poem capture the sights of a day's travel; the chosen scenes, however, express a spirit of

24. SSSJ, 4/20/1022-1023. "Crossing the Huai River 過淮." The translation is modified from Ginsberg, "Alienation" p. 86.

25. Mountains are described as red in color because they are barren and desolate.

26. Su Shi uses a classical reference to the place. See SSSJ, 4/20/1023 for annotation. "Yun 雲" refers to the area north of the Yangtze, while "meng 夢" refers to the area to the south.

melancholy. Rivers and mountains seem endless as father and son journey south toward the unknown place of banishment, Huangzhou. The desolation and loneliness symbolized by the abandoned post station and the screeching creatures underscore the poet's removal from the center of culture. The place, at the juncture of the ancient kingdoms of Chu 楚 and Liang 梁, was cut off from the capital in the central plain area by the River Huai. Su complains that his life's movements are determined by others. Despite his complaint, he presents a self who will be satisfied if minimal needs of food are met in the place of exile. Finally, he draws inspiration from his young son's strength in responding to difficulty, and, rather than make the ordeal more onerous for him, determines to enjoy the youth's company.

As was common in the Song, Su Shi lodged in monasteries during his trip. Also, he had the opportunity to stay with his friend, Chen Zao 陳造, son of the magistrate he had served in his first appointment in Fengxiang 鳳翔. Going out to meet Su as he neared Huangzhou, Chen then took him to his own place of retirement and reclusion in a Buddhist monastery.²⁷

Still, melancholy remained the dominant mood during the journey. Su Shi expressed his feelings in a poem

27. SSSJ, 4/20/1029-1030. The relationship between Su Shi and Chen Zao is reviewed.

describing the winter plum, often seen in mountains and traditionally said to blossom while weather is still severe. The hardiness and tenacity of the plum became a symbol for the one facing difficulty, and Su Shi used the symbol to speak of his own responses. The travelers had encountered snow along the way, and Su Shi had noticed that the forces of spring were already in the air.²⁸ On the road to Zhiting, he wrote of the plum blossoms:²⁹

As spring comes, waters flow melodiously in the
secluded valley,
How fresh and bright, the plum blossoms among the
grasses and thorns.
Throughout the night the east wind blew breaking
them against the stones,
Half of them, following the blowing snow, will
cross the mountain passes.³⁰

It was Su Shi and his son who journeyed through the mountain passes and encountered snow. Yet, Su Shi

28. SSSJ, 4/20/1019-1020. "On the Eighteenth of the First Month, Encountering Snow On the Road to Caizhou: Matching Ziyou's Poem 正月十八日蔡州道上遇雪, 次子由韵二首."

29. SSSJ, 4/20/1026. "Plum Blossoms 梅花 ."
Poem #1,

30. "Mountain passes" refers to certain places on the road to Huangzhou. In a poem composed a year later as he recalled his journey into exile, Su Shi wrote: "Last year at this time on the mountain passes, plum blossoms in the misty rain broke my heart." The line is from SSSJ, 4/21/1077-78. "On the Twentieth of the First Month On the Way to Zhiting, My Three Friends Pan, Ji and Guo Saw Me Off At Chanzhuang Monastery East of Nuwang City 正月二十日, 往岐亭, 郡人潘. 古. 郭三人送余於

女王城東禪 ."

depicted the blossoms as accompanying him into exile. He thus identified himself with the flowers, blown by the wind and dashed against the stones, but sufficiently stalwart to have completed the journey.

Huizhou: An Excursion to the South

While the journey to Huangzhou prompted only a few poems on the landscape, the trip to Huizhou was a time of sustained reflection on the scenes viewed along the way. The journey itself was of much longer duration; the distance traversed was much greater, and the difficulties encountered were of more serious magnitude. Su Shi worried about how he would be able to bear the trip, deciding that overland travel, such as he had made to Huangzhou, would be too demanding. He therefore requested that the emperor allow him to take a boat to the place of exile. Complaining about his condition, Su Shi said,

Since receiving the edict, I have become concerned. I am now ill; my vision is blurred in both eyes, ... my left hand is numb and my right shoulder weak. Almost sixty years old now, I am balding and my teeth are falling out. With this kind of ill health, I will not live long.³¹

31. SSWJ, 6/37/1042-43. "Request to Travel By Boat to Yingzhou 赴英州乞舟行狀."

His primary fear was that he would die along the way, and that he would suffer the fate of having his "body left on the road to join the roaming ghosts."³²

When his appeal was heeded and he was granted permission to travel by boat to the south, he was not yet out of danger. The water passage to Huizhou was a treacherous one. While still in the Jiangxi area, Su Shi wrote of his fears and frustrations.³³ On the seventh day of the eighth month he reached the area of the Huangkong Rapids on the Gan River and wrote a poem which revealed his apprehensions.

AT DAWN ARRIVING AT BAHEKO TO GREET ZIYOU³⁴

Seven thousand li beyond, a gray-haired old man,
At the Eighteen rapids a body in a small boat.³⁵
Mountains remind me of "Joyful Happiness"
 burdening me with distant dreams,³⁶
The place called "Anguished Fear" causes the
 alienated official to weep.³⁷

32. SSWJ, 6/37/1042-43. "Request to Travel by Boat to Yinzhou."

33. According to Ji Yun, Su Wenzhong Gong shiji, p. 7, note 20, this is not a carping complaint; a frustrated spirit is evident but controlled.

34. SSSJ, 4/20/1052-53. "曉至巴河口迎子由 ."

35. SSSJ, 7/38/2052-53. "On the Seventh Day of the Eight Month On First Entering the Gan River and Passing the Shoals at Huangkong 八月七日, 初入贛, 過惶恐灘 ."

36. The term xihuan 喜歡 is noted by Su Shi as a place in Shu, namely, "False Happiness" located on the Dasan Pass.

Strong winds send off the traveler, filling the
 sails,
 Accumulated rains float the boat, reducing
 ripples caused by stones.
 I ought to be a boatman for the local officials,
 With a life like this, how could I be ignorant of
 fording streams?

Dangers involved in water passage were detailed as winds, swollen waters, and the rapids caused by the Gan River flowing in its rocky river bed. Ending the poem with an ironic complaint, Su Shi identifies himself as one with intimate knowledge of rivers and crossings. He calls to mind how change and movement have characterized his life as an official; previously he was frequently reassigned to provincial posts, now he is being sent into banishment.

Poems recording his passage and the scenes viewed on the way to Huizhou possess a tone of sadness as they reflect his distress in being forced to make the journey into exile. At the same time, the poems reveal Su Shi's attachment to the landscape as well as his ability to find in the experience of travel and the contact with natural beauty a consoling experience. He departed in the fourth month of 1094 and reached Huizhou in the tenth month. Diversity of subject and mood characterize the poems which record the sights along the way.

37. Although both xihuan (happiness) and huangkong (anxious fear) are place names, they are used for their general meaning as well to indicate the dangers inherent in the water passage.

As with the journey from the capital in 1080 for the trip to Huangzhou, he again crossed the Huai River. Once past this demarcation line between the Northern Plain and the South, he began to notice the lush vegetation:

Crossing the River Huai the air is clear,
It suddenly washes my dirty, dusty face.
Trees along the water gradually become luxuriant,
Shoreline reeds mix with water plants.
How lovely the night closing flower,
Green branches spreading red down. ...³⁸

The journey southward took him once again past Lu Mountain, the site of his excursion after being allowed to leave Huangzhou in 1084. For Su Shi, anything which prevented him from enjoying the landscape on his journey was viewed as a hindrance. He theorized that appreciation of the landscape was a consoling experience and that those attentive to and familiar with a landscape are able to see beyond the forms themselves. He recorded his vision of the mountain and the images his imagination captured or created as he viewed the peaks and the clouds:

PASSING BENEATH LU MOUNTAIN, AND PREFACE³⁹

As I passed beneath Lu mountain clouds were welling up; I silently said a prayer about it. Before midday, the many peaks were distinct and serene, thus I wrote this poem.

38. SSSH, 6/37/2028-29. "Sent to Sung Junfu While Passing Gaoyou 過高郵寄孫君孚."

39. SSSJ, 6/38/2048. "過廬山下, 并引."

The chaotic clouds were about to cover up the
 mountain,
 Moving this way with the blowing wind from the
 south.
 The whole group rising up joining themselves
 together,
 Pushing forward contending like a team of horses.
 How lovely amidst the lush vegetation,
 Occasionally a purple or azure peak protrudes.
 A wild goose descends, hidden behind the east
 peak,
 Dragons spring up and appear at the west cavern.
 Suddenly all provided for a gathering for
 laughter,
 The myriad forms change as they stand talking.
 A rainstorm strikes the rocky mountain slope,
 A cold whirlwind sweeps them away with total
 abandon.
 Now crystal clear, where have they all gone?
 Lowly and simple, how can we manage to
 understand.
 Clear and high are the peaks of purple heavens,
 Secluded is the White Stone Monastery.
 Snow visible on a few pines over Five Elder Peak,
 Double Stream falls from the heavenly tarn.
 Although my quiet prayer was answered,
 Still I bear shame thinking of a proclamation on
 North Mountain. ⁴⁰

Combining description of the geographical features
 of the mountain with the forms he perceived in the
 clouds, Su Shi claims to have been satisfied by his
 experience. Only the final line of the poem brings him
 back to the harsh reality that he is not on an excursion
 but on a mandated journey to his place of exile. The
 mountain is charming and inspiring; it would be a perfect

40. Wen xuan, 3/43/612-614. "Bei shan yi
 wen 北山移文." Kong reveals the pretensions of the
 pseudo-recluse and the dramatic response of nature to the
 affront.

place for him to dwell as a recluse. However, because he had once pursued worldly fame, he must travel away from it. This reminds him of the theme embodied in Kong Zhigui's 孔稚圭 (447-501) composition, "The Proclamation on North Mountain." Recalling the critique of one who preferred fame in office to seclusion in the mountain, Su Shi feels a sense of shame and regret.

As he moved southward on his journey into exile, Su Shi's perceptions of the terrain and distinctive features of the area were sharpened. Recording the sights in Qianzhou 虔州, he compared the actual scene to paintings which depicted it.⁴¹ At the Yugu Viewing Platform, he expressed his attachment to the place and spoke of his intention to view it again on his return journey.⁴²

The eight scenes appear as in the painting,
 Yugu looks just like it did in my former travels.
 Mountains were like swelling green waves,
 The water was flowing like a jade rainbow.
 The sun is beautiful at Kongdong at dawn,⁴³
 Wind strong at Zhanggong in autumn.
 The colors had not yet changed the leaves,
 Water creatures wanted to be born on the islet.
 Mist from peaks obscures the city trees,
 Sounds from shoals penetrating the market
 buildings.
 Vapors and clouds encroaching on the Lingnan
 road,
 Grasses and trees making up half of the Fiery
 Region.

41. Qianzhou is present day Ganxian 贛縣, Jiangxi.

42. SSSJ, 6/38/2053. "Yugu Viewing Platform 鬱孤臺."

43. Mt. Kongdong 空峒 is south of Qianzhou.

The old country is a thousand peaks away,
 For ten days I stayed at the high terrace.
 In another year at this place I'll have lodged
 three nights,
 Definitely I will plan to tie up a returning
 boat.

The journey was leading him through a natural world which he presented with dimensions of beauty, mystery and spirituality. A growing awareness of the sacredness of the land through which he traveled became apparent in his poetry. At the Green Waters Cave, he described a realm almost other-worldly in its beauty and quietude.⁴⁴

Jagged peaks joined with scattered ridges,
 Swaying, oscillating, the sheer cliffs lie
 horizontally.
 I realize that in the places among the dark
 peaks,
 The Buddhist and Taoist sages have always been
 together.
 On the south side of the peaks the morning sun
 penetrates,
 Joining the Jade Metropolis in the upper reaches.
 In shady valleys the white moon knocks,
 In dream I roam about the illusory city.
 Just as I hoped, the stone gate opens,
 Within is the Silvery River emptying out.
 Through deep caverns we go far and deep,
 In another dwelling a flash of brightness shines
 through.
 The stream flows below like pearls,
 The milky cover mixes like silk shimmering.
 I am afraid someone will know where I tread,
 Fear that I shall be met by an immortal.
 The softest word always has an echo,
 And on the quiet mountain the white clouds are
 startled.

44. SSSJ, 6/38/2061-63. "Green Waters Cave
 碧落洞."

Holding my walking stick, I return,⁴⁵
 I trouble Fangping to fire the utensils.⁴⁶

By concluding his description of the mountain with allusions to Tao Yuanming and Wang Fangping 王方平 as recluses, Su Shi makes clear his preference for reclusion.

Nearing the end of his journey, Su Shi's mood became one of anticipation. He had heard from an official encountered along the way that the area was splendid. He himself then described the place as an appropriate one for an exiled official, calling himself the "Immortal of the Jade Hall 玉堂仙" who has come to enjoy the paradise.⁴⁷

WHEN MY BOAT REACHES QINGYUAN XIAN I MEET CANDIDATE GU
 WHO TELLS ME OF THE BEAUTIFUL SCENERY IN HUIZHOU⁴⁸

Everywhere they gather to see this official
 attending the Incense Burners,

45. The allusion is to Tao Yuanming who held his walking stick when he returned to his farm to retire.

46. The allusion to Wang Fangping, official who retired and refused to serve Emperor Huan then attained the Way in reclusion. Reference is to his descent as an immortal in a household where he prepared delicacies. See Shen xian zhuan 神仙傳, juan 9.

47. Reference to self as an immortal carries the ironic notion that he has come from the Jade Hall at the court to a paradise in exile.

48. SSSJ, 6/38/2064-65. "每行至清遠縣, 見顧秀才極談惠州風物之美."

This land is suitable for the Immortal of the
 Jade Hall.⁴⁹
 As river clouds hover, cassia blooms are washed
 in moisture,
 Frequent rains along the sea make lichee burning
 bright.
 They say yellow oranges are often eaten by
 magpies,
 And there's no need to spend money buying red
 tangerines.
 I'll just follow Hongjing from the Shen Wu Gate,
 Then go to Luofu Mountain to seek Zhichuan.

Before the journey to Huizhou had been concluded, Su Shi's writings had begun to reveal not only an appreciation of the land, but also a calm acceptance of his situation. A desire to enter into the spirit of a land of temples and historic sites is expressed, and poems written along the way detailed his interest in Taoist lore. Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 (456--536) had served at the court of Qi, but had left for a life of reclusion by hanging his attire on the Shen Wu Gate 神武門.⁵⁰ Zhichuan 稚川, or Ge Hong 葛洪 (283--343) had retired on Luofu 羅浮, the dominant mountain in Huizhou.⁵¹

Distance from the court and the center of culture exposed the traveler to a different geographical and

49. Su Shi refers to himself using names of the halls associated with officials at the capital. The Yutang 玉堂 was another name for the Hanlin Academician Hall 翰林院.

50. For Tao Hongjing, see Liang shi 梁史 51 and Nanshi 南史 75.

51. Zhichuan 稚川 is the courtesy name of Ge Hong. See Jin shi, 72.

cultural climate. This fact had caused officials to complain that they had been cast off to the ends of the earth.

Heaven is long, Earth is vast; the Peaks divide
 them,
 Leaving both family and state, you see the white
 clouds, ...
 Spring wind in both places, ten thousand miles
 between,
 When again shall we give greetings to our
 glorious Lord?⁵²

Although Su Shi also speaks of distance from the court and of separation, he claims to feel no sadness, but rather senses delight in his new freedom. Monasteries and the landscape haunts of woodcutters and fishermen create a world preferable to that of the court and city. As he sets off from Guangzhou, he identifies himself with the natural recluses who live among woods and streams.

Farther and farther away from the morning market,
 I am truly sensing a freedom by myself.
 After three glasses have been drunk,
 I sleep soundly on my sweet pillow.
 Pujian Monastery is far behind lingering bells,
 At Yellow Cove we see the leaves begin to fall.
 At the ends of the earth, I've not felt so
 remote,
 For there are woodcutters and fishermen
 everywhere.⁵³

52. Quan Tang shi, #05066. Shen Quanqi, "From Afar Following the Rhymes of Assistant Tu's Crossing the Southern Peaks." The translation is by Stephen Owen in Early Tang Poetry, p. 355.

53. SSSJ, 6/38/2067. "Departing from Guangzhou
 發廣州 ."

Upon arriving in Huizhou, Su Shi not only recorded his pleasure that officials and commoners accepted him, but also spoke of their disbelief that he should have been banished. While identifying himself with the historical figures Su Wu 蘇武 (140 --60 B.C.) and Guan Ning 管寧 (158--241) who individually spent many years outside of the Chinese cultural sphere, Su Shi also spoke of himself as a guest welcomed by the local people:

ON THE SECOND DAY OF THE TENTH MONTH,
FIRST ARRIVING IN HUIZHOU⁵⁴

It seems I've been here before, not just in
dream,
Happily the chickens and dogs all recognize
Xinfeng.⁵⁵
Clerks and commoners, surprised, ask what offense
did I commit,
Elders swarm together to welcome me, such an old
fellow.
How did Su Wu know he would return from the
northern Desert?⁵⁶
Guan Ning himself wanted to grow old East of the
River Liao.⁵⁷

54. SSSJ, 6/38/2071. "十月二日初到惠州."

55. The reference is to Xinfeng Village in Shaanxi. After Liu Bang 劉邦 became the founding emperor of the Han, he tried to cure his father's homesickness by reconstructing a village like their home, Feng Yi (Fengxian, Jiangsu), imitating structures and bringing villagers to live in the new place. In Guangdong Province, a place also bears the name. See Han shu.

56. Su Wu, sent as an envoy to the Xiongnu, was retained for nineteen years, but finally returned. See Han shu, 54.

57. Guan Ning left during the chaos of the late Han and went to the Liao area; later he was honored by

Myriad households in Lingnan are bathed in the
 aura of spring,
 Meanwhile a solitary man is making his home away
 from home.

The journey which was intended to cast Su Shi off into a land foreign to him, took him instead to a place which he found to be familiar. Comparing himself to the exiles of earlier ages who were able to adjust to new surroundings, Su Shi predicted his own response. Already the journey had afforded him the opportunity to record new scenes and experiences.

Danzhou: Passage Through the Gate of Ghosts

Even though the journey to Hainan was not as lengthy or arduous as the previous two trips, it caused Su Shi greater consternation. Images of death, seldom seen in earlier poetry, are found in the writings recording his journey to the island exile.

Parting with family at his White Crane Peak home initiated the journey into exile. All family members who had recently come to Huizhou were to remain at Su Shi's home. Mai and his family, together with Su Guo's wife and child stayed, while Guo alone accompanied his father on the journey of the third exile. In the fourth month of 1097, Su Shi left his home in Huizhou; the parting was

Chinese emperors. See San guo zhi 三國誌, "Gao shi zhuan 高士傳," 2.

described in his report to the throne upon arrival in Qiongzhou:

I am aged and alone with no one on whom I can depend. Malaria and pestilence both attack. My sons and grandsons wept bitterly on the riverside and have already made a final farewell. I will encounter ghosts and goblins on the seas, and how can I expect them to allow me to return intact?⁵⁸

It was necessary first to travel overland to Leizhou and then to cross the water separating Hainan from the peninsula. During the journey, he learned that his brother had been demoted to Leizhou on the peninsula and that he was traveling there from Yunzhou. The poem written to record the trip was a melancholy reflection on the places he had seen and on the separation he was about to endure:

I WAS EXILED TO HAINAN AND ZIYOU TO LEIZHOU. WE RECEIVED ORDERS AND BEGAN THE JOURNEY, NOT KNOWING OF THE OTHER'S SITUATION. WHEN I REACHED WUZHOU, I HEARD THAT HE WAS STILL IN TENGZHOU. DAY AND NIGHT I TRAVELED TO CATCH UP WITH HIM AND WROTE THIS POEM TO RECORD IT⁵⁹

The Nine Doubts mountain like a strip of brocade
connecting the areas of Heng and Xiang,
Cangwu alone stands remotely at the edge of the
world.
In the solitary city, a bugle blows and mist
circles in tree tops,

58. SSWJ, 2/24/707. "Report to the Throne Upon Arrival in Changhua Commandery 剡昌化軍謝表."

59. SSSJ, 7/41/2243/吾謫海南,子由雷州,被命即行,了不相知,至梧乃聞其尚在藤也,旦夕當追及,作此詩示之."

Before the setting sun has faded, the river
 appears vast and indistinct.
 The demoted official falls on his pillow, sits
 and heaves a sigh,
 Traveling at this distance, I have reached Shun's
 place of burial.⁶⁰
 Beside the river, elders can speak of you,
 One with white temples and ruddy cheeks,
 apparently just like you.
 Don't regret that Qiong and Lei are separated by
 a cloudy sea,⁶¹
 The emperor's grace still allows us to gaze
 across at each other.
 All our lives we've studied the Way and know its
 real meaning,
 How could we hold to it in success, abandon it in
 failure?
 Heaven has made me a man like Jizi,⁶²
 Wants me to spread ideas in the remote areas.
 Later when they write the local gazetteer,
 They'll mention that distant Hainan was truly my
 land.

The geographic features of the land are not
 described for themselves alone, but as barriers and
 connectors only; locations are psychological terrain.
 Mount Cangwu stands at the end of the earth. It is the
 place where the Emperor Shun, who died on a tour of the

60. According to the Shi ji account, the emperor
 Shun 舜 died while on a tour of the south and was
 buried at Cangwu. See "Wudi benji 武帝本紀."

61. Qiongzhou is present day Haiko city on Hainan's
 northern coast. Su Shi was banished there with residence
 in Danzhou [Changhuajun] while Su Che was banished
 to Huazhou with residence in Leizhou. See Wang Shuizhao,
 p. 129.

62. The brother of King Zhou of the Shang was
 enfeoffed in Ji 箕, enslaved after a remonstrance and
 released when King Wu of the Zhou conquered. The area of
 Ji included present day Korea. Jizi brought the
 civilizing influences of ritual and agriculture to the
 people. See Hou Han shu, "Dong Yi guo zhuan."

South, was buried, and where the demoted official now sighs over his fate. Nine Doubts Mountain connects the areas. Although the brothers will be cut off by the sea which separates Hainan and the Leizhou Peninsula, Su Shi attempts to diminish the distance by saying that they will be able to look across the water at one another. Awareness of the removal from the cultural sphere is evident in Su Shi's comparison of himself with the brother of King Wu who was sent from the court, enfeoffed in Ji, and honored for taking the civilizing influences to the then remote area.

In making the journey, it was necessary to pass through an area called the Gate of Ghosts. As the report to the throne reveals, Su Shi was aware of the symbolism of the pass:

Passing through the Gate of Ghosts moving eastward, we then went south to float over the miasmic sea. There is no set time for return in this life, and even if death overtakes me, I will not have chastened myself completely.⁶³

Lines of Su Shi's report possessed resonances with the words of an official of the Tang Dynasty who had been exiled beyond the southern passes:⁶⁴

63. SSWJ, 2/24/707. "Report to the Throne Upon Arrival in Changhua Commandery."

64. The Gate of Ghosts, (Guimen guan 鬼門關) was a term used to refer to several of the passes leading to the area south of Guangxi and Guangdong.

I had always heard of the road to the rivers of
 plague,
 Now I myself have come to the Gate of Ghosts.
 In this land, no man ever grows old,
 How many of the exiles have ever returned?⁶⁵

The movement into exile was more than a geographic separation. As Schafer clarifies, Hainan was a place which symbolized death:

Through the ages Hainan has been regarded as the ultimate place of exile...the passage of the strait that separated the island from the continent symbolized a divorce that was even more to be dreaded--the transit marked a sort of spiritual death.⁶⁶

Even the passage across the straits was to be feared; although the span was only about 400 li, the dangers inherent in the sea journey were not to be minimized. Prior to departure from Leizhou, on the first day of the sixth month, Su Shi sought spiritual protection at the shrine to the hero Fubo 伏波.⁶⁷

After reaching the shore on the northwest after a day and a half at sea, he still faced the overland travel

65. Quan Tang shi, # 05097. "Ru Guimen guan 入鬼門關" by Shen Quanqi (ca. 650--713). Shen was banished after the fall of the Empress Wu, then sent to Huanzhou. For translation and discussion, see: Owen, The Poetry of the Early Tang, 1977, pp. 356ff.

66. See Schafer, Shore of Pearls, p. 84.

67. See Li Yibing, Su Dongpo xin zhuan, vol. 2, pp. 904-905.

of 200 li to his place of exile.⁶⁸ While traveling from Qiongzhou 瓊州 on the northern coast to Danzhou in the interior, he composed a poem which described in its opening lines the terrain of Hainan island:⁶⁹

Four commanderies comprise the single island,⁷⁰
 One hundred caverns curled in its midst.
 I travel to the northwest corner of the crescent,
 As though crossing the half bow of the moon.
 Climbing to a high place I gaze toward the
 central plain,
 I see only emptiness among the accumulated
 waters.
 Will I truly have a chance to return somewhere
 before I die?
 Gazing in all four directions, I've indeed come
 to the end of the road.

Su Shi's initial response to Hainan island was a muted complaint. He did not describe beautiful scenes on the island, but used a striking image to capture the essential features of the landscape. The primary metaphor, "crossing the half bow of the moon," captures the direction of his movement. From the Qiongzhou

68. Li Yibing, Su Dongpo xin zhuan, vol. 2, p. 906 notes that it was 200 li to Danzhou.

69. SSSJ, 7/41/2246-48. "Traveling Between Qiong and Dan I Sit Sleeping in the Sedan Chair. While Dreaming, I Think of the Line: 'A Thousand Mountains Move Like Scales of Fish, Ten Thousand Valleys Are Filled With the Sound From Sheng and Bell.'" 行瓊條間,肩輿坐睡,夢中得句云:千山動鱗甲,萬谷酣笙鐘,覺而遇清風急雨戲作此數句."

70. Schafer, The Shore of Pearls, pp. 22-23.

government center on the northeastern coast, he went on to Chengmai 澄邁, the northern post station. From there he traveled to Lin'gao 臨高, then went southwest to the interior area where Danzhou was located, thereby cutting a swath across the island which was shaped like the top of a crescent moon.⁷¹ He noted that four commanderies constituted the island. During the previous century, the three commanderies of Yai 崖, Dan 儋 and Zhu 珠 were all under the jurisdiction of Qiongzhou. In 1073 the Song government changed the status of the area, designating three military commanderies. In the west, Danzhou became Changhua Commandary 昌化郡; in the east Wanzhou 萬州 was designated, and in the south Yaizhou 崖州 was established; Qiongzhou remained the seat of jurisdiction.⁷² Su Shi had been demoted to Associate Official, bie jia 別駕 of Qiongzhou with his residence restricted to Changhuajun, namely Danzhou.

71. The journey is traced by Zhu Yushu 朱玉書 in Hai wai qi cong 海外奇踪 (Hainan: Renmin chubanshe, 1985), p. 53.

72. Song shi, 90.2245. The "Geographical Treatise" explains that the area of Hainan was under the jurisdiction of Guangnan xi lu 廣南西路. Thus Su Che's place of banishment, Leizhou, was under the same general jurisdiction. See p. 2239. Uprisings by Li tribesmen had been quelled in the mid-late eleventh century by the Guangnan Western Route provincial government. For geographical and political conditions in Hainan, see SSSJ, 7/41/2246; also, see Schafer, The Shore of Pearls, pp. 22-24.

Su Shi's first impression of his place of exile was of its geographical features. The waters he had crossed on his journey now surrounded him on all sides. Waters separated him from his family at Leizhou and also from the mainland where the capital was located. In all directions the way back was blocked. As the second half of the poem reveals, Su Shi was able to overcome his initial reaction and to achieve a sense of the marvels which awaited him in the place of banishment.

The literature which Su Shi wrote on his journeys into exile, including the descriptions of historic and scenic sites, possesses similarities with the accounts of travel diaries of the period. Specifically, the monasteries, mountain temples and terrain of Lingnan were recorded. At the very least, he had captured in his poetry the essential features of the places he traversed. However, because of the intensity of feeling created by the mandate of banishment, Su Shi's perception of the landscape was tinged with a somber tone of regret which determines the mood of many of his poems. On the journey to Huangzhou, the sight of the winter plum blossoms blown across the mountain passes leading him to the Yangtze River valley "broke his heart." Dangerous rapids on the Gan River taking him to Huizhou "caused him to weep." As he departed for Hainan, he saw the peaks of Cangwu; he

fell upon his pillow with sighs of regret. Yet, despite the common thread of disquietude in the poetry, there is also a deep spirit of curiosity and wonder.

Transformation of the Places of Exile

Although the places of Su Shi's exiles were removed from the center of culture and distant from the familiar sphere of political influence, he was able to accommodate to them, even to express a degree of satisfaction with his life there. Nonetheless, to suggest that Su Shi was able to adjust to exile because of an optimistic spirit which allowed him to be happy anywhere is to fail to recognize the depth of dislocation experienced in exile.⁷³ Furthermore, the notion of adjustment does not take into account the various means which Su Shi used to respond to his adverse situations. During each of his three periods of exile, Su Shi created for himself a world in which he could live with composure. The world was not an imaginary, idyllic domain created by denying the concrete realities of his situation. And yet, his imagination was used to transform the places. The worlds of Su Shi's creation were rooted in the geographical

73. For the view that Su Shi possessed an optimistic spirit and a philosophy of life that allowed him to be happy anywhere, see Ronald Egan, The Literary Works of Ou-yang Hsiu (Cambridge, Mass: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 99.

places of exiles. An essentially aesthetic sensibility transformed the places through association and allusion.⁷⁴ Su Shi made the places his own by defining the parameters of the world with his own language. When he named a place or otherwise gave it his stamp of identity, it was no longer alien to him.

The intricate manner in which he combined the tangible features of his place of exile with the imaginative dimensions of his art to create the world is deserving of comment.⁷⁵ In Huangzhou where Su Shi was forced to become a farmer, he created through his physical labor and imagination an "Eastern Slope." He described himself initially as a poor farmer and eventually as the satisfied resident of his estate. In Huizhou, he built his home on the site of a Taoist monastery; he became a recluse fit to dwell among immortals. Expelled from official quarters in Danzhou, he was forced to live among the "barbarians," the Li people. With their help he constructed his dwelling and began to associate himself with them. The manner in

74. See Francis Westbrook, "Landscape Transformation in the Poetry of Hsieh Ling-yun" JAOS 100:3 (1980), pp. 237-254. Westbrook's concept of Hsieh's use of allusion and trope to transform the way a landscape is perceived is central to this analysis.

75. One of the first to clarify Su Shi's tendency to create literary worlds in which to sustain himself was George Hatch in Sung Biographies, vol. 3, pp. 935-36.

which Su Shi's writings record the transmutations of self and environment will be analyzed and explored with a view to determining both literary and philosophical dimensions of his efforts.

Su Shi's descriptions of the specific dwellings and landscapes in his places of exile reveal a tendency to express a concern and affection for the affairs of daily life that the Japanese Sinologist Yoshikawa Kōjirō has termed a characteristic feature of Song poetry.⁷⁶

The eyes of the Sung men were fixed upon the world about them, and their interest was roused not only by those objects and events which might naturally be expected to make a strong impression, but often even more so by those which one might suppose would make little impression at all.⁷⁷

. . . The daily life of the farmer is an even more frequent theme of Sung poetry and is dealt with in the greatest detail.⁷⁸

In the numerous poems recording his activities in exile, Su Shi emerges as one of the most representative of this tendency among Song poets to record the common place, particularly as it was reflected in daily life. His writings regarding his dwellings and undertakings at

76. Yoshikawa Kōjirō, Sō shi gaisetsu, pp. 19-27.

77. Yoshikawa, Sō shi gaisetsu, p. 19. The translation is given in Burton Watson, An Introduction to Sung Poetry (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1968), p. 14.

78. Watson, An Introduction to Sung Poetry, p. 16.

Eastern Slope in Huangzhou reflect a gaze fixed on objects and events of his immediate world.

The influence of a specific geographic area on a given writer is viewed as an important factor in the analysis of his works. As Paul Kroll has demonstrated in his study of Meng Haoran 孟浩然 (689--740), the poet's native place of Xiangyang figured significantly in the poetry Meng wrote.⁷⁹ The association of Meng with Xiangyang 湘陽 was so intimate "that he acquired its toponym as a posthumous appellation."⁸⁰ Kroll generalizes, noting the importance of this feature for other poets:

Likewise, for some if not most Tang poets, a sensitive examination and appreciation of their poetry may depend on our knowledge of the peculiarities of their natal place or on those of a distinct district with which the poet was later closely connected.⁸¹

In the case of Su Shi, Huangzhou, the place of his first exile, provided a courtesy name. The plot of land beyond the east gate of the city of Huanggang was termed the Dongpo, or Eastern Slope. Su Shi took as his hao, or literary name, "Dongpo Jushi" 東坡居士, Layman of the

79. Paul Kroll, Meng Hao-jan, (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1981).

80. Kroll, Meng Hao-jan, p. 23.

81. Kroll, Meng Hao-jan, p. 23.

Eastern Slope, thereby indicating both his attachment to his farm and his attraction to Buddhism.⁸² Although other places in the Huangzhou area, especially the "Chi bi" 赤壁 or Red Cliff along the Yangtze River and West Mountain in Wuchang 武昌 across the river, appear in his poetry, none is as predominant as the Eastern Slope.

Huangzhou: The Farmer at Dongpo

When Su Shi arrived in Huangzhou at the beginning of the second month of 1084, he recorded his impressions of the place. In positive terms, he noted that there would be sufficient food.

ON FIRST ARRIVING IN HUANGZHOU⁸³

I laugh that my life has been a struggle to keep
 my belly full,
 But as old age approaches my career becomes
 unpredictable.
 The long river skirts the outer walls --I know
 the fish are good,
 Fine bamboo run up the hillsides--I can smell
 their shoots' sweet fragrance.
 This exiled man doesn't mind a supernumerary
 post,
 Other poets have often been Water Bureau
 officials.⁸⁴

82. Su Shi is one of the few scholar-officials to be included in the collection of sayings, teachings and anecdotes by Buddhists. See Wu deng huiyao 五燈會元 3 vols, Puji 普濟, comp (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1984), vol. 3, juan 17, 1146.

83. SSSJ, 4/20/1031-32. "初到黃州 ."

I only regret that I have accomplished little,
And still rely on official expenses for keeping
wine bags.⁸⁵

The long river referred to the Yangtze which dominated the landscape to the west and the south of Huangzhou.⁸⁶ Although the district was remote by some standards, its location on the navigable river made it accessible.⁸⁷ Nonetheless, Su Shi saw it initially as a place removed from the capital that had been home to exiled poets before him. In a note to this poem, he stated that Wang Yucheng 王禹偁 (954--1001), exiled to Huangzhou over a century earlier, had mentioned the names of the demoted poets.⁸⁸ Although Su Shi explored the area during the first few months of his exile, his impression after the first year was that Huangzhou was remote and backward. He wrote to a friend, then living in the more cultured

84. SSSJ, 4/20/1032. Wang Shuizhao lists poets who had served in the Water Bureau. See Su Shi xuan ji, p. 131.

85. According to the Song government policy, a portion of the official's salary was paid in cash and a portion paid in goods which could be compensated. Wine bags were commonly used goods. See Wang Shuizhao, Su Shi xuan ji, p. 131 for references from Song historical sources.

86. For a map of the journey and account of the area, see Ginsberg, "Alienation," pp. 96-102.

87. Huangzhou, presently known as Huanggang 黄冈, is located in Hubei Province, forty kilometers downstream from Wuhan 武漢 on the north shore of the Yangtze across the river from Echeng 鄂城.

88. For Wang Yucheng, see Song shi, 293.

area of Hangzhou, that he felt distant from the court. Obviously, Su Shi had retained his interest in events occurring at the capital:

Huangzhou is truly at the bottom of the well. Alienated, I am unable to learn of news in the country or in my homeland.... Here, I go to the river for water, pick vegetables and thus a day passes. Each time I see an official communication it reports several persons jailed and some who have offenses. Now at the court when they evaluate achievement, fame and reputation, even if a man is talented, he still will not be given a place to serve. How much the more so is it for one of my intransigence; getting rid of me was much more appropriate. Yet I have some hope that the emperor's favor will allow me to return to the fields in retirement.⁸⁹

In a similar vein, Su Shi had written to Sima Guang, then in Luoyang:

Being exiled to this backward place is like being at the bottom of a well. I'm too distant to know the news of the capital and Luoyang, and thus don't know how you are doing each day. There's not much to tell about me.⁹⁰

For the exiled official who had not been granted responsibilities for governance, life in the place of banishment presented two major challenges. He was not given an official residence and was thus responsible for providing suitable dwellings for his family. Because he

89. SSWJ, 4/53/1587. "Letter to Wang Yuanzhi 與王元直二首," #2.

90. SSWJ, 4/50/1442. "Letter to Sima Wengong 與司馬溫公." #3.

no longer received the full amount of his salary, he was required to devise ways to simplify his life or to increase his income.⁹¹ In a letter to Qin Guan, Su Shi wrote of his dilemma:

. . . When I first arrived in Huangzhou I was quite worried about how I would manage financially since my salary had been discontinued and my family is a rather large one. However, being very careful we can manage by spending only 150 cash each day. On the first of each month I take out 4500 cash and divide it into 30 bundles and hang them from the rafters of the ceiling... I calculate that I have enough money left to last a year or more and after that we will think of something else.⁹²

When Su Shi and his son Mai first arrived in Huangzhou, they lived in the Dinghui Monastery, staying there until the fifth month when Su Che brought the family to join Su Shi. It was necessary for Su Shi to find a place for more than twenty members of his household.⁹³ He was allowed to use an abandoned post

91. Su Shi's actual financial conditions during exile are not readily determined. While he complained about being without funds, he was able to purchase land and build homes in all three places of exile. As a demoted and exiled official, he would have suffered from a severe reduction in income. However, some economic assistance, if only in kind transfer of goods, was probably due him.

92. SSWJ, 4/25/1535-37; Lines from p. 1537. "Letter to Qin Guan 與秦觀書" The letter is translated in Burton Watson, Su Tung-p'o (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), pp. 78-79.

93. Wang Baozhen, Nianpu, p. 142.

station, the Lin'gao Hall 臨皋堂, which was located near the river to the east. However, because there was inadequate space for family, no place for guests and no room for Su Shi to pursue his own interests as a scholar, he continued to plan for additional space. Furthermore, the indefinite nature of his exile was cause for consternation; temporary dwellings were one thing, prolonged arrangements were another. It is possible to trace the development of Su Shi's thinking regarding the places in which he lived. Initially, he must have hoped the period of banishment would be brief and that family members would manage. But as time passed, he realized it would be necessary to make long-term plans. Poetry, which at the outset was given to complaint about his situation, was replaced by lines which described his actions in providing for his family and in transforming the places as his own. Over the course of the exile period of four years and three months, Su Shi developed a small estate with buildings requisite for life in exile with his family. His attitude during the construction of the buildings and his subsequent attachment to places reveal that, consciously or not, he had identified himself with them.

When the funds, which he said were sufficient for a year, were almost depleted, he was fortunate to receive the assistance of a friend, Ma Mengde 馬夢得, who had

come to be with him in Huangzhou.⁹⁴ In the winter of 1081, land which Ma had requested from local officials was granted for Su Shi's use.⁹⁵ The place itself, located east of the city gates, and the circumstances by which it was gained were recounted in a series of eight poems with a preface as follows:

EAST SLOPE: PREFACE⁹⁶

After two years in Huangzhou, my difficulties and deprivations increased with the passing days. An old friend, Ma Zhengqing, deploring my lack of food, asked the local administration if I might be allowed to cultivate several mu of land at the old militia camp. Having been neglected, the land had become a field filled with briars, broken tiles and stones. Furthermore, there had been a drought that year. Thus the effort to reclaim the land took every ounce of my strength. Letting go the plow, I sighed and thus wrote these poems to console myself for the effort and to hope that the coming harvest would cause me to forget my toil.

94. For Ma Mengde's relationship with Su Shi, see Li Yibing Su Dongpo xin zhuan, vol. 1, pp. 339-340; also, see Ginsberg, "Alienation," pp. 115-16. Ma is thanked in poem #8 of the Dongpo series.

95. Wang Baozhen, Nianpu, p. 145.

96. SSSJ, pp. 1079-1084. "東坡八首并序".

EAST SLOPE: POEM #1⁹⁷

Dilapidated fortifications go neglected for by
 all,
 Collapsing wall is covered with artemisia and
 tumbleweed.
 Who would expend his strength and effort,
 To be uncompensated for his labor at year's end?
 Only this fellow, the lone stranger,
 Impoverished by heaven, with no place to flee.
 Just because of this, he picks up tiles and
 stones,
 Times of drought have made the land infertile.
 Upon the rugged plot of brambles and weeds,
 Trying to turn over just an inch of the growing
 plants.
 Heaving a sigh, and releasing the plow,
 I ask, "When will my granary be high?"

The request of the local government was granted,
 quite likely because Su Shi was on good terms with the
 magistrates of both Wuchang and Huangzhou. Shortly after
 Su Shi arrived, Zhu Shouchang 朱壽昌 had entertained
 him in Wuchang. Likewise Xu Dashou 徐大受, the
 magistrate under whose jurisdiction Su Shi was living,
 had treated him with respect and kindness, perhaps
 rationalizing Su Shi's nominal position as a military
 official to sanction use of the post station.⁹⁸

97. Shi jing, poem #279, "Feng nian 豐年 " "In the fruitful year there is much grain and barley and high [piled] granaries." Concordance to Shih Ching, Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series No. 9, p. 76. Explanation offered in Michael Fuller, "The Poetry of Su Shi," Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University, 1983), p. 467.

98. See Li Yibing, Su Dongpo xin zhuan, vol. 1, p. 336 for information on the magistrates.

Yet, Su Shi describes the acquired land in negative terms. The persona adopted in the "East Slope" poems is that of a man who has no alternative but to begin farming. Nonetheless, the sequence of eight poems, recording the acquisition of the land, planting of crops, anticipated harvest, and gratitude for the land, is an account of the concerns and joys of a farmer conscious of the significance of his actions. Not only does he plant crops for the immediate needs of his family, he is also able to plan for the future. In the sixth poem of the series, Su Shi projects his actions into the future, predicting events in later years.

Plant jujubes and in time I can pick them;
 Plant pine and in time it can be cut.
 I'll have to wait ten years or more,
 But I did right to put them in.
 After all, what's ten years,
 When a thousand pass like hail on the wind?
 I've heard of Li Heng's "slaves;"
 His no doubt is the best plan to follow.
 A friend who was an official with me,
 Now at a post in Qianyu,
 Sent me oranges three inches in diameter-
 They lit up the whole room with their shining.
 If he'd get a hundred seedlings,
 I'd plant them in spring when ice is thick.
 I can see it now--beyond the bamboo hedge,
 Green and yellow dangling by the roof tips.⁹⁹

The satisfaction and calm which characterize the "East Slope" series are not as readily apparent in other poems which describe his farming efforts. Complaints

99. SSSJ, 4/21/1084, Poem #6. Translated by Watson, Su Tung-p'o, p. 84.

regarding toil as a farmer are numerous. In addition, Su Shi encountered difficulties brought about by natural calamities.

MATCHING KONG YIFU'S POEMS ON DROUGHT AND RAIN,
POEM #2¹⁰⁰

Last year I picked up tiles and stones at the
Eastern Slope,
Planted a row of yellow mulberry trees three
hundred chi long.
This year I cut the grass and built the Snow
Hall,
In the sun's searing heat and blowing wind my
face turned black.

He complained to Kong that there was no sign of relief from the drought, saying that man was left to strive for himself: "Heaven is vast and distant, you cry out and it does not hear; Why bow your head and call to the clay Buddha?"¹⁰¹

Despite the complaints expressed in poetry written in Huangzhou, Su Shi avoided expression of maudlin self-pity. The persona of the poems is himself a farmer, learning from others, and determined to cast his lot with the rustics of his association. Describing the planting of rice, he anticipates harvest, contrasting the taste of his rice with that eaten as an official.

100. SSSJ, 4/21/1121-24, Poem #2, p. 1122, LL. 1-4.
"次韻孔毅父久旱已而甚雨三首."

101. SSSJ, 4/21/1121-22, Poem #1, LL. 11-12. "次韻孔毅父久旱已而甚雨三首。"

EAST SLOPE: POEM #4¹⁰²

... Newly pounded rice will soon fill the jars,
 Jade kernels will gleam from the baskets.
 Long have I eaten rice from the government
 granary,
 Overripe and spoiled, like the texture of clay.
 I soon will know the real taste of rice,
 I've already promised my mouth and belly a treat.

In addition to the cultivation of rice, growing tea was part of the plan to ward off want. As well, it was a way of expressing a willingness to continue living in the place of exile. By naming his own strain Snow Hall Tea, and referring to it as a descendant of the Peach Blossom Tea of his friend, Su Shi was revealing his assumption that he would be present to care for the plants. Furthermore, he was making his unique contribution and assuring that there would be lasting evidence of his presence.¹⁰³

Although Su Shi did not provide explicit reasons for the choice of the name Layman of the Eastern Slope, his use of the sobriquet which he assumed during the exile period identified him with the plot of land east of the city gate. Quite likely, it associated him with the earlier statesman-poet, Bai Juyi 白居易 (772--846), who during his exile in Zhongzhou 中州 had written poems

102. SSSJ, 4/21/1121, Poem #4. The translation is modified from Watson, Su Tung-p'o, p. 83.

103. SSSJ, 4/21/1119-1120.

about his Eastern Slope.¹⁰⁴ Even though Su Shi did not mention Bai Juyi specifically, his poem describing the Eastern Slope reveals a fondness for a place similar to that in Bai's poem on his Eastern Slope.¹⁰⁵ Description of the calm, clear, moonlit scene of the farmland is no more important than the revelation that the farmer has made it his own:

Rain has washed the Eastern Slope, the moon's
light is clear,
When city dwellers have all returned, the country
folk appear.
Don't resent the rugged places on the hilltop
path,
I like the clanging sound of my walking stick
when it strikes.¹⁰⁶

Not only did Su Shi identify himself with his farm, he came to see all of the buildings as constituting his estate, his Eastern Slope. About a century later, Southern Song poet Lu You 陸游 (1125-1209), while on a journey to Shu, recorded in his travel diary, Ru Shu

104. On Bai Juyi's identification with Tao Yuanming during exile, see Howard Levy, Translations from Po Chui's Collected Works: vol. 1 Old Style Poems (New York: 1970) pp. 29-30. For activities in exile, such as building the pond, see pp. 38-39. See SSSJ, p. 1079.

105. SSSJ, 4/20/1079. Bai Juyi's poems express his delight during a morning walk at East Slope. See Bai Juyi ji 白居易集 4 vols (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), 1/11/215-16. "Planting Flowers On East Slope 東坡種花 ."

106. Dongpo zhilin, (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1981), p. 79 "Lin'gao xian ti 臨臯閑題 ."

ii, 入蜀記 the places in Huangzhou which had already become intimately associated with Su Shi's name:¹⁰⁷

In the morning we visited the Eastern Slope. From the gate of (Huangzhou) eastward, mounds rise and fall. When we reached the Eastern Slope, the land was level and open. To the east rose one mound, rather high. There was a house of three spans and one (room raised up like a) turtle's head, called the Chu-shih Pavilion. Below the pavilion and facing south was a rather impressive hall. Its four walls were all covered with paintings of snow scenes. In the hall was a portrait of Su. In black cap and purple fur gown, he was leaning on a Szechwanese bamboo staff. This is the Snow Hall. East of the hall is a tall willow. According to tradition, he planted it with his own hands. Directly south there is a bridge. . . . To the east is a well, called the Hidden Well. There is also the Ssu-wang Pavilion. It directly faces the Snow Hall and is on a high hill. It is the best place in the whole commandery for viewing the scenery.¹⁰⁸

The Lin'gao Hall, a post-inn which served as the family dwelling, had scarcely enough room to accommodate his family. Thus Su Shi complained that he could not invite Chen Zao of Qiting to lodge with them during his visit.¹⁰⁹ Soon Su began to consider the possibility of

107. Lu You, Ru Shu ji, entry for the 19th day of September. See a translation in Chun-shu Chang and Joan Smythe, South China in the Twelfth Century: A Translation of Lu Yu's Travel Diaries, July 3-December 6, 1170 (Hong Kong: The Chinese University, 1981), p. 116.

108. Chang, South China in the Twelfth Century, pp. 116-17.

109. See SSSJ, 4/20/1029 for information on Chen Zao, [Chen Jichang] the son of the magistrate of Fengxiang during Su Shi's first official appointment there in 1062-1063. Chen visited seven times and Su Shi

acquiring or building additional dwelling space. His need was partially satisfied when Cai Chengxi, a jinshi classmate, made an inspection tour of the area. He provided funding for the construction of the South Hall which Su Shi built near the main dwelling. It provided a guest room, a study, and a room which would allow Su Shi to pursue his interest in alchemy practices.¹¹⁰

The Snow Hall was later built to the south of the gate on a knoll which had once been a deer feeding area. It had five rooms and was to serve as a guest house as well as a place for Su Shi to meditate and work alone. Completed in the winter of 1082 during a snowstorm, the interior was suitably painted with snow scenes. It was described in the opening lines of a philosophical work in which Su Shi conversed with a wise man about the nature of reality.

INQUIRY OF ELDER PAN BIN AT THE SNOW HALL¹¹¹

When Master Su obtained an abandoned plot adjacent to the Eastern Slope; he made an enclosure and built a hall, calling the main hall the Snow Hall. Because the hall was completed during a great snowfall, he had snow scenes painted on the four walls, leaving not a single empty space. From every angle and at all times,

visited Qiting three times. See. SSSJ 4/23/1203, Preface to "Qiting 岐亭," Five Poems.

110. See Li Yibing, Su Dongpo xin zhuan, vol. 1, p. 344 for a description of South Hall.

111. Dongpo zhilin, pp. 80-82; SSWJ, 2/12/410-412. "雪堂記."

all he saw was snow. Master Su lived there and truly obtained what he wanted in a house.

Writing to his nephew, Su Shi said that his activities caring for his land and directing construction of his Snow Hall helped him to forget his cares:

Recently I acquired several ten mu of land in the village; I have been tilling the land there and have built a several roomed thatched dwelling which I have named the Eastern Slope Snow Hall. I plant vegetables and pick fruit and thus am able to forget about growing old.¹¹²

Once his complex of buildings had been completed, Su Shi considered himself to be a man like Tao Yuanming, purposefully engaged as a gentleman farmer. He described his place in glowing terms, expressing the new sensibility in an optimistic lyric poem. In the preface, he clarified his association with Tao Yuanming.¹¹³

On the fifth day of the first month Tao Yuanming roamed at Xie Brook. Approaching the stream he sat by himself in leisure and gazed off at the South Hill. He was delighted with the unique elegance of the Zengcheng mountain and thus wrote the poem on Xie Brook. To this day we are prompted to imagine the place. In the spring of 1082 I was tilling the land at the Eastern Slope; I built my Snow Hall and dwelled there. To the South, I see the anterior hills next to the Sweeping View Pavilion; to the West of it are small streams in North Mountain. As I take it

112. SSWJ, "Letter to My Nephew."

113. Long Yusheng, ed. Dongpo yuefu jian (Hong Kong, 1979) rpt of 1936, 2.2a-b. "Jiang Chengzi 江城子." Hereafter DPYFJ.

all in, I sigh, "Is this not also an excursion to Xie Brook?" Thereupon I composed a poem in irregular meters to chant it to the tune of "Jiang Chengzi"¹¹⁴

In dream so clear, sobered from drunkenness,
Only Tao Yuanming,
Is my former existence.
Entering into the realm of men,
Just as of old, tilling his fields.
Last night on East Slope ample spring rain.
Magpies were joyous,
Announcing new sunlight.

West of the Snow Hall, hidden stream gurgles,
North mountains slant,
Rivulets go across,
Looking south to pavilion and knoll,
Alone in its beauty, Zengcheng,
All are the scenes of Xiechuan of that time.
Now that I am old,
To this I entrust my remaining years.

The idyllic place which Tao had developed in his "Xie Brook" was reproduced in Su Shi's imagination. The entire complex, including the Eastern Slope, the viewing pavilion, and the mountains which surrounded his plot of land, was the realm of Su Shi the farmer. Created by his labors, it was transformed by the imagination into a place of meaning. The meaning which Su Shi gave to his domain was derived in part from the attachments he had to the specific place and in part to the philosophically based conception that the gifts of the natural world are

114. Translation is modified from Kang-i Sun Chang, The Evolution of Chinese Tz'u Poetry: From Late T'ang to Northern Sung. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), p. 167 (preface); the poem is translated on pp. 163-164.

free and that they are given in all places. Accordingly, he found his home at his Eastern Slope; there was no need to return to Meizhou. Using the metaphor of water as a force linking all places, he made the association between his former home and the new place.

AN INSCRIPTION FOR LIN'GAO 115

Some eighty paces beneath the Lin'gao Hall is the great river, half of which is snow melted from Mount Emei. Water for my drinking, eating and bathing all comes from it. Thus what need is there to return to my native place? The water and mountains, the wind and moon, have never had a permanent master. The leisurely one is then their master. I have heard that Fan Zifeng has a new house with pool and garden. Which is really better? The only reason mine is not like his is that I don't have the two taxes and the corvee labor tax.

The spirit of joy which characterized the lyric poem Su Shi wrote to describe his estate was characteristic of an attitude toward life during the Huangzhou exile. Affection for the places which bear his stamp of identity make the poems compelling. Daily routines of the farmer on his estate are contrasted with the life of an official at the court. Simplicity of life and enjoyment of nature are given priority in Su Shi's new way of looking at the world.

115. Dongpo zhilin 東坡志林 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), p. 79. "臨臯閑題".

YELLOW MUD FLATS¹¹⁶

Going out from Lin'gao and rushing to the east,
 At the deserted ancestral hall take a turn to the
 north,
 Then past the Snow Hall's craggy slope,
 These are the steps on the long Yellow Mud Flats.
 The great river winds lapping to the left,
 Far off, hazy clouds roll like waves.
 Vegetation piled high at my neighbor on the left,
 Luxuriant are the wooded hills in green and red.
 Going out at sunset, coming home at dusk,
 I walk leaning on my gnarled willow cane.
 Though truly beautiful, I could not dwell in it,
 But the scene does delight me at a glance.
 In youth I did love this, following a unique
 manner,
 Adopted the cunning and conjuring of the
 ancients.
 Now in old age I change, smiling at myself,
 Wakened to the assaults brought by scaring
 vulgarity.
 Letting go the precious jade, I put on coarse
 silks;
 Mingling with men in the market without being
 recognized.
 The road is far, I don't traverse it,
 But preserve my small place and end the year.
 Occasionally strolling looking off in the
 distance,
 Where the road ends, I turn and come back.
 At daybreak I enjoy the white clouds over Yellow
 Flats,
 At dusk I dwell in the dark vapors of Snow Hall.
 I am delighted that fish and birds do not fear
 me,
 And feel fortunate that woodcutters befriend me.
 Going out, carrying wine and singing as I go,
 Suddenly releasing the cane, I lie down drunk.
 The grass for my mat and earth for a pillow,
 Respectfully enjoying the pleasant treats in the
 flowering hall.
 Clothing dampened by the profuse falling wall,
 There rises the round, round white moon.
 I'm aware of elders calling to waken me,
 They fear I'll be trampled by oxen and sheep.
 Thereupon quickening, I arise,
 Thereupon quickening, I sing.

116. SSSJ, 8/48/2643. "黃泥坂詞".

They escort me to go forth, entertain me and send
me back.
The year is late and plants are decaying,
Return! Return!
You should not sport too long on Yellow Mud
Flats.

As the period of exile in Huangzhou lengthened and Su Shi's accommodation to his place of exile deepened, accounts of his estate became increasingly idealized. Life on the Eastern Slope had provided stability; the place had become a haven for him. The degree to which Su Shi had identified himself with his surroundings and had attempted to adjust to his exile was apparent in the poems he wrote at the time of his departure from Huangzhou. Familiarity with the places and the people, the affection apparent in the images and descriptions gave a depth of meaning to the poems:

DEPARTING HUANGZHOU¹¹⁷

Sick, scabby horse can't bear the bridle,
Still looks to his monarch to receive a
covering.¹¹⁸
Could I be without feeling where I've lodged
under the mulberries?
Drinking some wine, for just a time get to go
away,
The long belt still carries the pouch for rice.

117. SSSJ, 4/23/1201-1202. "別黃州".

118. SSSJ, 4/23/1201. Wang Wen'gao explains the Confucian idea that the horse could be wrapped in a burial cloth; here the meaning is that Su Shi has been called back to be of use at the court.

A wide collar I'll cut first as clothing to cover
the goiter.¹¹⁹
To grow old among rivers and lakes, in the end I
won't be lost,
In the time to come don't say your old friend was
wrong.

Consequent to his reception of the special edict
from the Shenzong Emperor which assigned him to a minor
military post in Ruzhou, Su Shi arranged for his family
to leave Huangzhou. Early in the fourth month he
departed, writing to friends as he began his journey:¹²⁰

CROSSING THE YANGTZE AT NIGHT, TRAVELING ON WUCHANG
MOUNTAIN AND HEARING THE DRUMS AND BUGLES FROM
HUANGZHOU¹²¹

Water ruffled by clear wind, moon half hidden by
mountains,¹²²
The solitary one crosses over to Wu Wangxian.
Huangzhou drums and horns are full of feeling,
They have sent me off to the south without
concern for distance.
South of the river again I hear "Leaving the
Frontier,"
Mixed with river sounds, beautiful and stirring.
Who says that in a thousand places sounds are all
the same?
Saddened water lizards and dragons altered their
cries just for me.
I recall the withered willow on the river bank,

119. Reference is to the illness frequently found
in Ruzhou, namely goiter problems caused from drinking
the water there. Su Shi says that he is preparing to
widen the lapels on his coat to cover goiters.

120. Wang Baozhen, Nianpu, p. 159.

121. SSSJ, 4/23/1203. "過江夜行武昌山上，
聞黃州鼓角。"

122. Literally, the line says that the mountains
hold the moon in their mouth.

Before I die we'll meet again and truly know each
 other.
 Another time, I'll come rowing up the river in a
 skiff,
 And you'll play again this tune to welcome me.

The departure was recorded with sentiment. Su Shi saw an intimate relationship between himself and those places and things he had touched. He personified creation, attributing to it the ability to bid him farewell. Just as he would remember the willow tree, it was expected to remember him and to welcome him upon his return.

In the parting poems, a style which utilizes the ordinary features of the environment is informed by philosophical conception. In a farewell poem in which he summarized his time spent in Huangzhou, he reminded his neighbors from the Snow Hall to remember him as he mused on the inevitable partings in human life. Friends were to let the young willows in front of the hall grow tall and were to put his rain gear out to dry.

PREFACE AND POEM: "MAN TING FANG"¹²³

In the seventh year of Yuanfeng (1084), the first day of the fourth month, I was leaving Huangzhou to go to Ruzhou; I took leave of several of my Snow Hall neighbors. Then it happened that Li Zhonglan came from east of the river to say farewell; I wrote this and left it for him.

123. Long Yusheng, DPYFJ, 2-26b. " 滿庭芳 ."

Return!
 To what place shall I return?
 My home is ten thousand miles away with the Min
 and Emei mountains.
 Half of my one hundred years are now gone,
 remaining days are few,
 I regret that in Huangzhou I've watched years come
 and go.¹²⁴
 My children now speak Chu's dialect, sing songs
 of Wu,¹²⁵
 Mountain friends bring chicken, pork and wine to
 share with old Dongpo.
 What can I do?
 I ought to leave here.
 Such is the way life goes--
 Coming and going like the weaver's shuttle.

 One day, I'll watch the autumn wind stir the
 clean water and pure waves of the River Luo.
 Fortunately, there are young willows in front of
 the Hall.
 Remember me by not trimming the tender trees.¹²⁶
 Now pass on the word-
 You elders of the southern land,
 Put the fisherman's
 raincoat out to sun now and then.

Attachment to specific places became Su Shi's
 characteristic response in exile. Embracing the land
 which he had made his personal place, he presented
 himself as a commoner. His accommodation was not simply

124. The literal translation is: "I have seen two
run or intercalary months in Huangzhou." During four
 years and two months he passed Yuanfeng 3 [1080] with the
run month in the ninth month, and Yuanfeng 6 [1083], with
 the run month in the sixth month.

125. The area south of the Yangtze was controlled
 by the ancient states of Chu and Wu.

126. The allusion is to Shi jing, poem #16 "Gan
 tang 甘棠" which admonishes the people to preserve the
 memory of the Lord Zhao Bo 召伯 by not cutting the tree
 under which he has slept.

a philosophical effort to transcend the difficulties. Emotional attachment brought an aesthetic richness to abide in the places and events described. Combining a philosophical outlook with an emotional response, Su Shi clarified his views in a poem composed shortly after leaving Huangzhou. Explaining how one might become intimate with Lu Mountain and appreciate its beauty, he states that one can enter into nature's realm.

ON FIRST ENTERING LU MOUNTAIN¹²⁷

The dark mountain seems to have no affection,
High and aloof with no feeling of intimacy.
If you want to know the face of Lu Mountain,
Wait till next time when you turn out to be an
old friend.

Expressing both an aesthetic theory and a philosophical position, the poem appears to be a formulation of a position which had long been developing in Su Shi's mind. Writing just after leaving Huangzhou, he articulated the view that familiarity was requisite to understanding and thus to the forming of attachments.

In Huangzhou, during the four-year period of exile, Su Shi gradually came to acquire a sense of self-sufficiency because he met the challenges posed by his new way of life. The persona of the farmer was not rejected, but embraced, at least in art. He was able to

127. SSSJ, 4/23/1209-1210. "初入廬山." Poem #1.

accommodate himself to the demands, in part, because his childhood in Shu had exposed him to the routine of rural life, and also because experiences as an official had sensitized him to difficulties faced by the common people. While Su Shi did not find himself in dire circumstances, he did encounter concrete problems in caring for his large family.

Labor provided Su Shi a sense of purpose and stability in a time of uncertainty. Although his complaints did not totally subside, many were transformed in the process of accepting the events of the life of a farmer as the concrete material for his artistic expression. Imagination gave the Eastern Slope farm and the buildings on the land an idyllic cast. By associating himself with literati of the past who had written about their estates and their places of retirement, he was able to transform the Eastern Slope. In the poetry, it existed as place marked with his distinctive features, clearly identified as Su Shi's place of exile.

Huizhou: Immortal of the White Crane Peak

The process of accommodation which he had utilized during his first exile was refined during the exile in Huizhou. The effort to create an imaginative world in which he could dwell was begun even before Su Shi arrived

at his place of exile. Poetry written on the journey included numerous finely crafted descriptions of the landscape. His compositions reflecting the scenic beauty of Huizhou contrasted with conventional exile poetry which tended to depict the inhospitable climate of the South.

The place of exile, Huizhou, was located almost midway between Guangzhou to the west and Chaozhou to the east.¹²⁸ It was part of the area of China known from early times as Lingnan, "south of the mountain passes," comprising the present day provinces of Guangdong and Guangxi.¹²⁹ Although the city of Guangdong was, by the early tenth century, a "sophisticated metropolis" relying on its position and heritage as a major trading center, perceptions those from the North held of the city and the area were generally unfavorable.¹³⁰ One reason the Lingnan area was perceived as inhospitable was because poetry written by officials of the Tang who had been exiled there described it in negative terms. When Han

128. For an introduction to historical sites in Huizhou which are related to Su Shi's time there, see Su Shi yu Huizhou 蘇軾與惠州 (Huizhou: Huiyangdiqu yinshua, 1982), Literary works written during Su Shi's exile in Huizhou are reprinted in the book.

129. For a discussion of the geographic and political divisions of the southern area of China prior to the Song, see Edward Schafer, Vermilion Bird, pp. 4-6.

130. The history of the city of Guangzhou is discussed in Schafer, Vermilion Bird, pp. 27-29.

Yu, in a poetic dialogue with a traveler from the South, described Chaozhou, he used compelling, but frightening images. The poet wrote that the officer at the rapids first told Han Yu that Chaozhou was a place for criminals and exiles, and then he described the area:

The road you travel is hard and long, 3000 leagues from here. Poison vapors gather over Fetid River, thunder and lightning crash. Crocodiles bigger than boats have teeth and eyes which will scare you to death. South of the prefecture only 20 leagues is the ocean without heaven or earth. When the typhoons come, it churns and surges creating chaos.¹³¹

In the poetry of the Tang exiles, accounts of the Lingnan area were replete with descriptions of mist and drizzle, the apricot rains bringing rot, and of a generally venomous environment.¹³² The pestilence was associated with illness, even death. Liu Zongyuan, exiled in the Guangxi area, had written of bouts with malaria:

Now, left a lonely prisoner, deposed and restricted, I have repeatedly encountered the

131. Han Yu, Han Changli shi xinian jishi, 2/11/1109-1110. The translation is by Hartman in Sunflower Splendor, pp. 188-189. For an account of Han Yu's exile to Chaozhou, see Charles Hartman, Han Yu and the T'ang Search for Unity (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 84-93.

132. For selections from poetry of the period, see Schafer, Vermilion Bird, pp. 130-134. See also Owen, Poetry of the Early Tang, particularly the exile poetry of Du Shenyan, Song Zhiwen and Shen Quanqi.

malarial pest; morning and evening, wasted and failing, I come closer to death, and can do nothing about it.¹³³

Diseases such as cholera and typhus were all referred to as pestilence and plague. Relief and cures were often sought in the alchemical medicines of the Taoists.

While many developments during the years which separated Su Shi from the Tang exiles had brought changes to the Lingnan area, officials from the court in the north still thought of it as a place adequately remote and uncivilized to send their political enemies.

Despite his initial trepidation regarding life in the South, Su Shi began to appreciate the natural beauty of the land during his journey to Huizhou. Furthermore, he had sensed the sacred ambience of the area where Buddhist and Taoist centers had been established. Even before he reported to local authorities upon arrival, Su Shi had traveled extensively in the Lingnan area. In Gugong he had visited the Nanhua Monastery 南華寺 earlier founded by the Sixth Patriarch Huineng 六祖慧能 and sacred to Zen Buddhists.¹³⁴ He had toured the

133. See Liu Zongyuan's letter to Han Yu: Liu Zongyuan, Liu Hedong ji 2 vols. (Shanghai: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1974), 2/31/500-501. "Yu shiguan Han Yu zhi Duan Xiushi taiwei yishi shu 與史官韓愈致段秀實太尉逸事書." Quoted in Schafer, Vermilion Bird, pp. 132-33.

134. SSSJ, 6/38/2060-61. The Nanhua Monastery was founded by the Sixth Patriarch of the Chan School. See

Pujian Monastery 蒲澗寺 associated with the legendary Taoist An Qisheng 安期生.¹³⁵ With his son Guo, he had made an excursion to Luofu Mountain, the most sacred of the southern mountains and the home of Ge Hong the Taoist recluse alchemist.¹³⁶ The beauty of the scenery with its brilliant red lichee and orange tangerine delighted him.

Even though he expressed delight in the scenic and historic sites, once Su Shi arrived in Huizhou, his primary concern, just as it had been during his first exile, was with a place to live. In a manner resembling the Huangzhou search for an identity, Su Shi sought a home in exile. Attention given to descriptions of his various dwellings give the poetry a distinctively practical quality. However, the obvious effort to accommodate, as reflected in his poems, combined a practical and an imaginative dimension. Accommodation to the place of exile in Huizhou required the effort to find

Lucien Stryk. World of the Buddha (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1968), p. 334. Text of the Platform Sūtra on pp. 334-342. For a discussion of political and social changes in the Tang which led to the prominence of the Chan school in the south, see Stanley Weinstein, Buddhism Under the T'ang (Cambridge, Mass: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 63-65.

135. SSSJ, 6/38/2065-66. An Qisheng was a legendary Taoist said to inhabit the isle of the immortals. Han Wudi learned of him from the court Taoist Li Shaojun. See Shi ji, "Feng Chan shu."

136. SSSJ, 6/38/2068-70. "Roaming on Luofu Mountain: A Poem to Show My Son Guo 游羅浮山一首 示兒子過."

a dwelling that would provide stability and harmony. At the same time, it required a philosophical stance which would allow Su Shi to identify with those who had chosen to seek self-cultivation in the South. His poetic imagination found creative ways to combine the two approaches. In a manner reminiscent of the Huangzhou attitude toward dwellings, Su Shi formed an attachment to the places, transforming them by his aesthetic sensibilities. At times he appeared to be preoccupied with the problem of finding a residence. The poems from this period, and the prefaces which introduce them, provide a chronology of his movements from place to place, his increasing dissatisfaction with temporary dwellings, and the decision to build his own house. Reasons for the plan to make his home in Huizhou are expressed in letters and poems.

During the period of less than three years that Su Shi spent in Huizhou, he changed his residence four times. Arriving on the second day of the tenth month in 1094, he stayed for several days in the official government quarters. The Hejianglou, a complex of buildings located at the confluence of the East River and the West Branch River, was appropriately called "the building where the rivers meet." Waters from both rivers eventually reached the Pearl River which flowed through the area. However, only sixteen days after moving into

the yamen, Su Shi left the building by the rivers and moved to the Jiayou Monastery located east of the city. After five months in that residence, he moved back to the Hejiang Tower where he stayed for just over a year. When he left there in the fourth month of 1096, he moved again to the Jiayou Monastery. Ten months later, Su Shi moved to the home he had built on White Crane Peak. Only two months later he was exiled to Hainan Island.

His numerous changes in residence led to a variety of responses. The frequent movements were usually the result of a changed political situation. As attitudes toward place changed, a spectrum of moods appeared in the poetry written to describe his dwellings in Huizhou.

His first residence was depicted in positive terms that compared it to a dwelling on an idyllic isle of Penglai or Fangzhang. He himself was the immortal dwelling there:

DWELLING IN THE HEJIANG TOWER¹³⁷

Oceanic mountains are bright green and the air
 fine indeed,
 Where two rivers join, the red tower rises,
 Penglai and Fangzhang can't be far away,¹³⁸
 They were willing to float down river just for
 me.
 In cool river breezes, I fall sound asleep,

137. SSSJ, 6/38/2071. "寓居合江樓 ."

138. See Shi ji 6. The First Emperor of the Qin sought the mythic isles of the immortals, namely Penglai, Fangzhang and Yinzhou.

But crows on the roof top call me to arise.
 Today I am at odds with the world,
 At the western flow, the bright sun, to the east
 flowing waters.
 On the tower the old man turns pure and new day
 after day,
 How could a doltish immortal be found in heaven?
 The three mountains are next to me with no intent
 to leave,
 I hold a glass and have a drink of Luofu wine.¹³⁹

His stay of several days in the official yamen ended with a move to a monastery in the southeast of the city and south of the East River. He explained the move as a preference for the solitude and quiet of the Buddhist monastery over the bustle of activity at the official residence.

MATCHING TAO'S "MOVING MY RESIDENCE" PREFACE AND VERSE¹⁴⁰

Last year in the third month [1095.3], I moved to the Hejiang Tower from the Jiayou Monastery, which was located east of the river. It has been a year since then and I have often been ill, seldom happy, and still yearning for the delight of being east of the river. After I was able to move back to a vacant plot of several mu in Shan Prefecture, the elders said to me: This is the former White Crane Monastery. My mood improved and I wanted to live there; thus I matched the rhymes of this poem to Tao's work.

139. "Luofu chun 羅浮春" is the name of a wine brewed in the area. Su Shi was pleased to enjoy the home-brewed wines of Huizhou. For a discussion of his interest in wine, see Lin Yutang, The Gay Genius, pp. 350-53.

140. SSSJ, 7/40/2191-92. "和陶移居二首." Poem #1.

At the time I first came to live here,
 I had a secluded dwelling to the east of the
 river.
 At daybreak I met with crows and magpies,
 At sunset I went with oxen and sheep.
 Who caused me to move close to the city?
 Every day I have the burden of dealing with
 official messengers.
 Shouts and songs mingle in the residential lanes,
 Drums and bugles sound next to my pillow and
 mats.
 When I go out the gate there is no place to
 visit,
 I lack the pleasurable times like those at my
 former dwelling.
 Sick and thin I end the year alone,
 With whom can I split the bundled kindling?¹⁴¹

The complaint in this poem is structured around a contrast: at the monastery he lived a secluded and rustic existence; at the official residence he was distracted and annoyed by noise and social visits.

One reason for the change in residence was the visit of his brother-in-law, Cheng Zhengfu 程正輔, who had been sent on an inspection tour of the area.¹⁴² Through arrangements made during Cheng's tour of duty, Su Shi

141. See Shi jing, "Qi feng 齊風", Nan shan 南山, Poem #101. "There is no one with whom to split kindling" refers to the absence of a mate.

142. Li Yibing, Su Dongpo xin zhuan, vol. 2, p. 840. Li suggests that the appointment of Cheng was made deliberately by Zhang Chun who knew of the family tensions which had persisted for over twenty years following Su Xun's denouncement of the Cheng family. Holding the family responsible for the death of his daughter, he had composed the "Zi you 自尤" as a form of public denunciation. The circumstances are explained in Wang Wen'gao's collated notes in SSSJ, 7/39/2107.

moved into the Hejiang Tower.¹⁴³ Although it is likely that the court officials expected Cheng to treat Su Shi harshly, they could not have predicted the reconciliation which occurred between the two men nor expected the manner in which Cheng provided support for Su Shi. But after Cheng left Huizhou and the Guangdong area, Su Shi was ousted from official quarters. Although no mention is made of the matter in poetry, an entry in the Zhilin records that other officials did not allow him to stay.

THE HEJIANG TOWER¹⁴⁴

At the Hejiang Tower, the emerald of autumn floats in the sky and the sun's rays move across the table and chairs. Yet there are seven or eight rooms in the cottage where it slants beneath the stone steps. This year the flood waters reached it again; the people living here scurried to escape it. How could there have been no small area to move to? Could I have been so attached that I would not leave? Why am I always the speck in somebody's eye?

Because of his status as an exile, Su Shi should not have been allowed to live in the official residence. It appears that someone found his presence offensive. Su Shi's comment has caused speculation that his movements were closely monitored in Huizhou. After his supporters Cheng and the magistrate Zhan Fan left Huizhou, Su Shi

143. Li Yibing Su Dongpo xin zhuan, vol. 2, p. 846. Li explains how arrangements were made for Su Shi to live in official quarters.

144. Dongpo zhilin, p. 78. "合江樓."

was subject to the directives of local officials who enforced the restrictions.¹⁴⁵ If Su Shi had been free to choose a residence, it is likely that he would have selected one of several monasteries or he would have chosen the Li Family Estate, where the exiled Tang Yin 唐寅 (1071-1121) made his residence twenty years later.¹⁴⁶ Instead, Su Shi was sent back to his small pavilion near Jiayou Monastery.

A short composition which records his climb up the hill to his dwelling should be interpreted in light of his circumstances at the time. He made the climb up the hill, complaining less about the climb than the very location of his residence. "Why don't I rest here; all places are suitable for resting."¹⁴⁷ Su Shi's philosophy of acceptance and accommodation found expression when he concluded that he had no alternative. Having earlier said that the area was not suitable for long-term dwelling, why did he make plans to build a house and to console himself with the idea that all places are

145. See Wu Renduan 吳任端, "Dongpo zai Huizhou diaojū shenghuo tan 東坡在惠州謫居生活探," in Lun Su Dongpo Lingnan shi ji qita 論蘇軾嶺南詩及其他 (Guangzhou: Renmin chubanshe, 1985), pp. 222-39, esp. p. 229.

146. See Wu Renduan, "Dongpo zai Huizhou," pp. 225-233 for comments on Su Shi's residences.

147. SSWJ, 6/71/2271. "記游松風亭." The Wood in the Pines Pavilion was located at the foot of the hill on which the Jiayou Monastery was built.

suitable for dwelling? Clearly, his decision followed upon news that all Yuanyou partisans had been excluded from the general amnesty granted in honor of deceased Emperor Shenzong in the ninth month of 1095.¹⁴⁸ After he had received the news, Su Shi wrote to his brother-in-law that he had given up hope of ever going back:

When I observed recent events, I gave up hope of returning to the north. Yet I am able to be at peace. I do not speak of some mysterious reasoning or achievement of a total perspective. But if I originally had been a candidate from Huizhou who was not able to pass the exams, then, what would the situation be? If you understand this, then you will not worry about me.¹⁴⁹

Poetry written subsequent to his realization that there was little likelihood of leaving Huizhou must be interpreted accordingly. In those works, he presents himself primarily as a man from Lingnan or as one who has chosen to come to the place. He writes that he divines for land and makes plans for a fine house in the neighborhood of the Jiayou Monastery, not far from the East River.

148. Song shi, 18.342. The general amnesty was granted on the occasion of the completion of a hall in Shenzong's memory.

149. SSWJ, 4/54/1593. "與程正輔七十一首." Letter #13 to Cheng Zhengfu.

MATCHING TAO'S "PROGRESSION OF THE SEASONS"¹⁵⁰

I divined for my home,
 Where I will dwell for more than a day.
 The divining tortoise did not deceive me,
 But gave an omen for the riverside.
 Abandoned well already covered,
 Tall trees reaching high sky clouds.
 Who was the resident in the past?
 And who are his descendants?

After he had made the decision to build his home in Huizhou and had purchased the land, he considered two possibilities. He could become a resident of Lingnan like Ge Hong, who had become a recluse on Luofu Mountain, or he could live out his exile days like Liu Zongyuan and be honored by the local people. He wrote of his former residences and the plan for his own dwelling:

MOVING MY RESIDENCE¹⁵¹

The year before last my home was east of the
 water,¹⁵²
 I turned my head and saw still the beauty of
 setting sun.
 Last year my home was to the west of the
 water,¹⁵³
 My face was dampened by the fine spring rains.
 In neither east nor west was there a place to
 prefer,
 When it came to break with them, I did go away.

150. SSSJ, 7/40/2218. "和陶時運 ." Poem # 1.

151. SSSJ, 7/40/2194-96. Translation is of poem, exclusive of preface. "遷居并引."

152. SSSJ, 7/20/2195. See Cha's notes for an explanation of "shui dong" as being east of the water and referring to the Jiayou Monastery.

153. The area to the west of water is a reference to the government's official quarters in Huizhou.

This year I again have moved to the east,
 In the old quarters I rested temporarily.
 Land at White Crane Peak has already been
 purchased,¹⁵⁴
 A place to spend the rest of my life now planned.
 As the long river is seen north of my door,
 Snowy waves dance at my stone steps.
 Green mountains abound above my wall,
 Clouds piled high create topknot coiffure.
 Although ashamed to be compared to Baopuzi,
 As my gold cauldron has only an inferior
 exuviae.¹⁵⁵
 Still I may be as worthy as Liu Zongyuan,
 Who receives temple sacrifices, the offerings of
 red lichee.¹⁵⁶
 In my life I have expected nothing,
 Looking up and down, freely I shall finish it.
 All thoughts, each will become a kalpa of
 itself,

154. According to the commentary in Wang Wen'gao, SSSJ, p. 2195, quoting from Ming sheng zhi, 名勝志, White Crane Peak is five li east of the Huizhou city wall. It is five zhang high. The Dongpo shuyuan ji 東坡書院集 describes it as one of the fine places in Huizhou, only ten or so bu north of Guishan xian and overlooking the river.

155. Su Shi uses the name of Ge Hong's book to refer to the man. See Ge Hong 葛洪, Baopuzi 抱朴子 4 vols. (Taipei: Shangwu, 1979). The first part of the work, the neipian 內篇 has been translated by Jay Sailey. See The Master Who Embraces Simplicity: A Study of Ko Hong, A.D. 283--343. (San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1978). Taoists distinguished three classes of immortals: the lowest class is the one that leaves his exuviae after death.

156. See Han Changli wen ji jiaozhu, 7.284-86. "Liuzhou luo chi miao bei 柳州羅池廟碑" recounts the honor given to Liu Zongyuan by those who erected a temple for him and gave him offerings. The work is translated in Diana Yu-shih Chen Mei, "Han Yu as a Ku-wen Stylist," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University, 1967), pp. 164-168, esp. p. 167. "The lichee fruits are vermillion, and the bananas are yellow; The meats and vegetables are presented in his Lordship's hall."

157. Buddhist philosophy refers to the world as a kalpa; the line emphasizes the relativity of time.

In a particle of dust exists a universe.¹⁵⁸
 I observe every living thing breathing below,¹⁵⁹
 Respiring together like mosquitoes.¹⁶⁰

Once Su Shi had made the decision to stay in Huizhou, his poetry began to record the solace he found in the effort expended in building his house. Making the place his own, he revealed his attachment to the task itself and to the new home. Although he still encountered difficulties, he depicted them as typically his problems, understood and accepted along with the unexpected gifts of life. In the poem describing digging for his well, the earlier complaint about carrying water up the hill was replaced by a prosaic expression of gratitude for the gift of the well.

158. Zhuangzi 22.50. "Zhi bei you 知北遊." See Watson, The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu, pp. 241-42. A contrast is made in the Zhuangzi between the realm with limits and the unlimited realm. Again, Su Shi is pointing to the relativity of things.

159. Zhuangzi, 1.4. "Xiaoyaoyou 逍遙遊." See Watson, The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu, p. 29. From the vantage of the great roc as it flies in the air, all living creatures seem to be transpiring together in the gale created by its passage. Su Shi, like the roc, has attained a transcendent perspective.

160. See Ji Yun, Su Wenzhong Gong shi ji for comments on the poem. He says that the two lines are a personal footnote to Su Shi's view of the world.

WHEN I WAS FIRST LIVING AT THE WHITE CRANE PEAK, WE
DRILLED A WELL FORTY FEET DEEP. WHEN WE PENETRATED A
MASSIVE STONE WE REACHED A SPRING OF WATER ¹⁶¹

Sultry climate and heat make land by the sea
unpleasant,
My new home has the advantages of being high and
cool.
In exchange for my sweat of hiking up and down,
I have a dry spot to sleep and sit.
But the rocky paths to the river make it
strenuous,
I'm always ashamed that fetching water brings a
back ache.
I hired four men and put them to work,
Hacking through layers of obdurate rock. ...
My life has been just like this;
Where have I gone without difficulties?
But even a ladle of water is heaven's gift.
An arm crooked for a pillow is abundant joy. ¹⁶²

The ambivalence in Su Shi's attitude toward his
situation as a resident of Huizhou is expressed well in a
poem written after he had moved into his new home:

VISITING MY NEIGHBOR, CANDIDATE ZHE, IN THE EVENING
AS MY NEW HOME AT THE WHITE CRANE PEAK IS ABOUT
TO BE COMPLETED. ¹⁶³

The door has just closed at Granny Lin's home,
But the door to the Zhe house is still not
latched.
After sunset, the moon is like a slender eyebrow,

161. SSSJ, 7/40/2217. "白鶴山新居, 鑿井四十尺
遇磐石, 石盡, 乃得泉."
The translation follows that in Watson, Su Tung-p'o, p.
128.

162. The allusion is to Lunyu 7.15. "The master
said: with coarse grain to eat, water to drink and my
crooked arm for a pillow, I still have joy in the midst
of these things."

163. SSSJ, 7/40/2214-15. "白鶴峰新居欲成, 夜過
西隣翟秀才, 二首."
Poem #1.

My new home is partially visible among purple
 haze.
 For combating frustration, isn't there a thin
 strip of water?
 For cutting away melancholy, there still is a
 sword tipped mountain.
 Looking northward to the central plain, I've no
 day to return,
 So I come and go amidst neighbors' lamps and
 village pounding.

Mention of melancholy and frustration are an admission that he is not totally at peace. Yet, characteristically, he looks to the landscape for consolation. Mountains and streams are described as the immediate scene; the distant northern plain is the place to which his vision is drawn. Likewise, the poem depicts him as living in harmony with his neighbors, but a person of the village only because he has no set time for return to the North.

The assumption that he would not be allowed to return had prompted Su Shi to make plans for retirement in Huizhou and to devise a way to reunite with his family in the place of exile. Even though he did not have adequate funds to purchase land, he apparently was able to borrow money from his friends in Guangzhou in order to begin construction of his own house.¹⁶⁴ From the time of land purchase in the third month of 1096 until the completion of the home, almost a year passed.

164. Li Yibing, Su Dongpo xin zhuan, vol. 2, p. 890 mentions specifically Wang Gu, governor of Guangzhou.

Responsibility for transporting the timber was given to Guo; Su Shi himself supervised the work of building, complaining: "Beams definitely don't have legs, and how could tiles have feet?"¹⁶⁵ When the house of twenty or more rooms was completed, Su Shi had space to provide for his large family once again. Because of Su Shi's offenses, the court had delayed assigning Mai a post.¹⁶⁶ Family members remained separated, as Su Shi explained in his poem on "Impoverished Gentlemen" which he sent to the various homes.¹⁶⁷

The six sons in our family,
All scattered to several places.
A pity, they won't recognize each other when they
 meet,
They work just like farmers.

The six sons included Su Shi's three and the three of Su Che's household, currently living in four different places. The youngest son in each family had accompanied his father into exile; thus Guo was with Su Shi in Huizhou and Yuan with Su Che in Yunzhou. Su Che had directed his sons Chi and Gua to return to the Xuzhou home where there was land to farm. Likewise Su Shi had

165. SSSJ, 7/40/2218. "和陶時運 ." Poem #2.

166. See Wu Renduan, "Dongpo zai Huizhou," Under normal circumstances, posts were not given to relatives of offenders.

167. SSSJ, 7/39/2136. "和陶貧士 ." Poem #7. See also, Li Yibing, Su Dongpo xin zhuan, vol. 2, pp. 886-890.

left Mai and Dai at the family land in Yixing, Changzhou.¹⁶⁸ When, finally, Mai was assigned a post in the south, he brought his family, as well as Guo's wife and child.¹⁶⁹ Matching a poem by Tao Qian, Su Shi wrote of the joys in his new home and the reunion with family.

MATCHING TAO'S PROGRESSION OF THE SEASONS, AND PREFACE¹⁷⁰

In the year ding chou [1097], the fourteenth day of the second month, when my new dwelling on the White Crane Peak had been completed, I moved in from Jiayou Monastery. I chanted Yuanming's "Progression of the Seasons" saying: "This dawn, this dusk, I rest in his cottage." Because it seemed that he had written it for me, I wrote a poem to match the rhyme. My eldest son Mai had been separated from me for three years; now, leading my several grandsons, he has come from a great distance of ten thousand li. A man having such a share of age, weakness, worry, and difficulty, how could I be also without happiness?

In the early morning, knock, knock,
Who is knocking at my door?
Sons and grandsons have come from afar,
Laughing and talking boisterously.
The bangs and hanging locks
Cover round, plump faces.¹⁷¹
These three years all a dream,
But you see me again.

168. SSSJ, 7/39/2137. See notes by Wang Wen'gao.

169. Li Yibing, Su Dongpo xin zhuan, vol. 2, p. 887. Mai's post was in Shaozhou.

170. SSSJ, 7/40/2218-19. "和陶時運 ." Poem #4.

171. Grandsons' faces are designated as "gourds and jugs," thus indicating round and plump.

The four poems of the sequence possess the dominant theme of satisfaction in one's surroundings. In this they resemble Tao's theme of "In my house I take my ease."¹⁷² Su Shi seems to boast: "The natives urge me to retire here and not return."¹⁷³

Images in the poem "Moving My House" show how closely his conception of self was attached to the features of his dwelling.

MATCHING TAO'S "MOVING MY HOUSE"¹⁷⁴

Whirling waters turn along the winding bank,
As I write the "Riverbank" poem.
Now a commoner with space for a family,
In this land I was able to obtain it.
Thatching reeds for my "No Depraved Thoughts
Studio,"
I ponder my "nothing to think" thoughts.¹⁷⁵
The old monastery long in disrepair,
When will the white cranes return?
How could it be that I'm Ding Lingwei?
Returning here after a thousand years.¹⁷⁶

172. James Hightower, trans. The Poetry of T'ao Ch'ien, p. 17.

173. SSSJ, 4/40/2219. "和陶時運" Poem #3.

174. SSSJ, 4/40/2191. "和陶移居二首" Poem #2.

175. He named his study in Huizhou the "No Depraved Thoughts Studio" and wrote an inscription for it. The term comes from Confucius' summation of the Shi jing poems. See Lunyu, 2. "Wei zheng 為政."

176. Ding Lingwei was a Daoist of the Han who was said to have been transformed into a crane, returning to his home after one thousand years. See Sou shen hou ji 搜神後記.

With river and hills I face a paradise,
The ancients have not deceived me.

First he describes himself as a common man who has been reunited with his family because he has been able to obtain a house for them. He is a man in retirement, content with his "No Depraved Thoughts Studio," 思無邪齋 and devoid of desires. He is the Taoist Ding Lingwei 丁令威 transformed into a crane, after a thousand years now returning to live on the White Crane Peak. The paradise created by the natural beauty and the sacred surroundings are a suitable place for him to live.

Even though Su Shi had been restricted in his travels and had not made an excursion to the sacred Luofu since his journey into exile, the mountain continued to serve as the dominant symbol of his created world.

EATING LICHEE 177

Beneath Luofu Mountain are four seasons of
spring,
Here my tangerines and plums are fresh one after
another.
Everyday I can eat three hundred lichee,
I won't mind a long stay as a man of Lingnan.

Su Shi's presentation of self was intended either to console those who feared he would not be able to accommodate to life in exile or was made in defiance of those who expected him to suffer in his banishment. In a

177. SSSJ, 7/40/2192. "和陶移居 ." Poem #2.

poem which was said to raise the ire of court officials who had expected him to encounter hardships in exile, Su Shi presented himself as a man at peace in his retirement.¹⁷⁸

RANDOM WRITINGS¹⁷⁹

My white hair is thin and disheveled, filled by
the frosty wind,
To rattan bed in small room, I consign my fragile
body.
Tell them that the master's spring sleep is fine,
The Daoist should ring the fifth watch softly.

Because he had achieved a high degree of adaptation in Huizhou and because of the attachments he had formed there. he developed a self-conception as a man retired in Lingnan. Thus the edict forcing him to leave was received with a deep sense of consternation. In the fourth month of 1097 he received the command which banished him to Hainan Island. Reluctance to leave his family and the place he had come to accept as home was expressed in verse and letters. He not only feared the journey into exile, but also mourned leaving the world he had created. His labors had built the White Crane Peak

178. Although it is frequently stated that because of this poem Su Shi was sent into exile in Hainan, anecdotal literature records it. See Wu Renduan, "Dongpo zai Huizhou," pp. 223-224. He doubts that Zhang Chun saw the poem before the mandate was given.

179. SSSJ, 7/40/2203. "縱筆 ." Poem #1.

home and his imagination had transformed it into a place suitable for retirement among the recluses.

Danzhou: Rustic Among the Li People

The banishment to Danzhou on Hainan Island was the most challenging of Su Shi's three exiles. Accommodation to the place of exile required both understanding and acceptance in the face of obvious differences. The tropical island's climate, flora and fauna, as well as its inhabitants, were alien to him.¹⁸⁰ For a northern Chinese, the island was, as Schafer presumes, enigmatic:

The fierce and brilliant world of Hainan, surrounded by blank, primordial waters, provided little that the Chinese imagination could grasp. Mirroring no familiar conception, it could paralyze the minds even of cultivated men.¹⁸¹

In crossing the natural barrier of water, Su Shi had passed over a cultural barrier as well. Although the island was under the jurisdiction of the Song court, which had designed policies for subduing the inhabitants, the area, particularly the interior, remained the domain of the native peoples.¹⁸² As an official, even though an

180. Danxian zhi 儋縣志, 2 vols. (Danxian, Danxian wenshi bangongshi, 1982). Revision of 1613 edition of Danzhou zhi which had been revised in 1934. See "Qihou 氣候," vol. 1, pp. 96-104.

181. Schafer, The Shore of Pearls, p. 102.

exiled one, Su Shi represented the culture of the court and of the Han Chinese. Encountering the differences, Su Shi was compelled to respond. The prose and poetry Su Shi wrote during this exile reveal options considered as he faced his new world. He could reject the world and complain about the disparity he observed and experienced. He could be a civilizing influence in the "barbarian" world by modeling his behavior on that of other exiled officials who had instructed the natives and modified their customs. Or, he could accommodate, becoming, if not one of them, at least accepting of them. The persona Su Shi came to prefer, as his time in Hainan lengthened, was of one intimately connected to the island and its people. Su Shi's accommodation to his place of exile was determined in part by his view of the relationship which ought to exist between official and commoner, between Han and non-Han peoples. His conception of the place of exile, though not the vision of a native, was nonetheless discerning. He brought to the challenge a sufficient degree of curiosity, compassion, and courage to overcome the melancholy and despair that continually threatened him.¹⁸³

182. Political divisions were changed by Song Taizong. For review of changes throughout the Song, see Danxian zhi, vol. 1, pp. 84-86.

183. Schafer grants Su Shi a "hesitant optimism" but does not think that he was open to the influences of the exotic world. See, Shore of Pearls, p. 103.

Despite his descriptions of Hainan as an alien and distressing place, Su Shi was able to view the island as a place of beauty. The ambivalence evident in his accounts from the island reflect the conflicting visions he had of his place of exile. Complaints about the environment centered primarily on the climate and the customs.

Initially, Su Shi complained about the conditions in Hainan. The weather, the food, the customs of the natives--all seemed unbearable. He found the hot and humid climate of Hainan oppressive, saying that a day there was like a year. Complaining that mildew and rust were found everywhere, he wondered how people could endure it. However, he noted that there were elderly persons who had managed to adapt:

In Lingnan, the vapors of Heaven lie low and moist and the vapors of earth are steamy and dank; here, South of the Sea, it is most so. At the juncture of summer and autumn there is nothing that does not fall into decay and ruin. Human beings are not metal or stone- how can they expect to endure it?¹⁸⁴

During the summer and autumn months Hainan was subjected to typhoons.¹⁸⁵ Su Shi had his son Guo record

184. Dongpo tiba 東坡題跋 in Song ren tiba, juan 6, p. 131. "Shu Hainan fengtu 書海南風土," For a translation, see Schafer, Shore of Pearls, p. 31.

185. According to the Danxian zhi, various names were given to the strong winds. The destructive winds of

their first experience, recounting the fear that the awesome wind and water instilled in them. The language of the "Typhoon Rhapsody" did not exaggerate the power and force of the wind:

It came . . . beating open doors, crashing against the windows, bringing down the tiles in pieces and shaking the house. Large boulders and rocks were rolled along, trees twisted and uprooted by its force. . . .¹⁸⁶

Su Shi himself wrote of the power of nature. Describing the turbulence of wind and waves, he said that inclement weather kept him indoors. At the same time, he revealed that his melancholy prevented him from venturing forth. Consolation was achieved by a flight in spirit across the waters to Su Che.

MATCHING TAO'S "HOVERING CLOUDS"¹⁸⁷

Typhoons make the sea turbid,
Sky and water darkened and obscured.
Clouds hoard the nine watercourses,
Snowy caps as high as three rivers.
I do not go out of my door,
But lie abed near the north window.

summer and autumn in the south central area were called jufeng 颶風. Irregular in occurrence, there might be one in two to three years or two or three in one year. See vol 1, pp. 100 ff.

186. Su Guo, Xiequan ji 斜川集 Sibu beiyao edition, juan 4, 2b-3a. See translation in Clark, The Prose-poetry of Su Tung-p'o, pp. 219--226. The fu is attributed to Su Shi in the Danxian zhi, vol. 2, pp. 16-17.

187. SSSJ, 7/41/2270. "和陶停雲四首." Poem #2.

I think of the one at Haikang,¹⁸⁸
And my spirit rides to meet him.

When he did observe his world, Su Shi usually saw it from the vantage of a man from the North. He still depended on rice as his diet staple, eating taro root, fruits and vegetables as supplement. Exotic fare such as bats were no delicacy for him. In his assumed role of magistrate, he hoped he could teach the natives to plant rice:¹⁸⁹

Much of the land in Hainan is uncultivated; they trade aloes as their major occupation. The type of grain they produce is not worth eating. Thus one must depend on yams and taro to satisfy hunger. I regretted this situation and wrote a matching poem to match "Encouraging Farmers" by Tao Yuanming in order to explain to the ones who could understand.

The distinctive flora and fauna of Hainan made it, if not an island paradise, a peculiar domain. The world of Hainan described in Su Shi's poetry was inhabited by some strange and marvelous creatures. With his son Guo, Su Shi sighted a five colored fowl, a type of paradise bird which he said had come to amuse him, an old

188. Haikang 海康 is Leizhou where Su Che is exiled.

189. Both March and Schafer ascribe Su Shi's actions to ethnocentrism. See Andrew March, "Self and Landscape in Su Shih," JAOS 86 (1966). See Schafer, Shore of Pearls, p. 74.

impoverished fellow.¹⁹⁰ The plant life on the island interested him, in part because of its possible medicinal value. He admired the aloeswood for its fragrance and texture, sending a piece of it as a birthday gift for Su Che.¹⁹¹ Comparing it to the tree of the Queen Mother of the West, he associated it with the marvelous. With a less serious intent, he also sent a hat made from a coconut.¹⁹² Furthermore, he enjoyed the distinctive beauty of the island flora, particularly the lichee which reminded him of Huizhou. Writing of the fu qu 芙蕖, a lotus-like flower, he said:¹⁹³

South of the town there is a neglected pond,
So insignificant no one would take notice of it.
A hidden beauty is the small lotus,
Its fragrance and color alone unchanged.¹⁹⁴

However, perhaps because of the severe tropical weather and limited excursions, the dominant landscape of Hainan was not often described in Su Shi's poetry.¹⁹⁵

^{190.} SSSJ, 7/43/2346. "Five Colored Bird
五色雀."

^{191.} SSSJ, 7/42/2320. "Sending a Branch of
Muzhuzhang to Wish Ziyong Long life on His Birthday
."

^{192.} SSSJ. 7/41/2268-69. "Coconut Hat 椰子冠."

^{193.} SSSJ, 7/41/2265. "和陶擬古" Poem #8.

^{194.} SSSJ, 7/41/2265. "和陶擬古" Poem #8.

^{195.} There are differing opinions regarding the degree to which Su Shi's prose and poetry from Hainan

Located about twenty li north of Danzhou was the preeminent mountain of the district, Dan'er Mountain 儋耳山.¹⁹⁶ A poem describing it is brief, more philosophical than descriptive in tone. Associating Dan'er Mountain with the cosmological action of Goddess Nügua 女媧 repairing the heavens and leaving the stone remnants as mountains on the earth, Su Shi formed his own conception of the landscape.¹⁹⁷

reflect an awareness and interest in the flora and fauna. While Edward Schafer contends that Su Shi was not attracted to the unusual features of the tropical island, Wang Shuizhao says that Hainan's geographic features are reflected in his works. See Su Shi xuan ji, preface, pp. 16-17. Zhu Yushu, Hai wai qi cong, pp. 3; 53-74 lists and references the names of plants and creatures that appear in Su Shi's writings.

196. Danxian zhi, pp. 119-120. Known today as Song lin ling 松林嶺 and formerly as Teng Mountain 藤山, Dan'er Mountain is the primary mountain of Danzhou. Its location is in the northeast of the district; it is 80 chang high and has eight foothills. It is about 20 li north of Zhonghe village, the site of the former Danzhou. See Zhu Yushu, Hai wai qi cong, pp. 3; 54. As Su Shi entered Danzhou from Lin'gao, he passed by the mountain and wrote this poem.

197. SSSJ, 7/41/2250. For the story of Nügua's use of colored stones to repair the heavens, see Liezi, "Tang wen pian." "Heaven and earth are also things; things have insufficiency, thus in the past Nügua smelt the five colored stones in order to repair the cracks." See Danxian zhi, p. 119 for a description of Dan'er as composed of five colored stones.

DAN'ER MOUNTAIN¹⁹⁸

Lofty and steep, making a pathway through space,
 Other mountains cannot compare.
 See the stones along the road,
 All left over from the repair of the sky.

The primordial origins of both Hainan and its aborigines is mentioned in Su Shi's poetry; he knew also of the island's highest peaks, Li Mother Mountain 黎母山, where the tribe was said to have been born as children of a mountain spirit.¹⁹⁹

However, rather than take excursions to streams and mountains, Su Shi traveled more often in spirit and mind. He explained his form of roaming:

MATCHING TAO'S MISCELLANEOUS POEMS Poem #2²⁰⁰

No way to travel now to the old mountains,
 My dream of flying blocked by the Five Peaks,
 For true roaming there is the Yellow Palace,²⁰¹
 I close my eyes and possess two types of scene.

198. SSSJ, 7/41/2250. "儋耳山". See Wang Shuizhao, Su Shi xuan ji, p. 232. For the name, see Edward Schafer, Shore of Pearls, p. 8. "Dan'er" refers to the northwest coast of the island from as early as Han times. The term most likely was taken from a reference "carry ear ornaments on shoulder" or a burden carried on the shoulder.

199. Dan xian zhi, p. 111. The myth of the origins for the Li people is given. See explanation also in Zhu Yushu, Hai wai qi cong, pp. 54-55.

200. SSSJ, 7/41/2272. "和陶雜詩". Poem #2.

201. The Yellow Palace Classic, Huangting jing 黃庭經 is a Taoist text. Su Shi roams in the book and is thereby able to wander in the transcendent.

In an empty room there is nothing to be
 reflected,
 When the fire is extinguished the oil itself is
 cold.
 I don my clothing and rise to look at the night,
 The stream is broad where the Heavenly River
 flows forever.
 From west window comes the light of the half
 moon,
 Fluttering through the shadow of the Wu and Qiu
 trees.
 Good times cannot be detained,
 The speed of running water cannot be checked.
 I hope my sprouts will be the last to wither,
 I achieve quietude holding this one thought.

Practices such as excursions of the mind and self
 cultivating techniques, making the body the whole of the
 universe, and holding to one thought, became substitutes
 for excursions in the natural physical order. Clearly,
 Su Shi wanted to leave the island on which he was exiled.
 However, he was compelled to discover ways to accommodate
 to the place. One means of adjusting to his predicament
 was to make comparisons which neutralized his harsh
 sentence.

MATCHING TAO'S "MISCELLANEOUS POEMS" Poem #11²⁰²

In the past when I climbed Xu mountain,
 I viewed the sun coming up over Cangliang.
 I wished to cross over to East Sea province,
 And regretted that there was no stone bridge.
 Today in this country of the Li Mother,
 How does it differ from the land of Venerable
 Yu?²⁰³

202. SSSJ, 7/41/2271-79. "和陶雜詩." Poem
 #11.

The oyster's beds are just like a mountain,
 Summer road also has its flying frost.
 What I enjoy is not self deception.
 I am not complaining that the road is long.

By viewing Hainan as a place no different from his own land, Su Shi was able to bring his philosophical sense of relativity into practical focus. He could ask if being in the country of the Li Mother differed from being in Shu, or, by implication, the capital or any other place. By drawing upon the relativities of Zhuangzi, which had always delighted him, Su Shi was able to use them as a means of consolation and accommodation. However, the adoption of a relativistic view was not simply a transcending of realities. His awareness was based upon a recognition of the concrete features of Hainan and a degree of attachment to the specific world he perceived around him.

The most significant aspect of Su Shi's accommodation to Hainan was the development of an attitude toward and a relationship to the peoples of the island. Even though he had no official responsibilities in Hainan, upon first arriving in Danzhou in the seventh month of 1097, he lived in the official residence. Because of the initial generosity of the magistrate Zhang

203. For the allusion to Venerable Yu, see Han shu 71.3041.

Zhong 張中, Su Shi associated himself with the Han officials who ruled the island. However, as conditions changed and the time was extended, Su Shi's conception of himself changed. As he experienced rejection in official quarters, he became less inclined to conceive of himself as an official of the court. Instead, he came to speak of himself as one who had rejected the artificiality and dominance of the court in return for the simplicity and freedom of life among the natives. The persona he chose to present was one of man intimate with the Li people.

During the first months after his arrival, Su Shi and his son were the companions of the cultured Han official Zhang Zhong. However, the following year, during the fourth month of 1098 when Dong Bi made an inspection tour of the area, Su Shi was removed from the official residence and Zhang was reprimanded. The situation was explained in one of Su Shi's letters: "Recently I again encountered pressure; I was chased out and had no alternative but to purchase land and build a cottage."²⁰⁴

Su Che's account in the grave inscription for his brother explains that after an official from the north made the decision to expel Su Shi, he was assisted by the natives:

204. SDPOJ, vol 2, p. 216. "Letter to Cheng Quanfu 答程泉父推官."

Changhua was a place unfit for human habitation; food and drink were lacking, and medicine non-existent. Initially he lived in an official residence and gained protection from the elements, but a commissioner of the court said it was not permissible. Thus he bought land and built a house. The farmers of Qiong carried dirt in baskets and moved tiles in order to help him construct a three-room dwelling. Most people could not have endured such difficulties, but he ate taro root and drank their water, found his enjoyment in writing, and often followed the local elders on their outings.²⁰⁵

Although isolation was difficult for Su Shi to bear, he attempted to adjust to life among the native peoples. Compelled once again to build his own home, he complained that at the time he should have been retiring, he was forced to find a place to live. Describing himself as a man who could be satisfied with little, he spoke of neighbors who supplied what he needed. His comments reveal his dependence upon the local people, particularly on the assistance of the Li brothers, who lived near the sagwire palm woods which was adjacent to the plot Su Shi chose for his home.

MATCHING TAO'S ECHOING OF LIU CAISANG'S POEM²⁰⁶

Ten thousand kalpas mutually arising and being
destroyed,
One hundred years like the passing of a moment.
Floating and flowing these forty years,

205. Su Che, Luancheng ji, vol. 3, p. 1421.

206. SSSJ, 7/42/2311. "和陶和劉柴桑."

I now speak of divining for a house.²⁰⁷
 Moreover, I love the place in heaven and earth,
 A mat can also be called my home.
 I cut down some orchid and cassia bushes,
 Levelled completely the borrows of foxes and
 hares.
 Yellow citron sends out shoots from the old tree,
 The purple tea has new sprouts.
 I was one who in early age was already weak,
 Can it be that in old age I toil even more?
 The men of the area helped me with bamboo hods,
 My neighbors supplied my wants.
 Let the bamboo dwelling be low set.
 And the sun shine in the window facing the
 mountain.
 I eat to satisfaction and a day has ended.
 In deep sleep I forget every need.
 I laugh at myself that I've nothing but the four
 walls,
 And that I have become an old Xiangru.²⁰⁸

Referring to his forty years of service as an official,
 Su Shi complains that he is still living an unstable
 existence. Almost twenty years earlier he had been
 clearing the land at the Eastern Slope in Huangzhou, and
 now must again find land and construct a dwelling.

The tone of the poem contrasts with a prose piece
 that also recounts the process of moving to a new home.
 The letter is a straightforward account of his situation,
 but also concludes with an expression of acceptance.

At first I rented several rooms in the official
 quarters, but it was not very good there.

207. SSWJ, 1/1/15-16. "Rhapsody on the Milky
 Spring in the Monastery of Heavenly Blessing 天慶觀
 乳泉賦." Su Shi chose his site south of town
 near the Temple of the God.

208. See Shi ji 117, Sima Xiangru 司馬相如.

Furthermore, I did not care to have contact with the officials. Thus recently I bought land and have built a five-room house, divining for a place near South Pond and by a luxuriant wood. It is quiet and I can close my door, meditate, and rest a bit. However, my energies were exhausted and my resources too. I am isolated here, almost as though outside the realm of humans, but it is extremely peaceful.²⁰⁹

One of the characteristics of Su Shi's poems written in Hainan is the subtle conjoining of complaint and consolation. While he celebrates the loveliness of his new dwelling, he also complains that he was sent from the yamen where he had originally had only a small space, but eventually was denied even that.

NEW DWELLING²¹⁰

At dawn the sun enters the north woods,
Through bamboo trees scattering sparse images.
Within the area of ten feet or so,
I entrust my unlimited view.
My old dwelling was not as big as a mat,
But the exile was compelled to leave.
Thus I built the house at this place,
A hazy lane in the village stretching for some
distance.
For several mornings we've had cool wind and
rain,
My plot of chrysanthemums sends out new shoots.
Reflecting, I have come to the end of the year,
No need to plan for more land.

Similarly, in a poem recounting his return from the Li family home, Su Shi presents a humorous portrait of

²⁰⁹. SDPQJ, vol. 2, p. 218. "Letter to Zheng Jiahui
與鄭嘉會 .". Letter #1.

²¹⁰. SSSJ, 7/42/2312-13. "新居 .".

himself. The tipsy official has been with the neighbors enjoying himself. Losing his way as he walks back to his home, he must follow the path of the oxen, marked by their droppings. Combining the humor of the situation described and a satiric dimension, Su Shi effectively complains about the rusticity of his world. He had divined using the proper procedures of the Confucian elite to determine where to build his house, and had placed it close to a temple to the god of fate. But to find his way home, he must trace the oxen droppings to his dwelling near their pen. Even the use of the word dung (shi 矢) reflects that Su Shi does not consider himself bound by convention.

WALKING ALONE DRUNK, I VISIT THE HOME OF THE FOUR LIS;
BIANZHI, ZIYUN, WEIHUI AND XIANJUE²¹²

Half sober half drunk, I visit the Lis,
Through bamboo, thorns, wisteria branches, I lose
my way.
But I follow the oxen dung to find the path home,
My home is west, again west of the oxen pen.

Although Su Shi was unable to speak the language of the Li people, he received their assistance and said he would learn to talk with them.

211. See SSSJ, 7/42/2312 for Wang Wen'gao's comments on the traditional manner of substituting euphemistic words in poetry.

212. SSSJ, 7/42/2321-22. "被酒獨行, 遍至子雲
威徽先覺四黎之舍. 三首."

MATCHING TAO'S "DWELLING AT MY FARM IN EARLY SPRING
RECALLING THE PAST"²¹³

You lend me three mu of land,
I will build a hut to become your neighbor.
I can still learn this shrike talk,
And become one of the Li Mother folk.

The poem appears to be an expression of gratitude to the neighbors and of an intention to learn their language. However, it was Su Shi who tried to teach the natives youths, instructing them in the language of the literary world of the north. The magistrate Zhang, with whom Su Shi's son Guo played chess, had agreed that the young people of the town should be instructed by Su Shi.

While the poetry reveals that Su Shi's identification with the local people was as much literary device as actual practice, vignettes depicting individuals also reflect feelings of admiration for the natives. Portraying the old fellow from the mountains who laughed at the sight of him in official attire, but gave him a blanket to ward off the cold, Su Shi made a clear distinction. Although the man was ignorant of the Chinese heritage, he was noble in his kindness.²¹⁴

Su Shi's identification with the native peoples can be interpreted as a form of complaint; it can also be seen as a form of consolation and even of resistance. By

²¹³. SSSJ, 7/41/2280. LL. 13-16. "和陶田舍始春懷古二首".

²¹⁴. SSSJ, 7/41/2266. "和陶擬古". Poem #9.

describing the comforts he found in the simple, rustic style of existence in Hainan, he was showing himself to be free of the restraints that were an inevitable part of life as an official at the court.²¹⁵ He wrote of the three pleasures of rising early to trim his hair, of taking a nap at noon, and of washing his feet at night.

THREE COMFORTS OF LIFE IN EXILE²¹⁶

POEM #1

When I close my eyes the lower body moves of
itself,
Vast and flowing are the waves to the tip of my
head.²¹⁷

As the sun comes forth, dew not yet evaporated,
All gathered together it covers the frosty pine.
This old comb has been with me for a long while,
Only a few teeth, it has but the cool wind.
As soon as I wash, my ears and eyes are keen,
Refreshed, the myriad pores are opened.
In my younger years I liked to sleep very much,
But often rushed off to attend the morning
audience.

Combing and scratching had never satisfied me,
I was already uncomfortable in my heavy
headdress.

How does this differ from being a harnessed
horse,

With sand and dirt filling the flying mane?
With the jade pendants sounding like horse
ornaments.

Truly, it was just like wearing a saddle,
My time of release was never definite,

215. This idea is developed in Zhu Jinghua 朱靖華, "Lun Su Shi wannian shici zhong de 'ye xing'" 論蘇軾晚年詩詞中的野性, "in Lun Su shi Lingnan shi ji gita, pp. 42-56.

216. SSSJ, 7/41/2285-67. "謫居三適三首."

217. The language of Daoist alchemy is used to describe feeling experienced in meditation.

And it wasn't easy to meet with a withered
 willow.²¹⁸
 Who but I can record this pleasure?
 And give it to gentlemen with gold at their
 waists.

Comparing restrictions and discomforts of the life of an official with the constraints on a harnessed horse, Su Shi presents an alternate style of life. By describing the delight taken in trimming and washing his hair in the morning, Su Shi shows his preference for freedom and lack of restraint. The satirical conclusion suggests that the poem was written also for those at the court to read.

Where the first poem describes meditation in the early morning, the second emphasizes the condition achieved during a noon nap. He achieves a condition of peaceful breathing akin to a dream state.

POEM #2²¹⁹

Curl up your knees on the rattan mat,
 Place elbows on the bamboo stool.
 The way there is familiar to me,
 My path leads to the Land of Nothingness.
 Aware of neither mind nor body,
 I breathe peacefully for a long while.
 The sleeping snake was never here,
 What need have I of hook or hand.

218. The conventional complaint against restraint echos Han Yu's "Mountain Stones" comparison with a bridled horse. See Han Changli shi xinian jishi, 1/2/145.

219. SSSJ, 7/41/2286. " 讀居三適 ." Poem #2.

My spirit concentrated, as in night meditation,
My body comfortable as three cups of morning
wine.

My life has its fated period,
When happiness expires, in vain the remaining
years.

On the withered maple no flying blossoms,
The fertile marsh again becomes barren.
If you refer to this as my awakening,
Things come to me, yet I don't accept them.
If you say that I am dreaming now,
My heart originally was without impurities.
Neither dream nor waking,
Please inquire of the old fellow Xi Yi.²²⁰

The old Taoist, Master Xi Yi, could sleep for a hundred days. Su Shi, who always resented rising from sleep for early morning court audiences, now describes himself as enjoying long naps. Furthermore, he presents a self enlightened to the true happiness. In the same manner, the washing of the feet at night is presented as the action of a man freed from official responsibilities:

POEM #3²²¹

... The pan filled to a depth reaching my knees,
When it becomes cool, I pour in hot water.
Under the bright lamp, I clip my toenails,
Happy as the eagle who escaped the falconer's
glove.
Where the sky is low, pestilential clouds are
heavy,
Where land is coastal the sea air wafts.

220. Reference is to Chen Zhuan who took the courtesy name Xiyi Xiansheng. A Daoist in reclusion on Hua Mountain, he was said to have slept often for periods of over one hundred hours. The term is found in Laozi 14. "To look without seeing is termed yi; to listen without hearing is termed xi." The state achieved was said to be the most fundamental for Daoists.

221. SSSJ, 7/41/2286. " 謫居三適 ." Poem #3.

This place has no medicine to cure my foot,
 Only water boiled with kindling can be a remedy.
 Who could again wrap himself up,
 Put on hat and clothing like a monkey?

While the joys of freedom in exile were expressed with great exuberance, Su Shi's comparisons were clearly intended for those who viewed attainment of a position in officialdom as the greatest of achievements. In his satiric account, those officials are nothing more than horses harnessed and held in check or monkeys dressed in court attire. Since the court has rejected him and sent him into exile, Su Shi can counter by saying that he rejects what the court signifies, namely restriction and artifice.

The choice for Su Shi was to identify himself with the simple and natural natives. He had said, "The Han and the Li are one people."²²² There were obvious limits to Su Shi's sense of identification with the native people. He had criticized them for what he perceived as senseless superstition and had urged the abolishment of the practice of slaughtering cattle as a means of warding off sickness.²²³ Inspired by Liu Zongyuan's "Niu fu 牛賦," written while he was in exile in Yongzhou, Su

222. SSSJ, 7/41/2255, L. 1.
 "皆爾漢黎,均是一民." Poem #1.

223. SSWJ. 5/66/2058. "書柳子厚牛賦後."
 For a discussion of the practice and Su Shi's response, see Lin Yutang, The Gay Genius, p. 373.

Shi expressed his criticism of the treatment of the animals.²²⁴ While regretting their superstitious practices, Su Shi spoke on behalf of the native people by placing the blame for their lack of economic development on the Chinese officials and traders. Su Guo wrote proposals which reflected a sensitivity to the conditions of the aborigines; he spoke against the harsh military policy of the Chinese government.²²⁵

After Su Shi was granted amnesty and was preparing to leave Hainan, he wrote a parting poem in which he claimed to be one of them.²²⁶ Sketches of Su Shi in the reed hat of the Li people are an attempt to capture what his poetry expressed, namely a capacity for adaptation which not only transcended the difficulties encountered in the world of exile, but also helped to create a world among the native peoples.

224. Liu Zongyuan, Liu Hedong ji, 1/2/30. Su Shi's purpose in writing appears to be a criticism of the practice only; it does not possess the dimension of ironic complaint found in Liu's work.

225. Su Guo, Xiechuan ji 斜川集, "Lun Hainan Li shi shu 論海南黎事疏." 5 2b-8a. The discourse proposes court policy for the treatment of Hainan aborigines.

226. SSSJ, 7/43/2362-63. "A Farewell to Li Minbiao of Hainan 別海南黎民表." "

Su Shi's capacity for accommodation to the various places of exile is revealed in the poetry composed during the three periods. In each instance he drew from the concrete realities of his environment and situation the material that allowed him to render an account of life in exile. The effort to create a persona who speaks in the poetry is always intimately related to the specific tasks involved in adapting to the new conditions forced upon him by the exile. Accordingly, he presents himself as the farmer of the eastern slope, a man who plants and harvests not only because his livelihood depends upon it, but because it is a fulfilling effort. In contrast to the activities of the official, it is work which puts him in touch with nature and in harmony with it.

The persona of the Huizhou exile is removed from the court. Increasingly, Su Shi's distance from the court allows him to conceive of himself as one other than an official. Because of the environment, his natural response is to identify himself with the recluses of the past.

Finally, in Hainan, he attempts to reject the artificiality of the court and to accept the simplicity of life among the Li people.

CHAPTER THREE

RESPONSE TO ADVERSITY IN EXILE

INTRODUCTION

Su Shi not only possessed the capacity to accommodate to the places of his exile, he was also able to modify them to conform to his own needs. But because exile referred not only to a place, but also to official status, a specific form of adaptation was required. Since banishment was a form of disgrace, it was incumbent upon the exiled official to maintain self-esteem. If the official were not capable of preserving his identity and of consoling himself, exile could become a state of mind as well as a place of exclusion. During his exiles, Su Shi sought meaning in his concrete predicaments. At the same time, he looked for solace through an understanding of the fundamental human condition.

Historically, responses to the adversity of exile had varied significantly. For some banished officials, it was enough to hide away in the place of exile, stoically awaiting the day of return. Others utilized their enforced leisure by practicing the arts of the Confucian gentleman: they composed literature, studied,

wrote commentaries, practiced calligraphy or painted. They cultivated themselves while anticipating a reprieve. There were also those who found release from pain and difficulty in wine and the forgetfulness it offered. Still other exiles turned to the traditions of Buddhism and Taoism, expecting to find the solace which eluded them elsewhere.

The degree of disgrace, severity of punishment, and forms of adversity faced by the exiled official largely determined the way he responded to the conditions of his banishment. Formal decrees clarified the status of the official. Some officials who had been reprimanded and demoted, yet retained powers of governance in exile, were expected to fulfill the duties of local magistrate. Both Han Yu in Chaozhou and Liu Zongyuan in Liuzhou served as local magistrates in their places of exile, thus were actively engaged in governance. Low ranking officials, such as Wang Dingguo banished to Binzhou, and Su Che sent to Yunzhou, both because of their association with Su Shi, served as clerks in the local wine and salt offices. In contrast, during each of his three exiles, Su Shi was denied all responsibility for governance. He had lost the privilege of advancing memorials to the throne. Nor was he allowed to live in official residences. During his first exile, Su Shi was viewed by many as a man singled out for the most severe of the punishments meted

to those who had opposed the new policies. Association with him could have implicated others. His trial had resulted in fines, demotions or banishment for several of his friends. Although a few courageous persons maintained contact with Su Shi, many found it prudent to avoid him. Not surprisingly, Su Shi associated with those who could be least harmed by contact with him, namely, Buddhists and Taoists.

In their search for consolation during times of difficulty, men often turned to Buddhism and Taoism. The disapproval voiced by the Confucian statesman Yin Shu 伊洙 (1101?--1047) is evidence that the practice was common during the Northern Song.¹ Yin, after being exiled in 1036, rejected the appeal made by a Buddhist monk that he seek solace in Buddhism.

I have heard of exiled officials who were so distressed by their difficult circumstances that they rushed to embrace Buddhist doctrines. They learn to equate humiliation with honor and failure with success. Then their hearts are at peace. How deluded this is!... Confucius praised Yen-tzu this way: 'He had only a small container of rice and a gourd of water. Others could not have borne such distress, but Yen-tzu's happiness never diminished.' The fact is, happiness was the way of the sages of old. They never allowed themselves to be sorrowful. What difference did

¹. Song shi, 295.9831-38. Yin Shu joined Ouyang Xiu and Fan Zhongyan in their reform efforts, but differed with them on specific policy. He was demoted several times during his career. See also, Sung Biographies, vol. 3, pp. 1255-57.

honor or humiliation, success or failure make to them?²

Accounts of virtuous behavior recorded in the classical texts were familiar to all educated literati. Obviously, Su Shi was well-versed in the traditional understanding of what constituted appropriate action in times of duress. He had written seriously about the men whose ideas and actions he admired. The essays in the decree examination of 1061 clarified his fundamental Mencian understanding of human nature and human action. In his "Zhongyong lun 中庸論," he argued persuasively that the Tao was the source of meaning. He insisted that those who knew (zhi 知) the Way were not as good as those who could take delight (le 樂) in it.³ As a young

2. The passage from Yin Shu is quoted in Egan, The Literary Works of Ou-yang Hsiu, p. 95.

3. SSWJ, 1/2/60-64; DPWJSL, 1/4/49-55. "Zhongyong lun 中庸論." The first of the three essays gives the salient points of Su Shi's argument. The most illuminating articulation of this position is found in the essays for the special palace examination of 1061 and in memorials discussing the educational system and official selection policies. See DPWJSL, vol. 1, pp. 492-498. "Yi xuexiao gongju zhuang 議學校貢舉狀." Although there is no direct criticism of the Song Emperors, Su Shi was clearly aware that Renzong had supported Taoism. An oblique criticism of the contemporary rulers is intended. "In the past, Wang Yan was fond of Laozi and Zhuangzi and everyone studied with him; therefore customs declined until the time the dynastic house moved south. Wang Jin was fond of Buddhism and cast aside human affairs in order to cultivate the alien teaching. The administration of the Dali (766--779) period is ridiculed to this day." Here

scholar, Su Shi seemed to have found a satisfactory intellectual foundation for his ideal of moral conduct. Furthermore, he was critical of the influence that Buddhism and Taoism exerted on the state, though not denying that the traditions might aid self-cultivation.⁴

Because the Confucian tradition has been intimately associated with engagement in service and affirmation of the value of human endeavor, Su Shi's interest and involvement in Buddhism and Taoism often have been interpreted as a response to his failure in the political sphere. The intensification of his involvement in the two traditions has been interpreted as a form of escape from the harsh realities encountered during exile.⁵

Su Shi criticizes the activities under the Tang emperor Daizong 代宗 .

4. For a discussion of Su Shi's changing attitudes toward Buddhism and Taoism, see Zeng Zaozhuang, "Lun Su Shi dui Shi Dao taidu de qian hou yizhi 論蘇軾對釋道態度的前後一致性," in Tianfu xin lunxin (1985:2), pp. 41-45. Zeng distinguishes Su Shi's political and personal stance toward the two traditions, saying that the former was negative and unchanging, the latter positive and continually developing.

5. Liu Naichang. "Lun Fo Lao sixiang dui Su Shi wenxue de yingxiang 論佛老思想對蘇軾文學的影響," in Su Shi wenxue lunji 蘇軾文學論集 (Jinan: Ji Lu shushe, 1983), pp. 188-201. Recent Marxist inspired scholarship has seen Buddhism and Taoism as negative influences on Su Shi's life and literature. Liu attempts to counter those interpretations. The positive aspects are emphasized in Chikusa Masaaki, "So Shoku to bunkkyō," p. 457ff.

In fact, when Su Shi turned to the Buddhist tradition for insight, and when he engaged in Taoist practices of self-cultivation, he did not completely disregard other traditional means of overcoming difficulty. His responses to the adversities of exile were multiple and various, though not necessarily contradictory. Because he was acquainted with the traditions, curious about the efficacy of given forms of self-cultivation, and willing to search and experiment, his responses were numerous. And yet, a unifying feature was always present. In a poem written to Ziyou before departing for the exile to Hainan, he spoke of their adherence to the Way:

Throughout our lives we have studied the true
 meaning of the Way,
 How could we keep it or lose it in times of
 success or adversity? ⁶

In a similar vein, he told a friend that he had written the commentary on the Yi jing 易經 (Book of Changes) during exile for two reasons:

I wrote the commentary to show that during times of adversity I did not forget the Way and also to prove that even in old age I can still study.⁷

⁶. SSSJ, 7/41/2243, LL. 11-12. "I Am Demoted.to Hainan . . ."

⁷. SSWJ, 4/47/1379. "黃州上文潞公書 ."

Analysis of questions regarding which of the traditions most influenced Su Shi's thought and behavior during times of exile has led scholars to differing conclusions.⁸ While it is not possible to clarify the precise way in which Confucian, Taoist and Buddhist ideas exerted influence at given moments in Su Shi's life, it can be stated that because he was familiar with all of the traditions, he could draw freely from each. Moreover, he knew the aesthetic tradition well; he could identify with one or another selected literary figure by drawing information and inspiration in the recollection of the individual's actions, literary works, and achievements.

Ultimately, Su Shi sought to be in accord with the Way as he understood it. For him, the Way was manifest in the objects and events of life. He believed that a particular situation called for a concrete response. One acted as a sage if he acted in accord with the Way. Su Shi's understanding of the Way was an inclusive one. As Peter Bol has clarified, he sought wholeness:

⁸. Differing views of the influence exerted by Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism on Su Shi's thought and writings during his times of exile are evident in essays written by participants in the Fourth Biennial Conference on Su Shi. See for example, Li Bo 李伯, "Cong 'He Tao shi' kan Su Shi bian Hui qianhou de sixiang bianhua," 從和陶詩看蘇軾貶惠前后的思想變化 in Lun Su Shi Lingnan shi ji gita, pp. 197-208.

Su clearly thought he had achieved a synthesis which comprehended the ideas of Taoists, Buddhists, and Confucians. From his perspective his importance was his discovery of how men in the present could be like men of the past and move back and forth between the mystic tao [dao, Way], and the eternal world of history and culture. In his view most men attended to one or the other; rarely did they hold the two together.⁹

Studies of syncretism have shown that the Northern Song was a time during which the popular features of religious traditions were readily intermingled at the same time that philosophical issues were debated. Buddhist and Taoist thought served as a challenge to Confucianism, bringing about the reformulation of traditional questions and explanations.¹⁰ Su Shi lived in the intellectual milieu that tolerated the exchange of ideas among literate men of every persuasion. Many literati of the Northern Song found in the texts and practices of Buddhism and Taoism both understanding and inspiration, however, Su Shi's degree of involvement was greater than that of most men.¹¹ He brought a searching

⁹. Peter Kees Bol, "Culture and the Way in Eleventh Century China" (Ph. D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1982), pp. 562-63.

¹⁰. For the significance of the Song period in the development of syncretism in China, see Judith Berling, The Syncretic Religion of Lin Chao-en (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), pp. 33ff.

¹¹. The extent of Su Shi's interest is apparent in the references collated by Cao Shuming 曹樹銘 that show his knowledge of texts and his association with Buddhists and Taoists. See "Dongpo yu Fo Dao zhi

and open mind to the consideration of the fundamental questions encountered as an individual and as an arbiter of culture for his era.

His propensity for assimilating what he found useful in any tradition gave him a panoply of resources and responses for his particular predicament. But it was the nature of the adversity itself which largely determined what he did and said in exile. Although problems inherent in the human condition would have been encountered eventually, some were thrust upon him in the context of his exiles. The most obvious was the threat to life itself. Exile made death not a possibility, but a probability. It forced the banished one to seek ways to preserve life. The public nature of exile brought into focus issues regarding success and failure, honor and disgrace, guilt and innocence. Finally, privations that affected the body, such as hunger and illness, forced the exiled man to seek wholeness and to preserve self.

guanxi 東坡與佛道之關係 " in Guo li Zhongyang guoshuguan guankan, Part I, vol. 3, no. 2 (1970), pp. 7-21; Part II, vols. 3-4, pp. 34-55. Hereafter, Part I and Part II.

THE ADVERSITIES OF THE EXILE

Death

Exile was feared primarily because of its association with death. Those sent into exile often died on the journey or in the place of exile. If the banished one survived the ordeal and returned, he often left a family member buried in the place of exile.¹² Each of Su Shi's exiles brought a confrontation with death: his own life was endangered or a family member died.

The brush with death Su Shi experienced in the censorate's prison in late 1079 was recalled after he reached his place of exile in Huangzhou. Writing to his brother many months later, he revealed that thoughts of prison still haunted him.

GOING AT DAWN TO BAHEKOU TO MEET ZIYOU¹³

Last year in the censorate prison,
With every move I hit one of the four walls.
The dark well was one hundred feet deep,
Not even a patch of sky to be seen.
From the other side of the wall, I heard songs
and shouts,

12. See for example, Han Yu's lament for his young daughter who died on the journey. Han Changli shi xinian jishi, 2/20/ 1199-1201. For a translation and comment on the poem, see Hartman, Han Yu and the T'ang Search for Unity, pp. 100-101. Note also that Su Che's daughter died in Yunzhou.

13. SSSJ, 4/20/1052-53. "晓至巴河口迎子由 ."

I myself deeply regretted that a plan had been
lost.
In the poem I left you, I could not bear to write
of it,
My bitter tears dampened the paper and brush.

While imprisoned in the capital, fearing his
impending death, Su Shi had written a poem for his
brother. The work was replete with images reflecting his
anxiety in the face of an imminent death.

BECAUSE OF AN INCIDENT I AM IMPRISONED AT THE IMPERIAL
CENSORATE PRISON. THE JAILERS TREAT ME WITH INCREASING
HARSHNESS AND I FEEL I CANNOT BEAR IT. SHOULD I DIE IN
PRISON I COULD NOT SAY GOOD-BY TO ZIYOU. THUS I WROTE
THESE TWO POEMS AND GAVE THEM TO THE WARDEN LIANG CHENG
TO DELIVER THEM TO ZIYOU¹⁴

At Cypress Terrace in frosty air, the night is
mournful,
Wind stirs the chimes as the moon sinks low.
In dream I roam amid cloudy hills, heart like the
deer,
Spirit frightened by hot water and fire, my fate
like the cock's.
The children with their rhino foreheads, as I see
them, are truly my sons.¹⁵
For the oxen blanket, I will be sorry for my wife
after I die.¹⁶

14. SSSJ, 3/19/998-99. "余以事繫 史臺獄, 獄吏稍
見侵, 自度不能堪, 死獄中, 不得一別子由, 故作二詩, 授獄
卒梁成以遺子由..." Poem #2. In the first of the two
poems, he entrusts his family to Ziyu and looks to their
reunion after death. He accepts responsibility for his
disaster. See translation in Watson, Su Tung-p'o, p. 72.

15. His children have the same physiognomy,
namely a distinctive and outstanding forehead. The
allusion is to Li Gu 李固. Hou Han shu 63.

16. The oxen blanket refers to coarse, poor
clothing shared by a man and his wife. See Han shu 76,
Wang Zhang's biography.

Wandering aimlessly after death, where will my
 spirit rest?
 In Tongxiang I shall be buried, west of the Zhe
 River.¹⁷

Undoubtedly, Su Shi knew that the poems would be read by the prison officials and that it was possible they would be shown to the emperor. Nonetheless, his poems should not be seen simply as a ploy to gain the emperor's sympathy. The absence of a complaint against his persecutors and the emphasis on feelings for loved ones do not distract from the primary effort to speak of death, to express fear while seeming to accept his fate.

After his life had been spared, Su Shi found that he sensed commiseration for all living things threatened by death. One of the reasons he wanted to avoid the killing of animals in Huangzhou was that he felt an affinity as he recalled his own feelings when threatened by death. As the Zhilin records, he had attained a new appreciation for life:

Last year when I committed an offense and was imprisoned, I thought at first that I could not escape death, but in the end I was saved. From then on I vowed that I would no longer take life. When someone gives me a present of crabs and clams I return them all to the river. Even

¹⁷. A note provided by Su Shi for his poem says: "I wrote this line because I heard that the people of Hangzhou and Huzhou had been offering sacrifices for me." The allusion is to Zhu Yi of the Han. Because of his devoted service to them, the people provided a burial site and continued to offer sacrifices for him.

though I know that they would not remain in the river for very long, even the remote possibility of life is better than the certainty of boiling. I am not motivated by covetousness. Rather, because I myself have faced death I see myself as no different from ducks and chickens awaiting slaughter in the kitchen. Because of my appetite I cause living things unlimited suffering. I hate myself for my inability to forget my appetite and still eat freshly-killed things.¹⁸

During the first year of exile in Huangzhou, Su Shi not only reflected on death, he encountered it directly. Not long after the arrival of the family, his elderly nursemaid died. Although old age was the probable major factor in her death, it is not unlikely that the difficulties of the journey to Huangzhou and the unstable living conditions there contributed to her demise. In any case, her death brought Su Shi to a dramatic reconsideration of the meaning of life. He made a forty-nine day retreat at a Taoist Monastery in order to meditate and purify himself. According to a letter he wrote to Qin Guan, the deaths of his nursemaid and his cousin had brought about a keen awareness of the fragility of human life:¹⁹

18. Dongpo Zhilin, edited by Wang Yunwu et al. Cong shu ji cheng chubian edition in 12 juan, 8.1. For translation and comments, see Ginsberg, "Alienation," p. 206.

19. SSWJ, 4/52/1535-36. "答秦太虚七首." Letter #4.

I am living in rustic banishment. My brother, having reached Yunzhou buried a daughter. I have also buried my old nursemaid. Before we had completed the mourning for her, I received a letter from home saying that my cousin had died in the ninth month. Ill and weak in an alien place, all that I contact is sadness and sorrow. I realize that human life is as fragile as this. Now you have told me in your letter that you have been very ill, but fortunately have recovered; I am grateful to hear this. We are gradually failing in health, and will never regain the strength of our youth. I ought to use the teachings of the Taoists and place value on the practice of self-cultivation. Living in exile, I have little to do and have looked into this a bit. I have already arranged to use three rooms in the Tianqing Taoist Monastery. After the winter solstice, I will go there for forty-nine days.

During his first exile, meditation and reflection seemed to provide Su Shi the understanding and consolation he required. However, an outpouring of grief followed upon the death of his small son. The child, who had been born in the place of exile, died during the time of wandering before Su Shi was settled in his new post. Because Zhaoyun, the young maid who had become his concubine, was disconsolate over the loss of her child, Su Shi's sadness was intensified. He wrote two poems lamenting his son's death.

LAST YEAR ON THE 27TH OF THE NINTH MONTH IN HUANGZHOU I HAD A SON, DUN, WITH THE BABY NAME OF GANER, WHO WAS A DELIGHT. THIS YEAR ON THE 28TH OF THE SEVENTH MONTH HE DIED OF AN ILLNESS IN JINLING. I HAVE WRITTEN TWO POEMS TO LAMENT HIM.²⁰

I am still wiping away tears from my eyes,
Though I should be forgetting as the day becomes
more distant.
I cannot bear to listen to your mother's weeping,
She wants to die together with you.
Your clothing still hangs from the rack,
Mother's milk has flowed on the bed.
Feeling this way, I want to forget about life,
Lying down, I do nothing for the entire day.
Now in middle age, I have learned a bit about the
Way,
And now know enough about dreams and illusions.
Our medicines are piled high as a hill,
But when illness comes, we still seek more
prescriptions.
I will use the blades of love and compassion,
To cut this sad, old heart.
Knowing I am lost, I desire to return of my own
accord,
And with a moment's severe pain dispel this
lingering grief.

The death of his child was caused, in part, by the unstable conditions which characterized Su Shi's life in the period of wandering after his reprieve. Nonetheless, he attributed the child's death to his own bad karma, lamenting that his happiness has been snatched from him.²¹ Although his son's death grieved him, the

20. SSSJ, 4/23/1239-40. "去歲九月二十七日,在黃州生子遯,小名幹兒,頓然穎異,至今年七月二十八日,病亡於金陵,作二詩以哭之." Poem #2.

21. SSSJ, 423/1239-40. In the first poem, Su Shi refers to his karma, perhaps drawing upon a line in the Surāṅgama-sūtra (Shou lengyan jing 首楞嚴經), one of the sūtras he often read.

despondency of Zhaoyun also caused pain. Showing that his study of philosophy had been of no avail in the face of personal tragedy, he compared his search for consolation to a quest for a particular medicine that would cure his sadness.

However, it was the death of Zhaoyun herself that caused him the greatest sorrow during his exile in Huizhou.²² Her death occurred during an epidemic in 1096, when she was thirty-four years old. Laments written expressing his affection and loss are expressions of feeling rarely seen in the Chinese literary tradition. Because she had been studying with a Buddhist nun and with Su Shi as well, it is understandable that both the cause of sorrow and the means of consolation are expressed in Buddhist terms.²³ To his "Lament for Zhaoyun," Su Shi wrote a Preface:²⁴

In the first year of Shaosheng (1094), in the eleventh month, I casually wrote a poem entitled "Zhaoyun." In the third year (1096), the fifth day of the seventh month, Zhaoyun died of an illness in Huizhou and was buried beneath the Great Sage Pagoda southeast of a pine grove of

22. Wang Zhaoyun died of an illness, probably during a plague, on 5.7.1096 in Huizhou. See Wang Baozhen, Nianpu, p. 216.

23. Lin Yutang, The Gay Genius, pp. 366-67. Lin has included apocryphal material in his account, noting the popular story that on the night of her burial a Buddhist deity had come in a storm to take her away.

24. SSSJ, 7/40/2202-2203. "悼朝雲 ."

the Xichan Monastery. Having written an epitaph for her grave, I shall write a poem to accompany the earlier one in order to console myself. In the beginning Zhaoyun could not read, but later she was able to study calligraphy and write a bit of the standard script. She once followed the Bhikshu Yizhong to study Buddhism and also was able to understand the general principles.²⁵ When she was close to death, she chanted four verses of a gatha from the Diamond Sūtra, then died.

To sprout, not to bloom, is this heaven's plan?
It did not let the young raven-haired one mature
with me as I turned grey.²⁶
I regret there was no longevity medicine to halt
the passage of time,
At your parting, I had nothing to give but a
Buddhist prayer.²⁷
Heartbroken, with one thought I repay debts from
the past,
Quick as plucking fingers the karma breaks up in
the three ensuing lives.
The bamboo grove where we shall all return to
rest, is there just the same,
With a night lamp, I diligently pray for the
immortal in the pagoda.

The burial site selected and the phrase chosen for the gravestone reflect the importance of Buddhist practice and belief for Su Shi at that time. He arranged for her burial at the foot of Orphan Hill 孤山 near a grove of pines on the banks of Feng Lake 豐湖, west of

25. The reference is to a Buddhist nun in Huizhou who instructed Zhaoyun.

26. The line may refer to Zhaoyun herself, however, because the word 童鳥 is the name of Yang Xiong's son, it probably refers to the son who died in infancy.

27. Buddhism is referred to as a vehicle or raft (cheng 乘 that transports believers from this world to the world of nirvāṇa.

the city.²⁸ There, the monks of the Xichan Monastery 喜禪寺 built a small pavilion, referring to it as the "Six Likenesses Pavilion 六如亭 " thereby commemorating the words from the Buddhist gāthā in the Diamond Sūtra 金剛經 that Zhaoyun was said to have recited before her death:²⁹

All things possess their way of being:
Like dream, illusion, bubble and shadow,
Like the dew and also the lightning.
We should view them as such.³⁰

While his misfortune and loss during the time in Huizhou were reflected in poems, Su Shi seldom spoke explicitly of his own death. However, the edict that exiled him to Hainan caused him to express concern that he would die there.

Exile from the continent of China to the island of Hainan where the commandery of Danzhou was located was

28. See Su Shi yu Huizhou 蘇軾與惠州, (Huizhou: Huiyangdiqu yinshua, 1982), pp. 39-41. The grave site, which had been repaired in 1958, was damaged during the Cultural Revolution but restored in 1980. Zhaoyun's birthday is celebrated by local populace on December 12.

29. The Vajracchedikā-sūtra (Jingang jing 金剛經) with its emphasis on the attainment of wisdom had a profound influence on the development of Chinese Buddhism.

30. The "liu ru 六如 " was often used as a prayer. It is a summation of the fundamental teaching of the Diamond Sūtra. Su Shi often used the images of the six likenesses to point to the illusory nature of life.

viewed as a form of spiritual death. Because it was commonly held that nine in ten never returned from exile there, Su Shi's thoughts turned to death. Nonetheless, a letter written before his departure reveals that he was attempting to use his understanding of the Way to overcome any fear of death. Su Shi did not insist that, should he die, he be brought back to the mainland, but rather that he be buried in his place of exile. His decision was the expression of unusual resolve. Prior to his departure to Hainan, he wrote to Wang Minzhong:³¹

As I am departing for the wilderness in my old age, I see no hope of returning alive. Yesterday I made the final decision with my eldest son Mai, bidding farewell to each other and making arrangements for my death. Today when we reach Hainan, the first thing I shall do is to make a coffin and then I ought to prepare a grave. I have left word with my sons. If I die, I should be buried there beyond the sea.

Su Shi called his plan to be buried wherever he should die a legacy he was bequeathing to his sons. The practical measures taken to provide for his family indicate an apparent acceptance of the likelihood of death. Statements regarding the coffin and selection of a grave site reveal a state of mind not shown during his

³¹. SSSJ, 4/56/1695. "與王敏仲十八首." Letter #14. In the final line Su Shi says, "In life don't make a coffin, in death don't carry an outer coffin. This is the legacy of Dongpo." For the context of the departure from Guangzhou, see Li Yibing, Su Dongpo xin zhuan, vol. 2, pp. 901-902.

previous two exiles. Earlier remarks about death seem simply rhetorical in comparison. A certain preoccupation with the idea of a coffin is evident in a poem written to describe the newly completed dwelling in Danzhou. Su Shi says that his Guanglang Retreat will be a house while he is alive and will serve as a tomb when he dies.

INSCRIPTION FOR GUANGLANG RETREAT³²

When the Layman of the Eastern Slope was exiled to Daner, he had no place to live. He took his rest in sugar palm grove and picked a leaf to make an inscription to commemorate the place.

This singular area of Nine Mountains,
Has been regulated by the ruler.
Since all spiritual beings can roam there,
Why could it not be my dwelling?
The myriad pillars as the base,
Thousands of tiles spread on the roof.
High above it's a beam, below it is eaves,
You don't need to use an ax or hoe,
Sun and moon bring alternating light,
Wind and rain sweep it clean.
Mist from the sea and the malarial fogs,
Are all about when we breath.
The snakes and venomous creatures,
Going out are angered and entering in are
pleased.
I'm as accustomed to this place as to rooms and
halls,
And to living with a variety of servants about.
The Layman of the Eastern Slope,
Forces himself to be peaceful among the four
corners.
He uses action to contain non-action,
He uses substance to attach to emptiness.

³² SSWJ, 2/19/570; SDPOJ, vol. 2, p. 313.
"桄榔庵銘" . The Guanglang, is identified as the arenga pinnata or sugar palm. See Hui-lin Li, Nan-fang ts'ao-mu chuang 南方草木狀 Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1979), p. 90.

He releases himself to the four directions,
 And returns to the one suchness.³³
 Dongpo is no name,
 The Min and E Rivers are no home.
 He won't change his whiskers and beard,
 To reveal his dwelling at this place.
 He does nothing; desists from nothing,
 Has no want and has no surplus.
 In life he calls it a home,
 In death he calls it a tomb.
 After thirty-six years,
 Will he abandon this place,
 And riding on the vital force,
 Go roaming in the land of Great Concealment?³⁴

The inscription for his dwelling, written in a four-character line, presents a series of contrasts.

Meditating within the four walls of his house-tomb, Su Shi seeks to achieve a state that will allow him to accept all by transcending all distinctions. Language of Buddhism and Taoism are intermingled in the inscription. He says that he will roam in all directions but return to the Buddhist realm that lies behind the phenomenal world, the true reality or yi ru 一如. An echo of Buddhist ideas is apparent in his reference to emptiness (xu 虚), the void where all distinctions cease to exist. The passage reflects the primacy of the understanding of the

33. The fundamental Buddhist conception of reality is expressed in the word ru 如 or zhen ru 真如. This is the Tathatā, "thusness," the true form of things. It is the absolute reality that transcends the multitude of forms in the phenomenal world.

34. See Zhuangzi, 11.44 and 48. "Zai you 在宥." The translation is by Watson, The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu, pp. 122-23.

non-dual Dharma expressed in the Vimalakīrti nirdeśa-sūtra.³⁵ Death will be a form of return. Finally, he says he will go to the land described by a figure in the Zhuangzi. Advice for achieving spontaneity and naturalness is given by Hong Meng 鴻濛, Great Concealment, who tells his inquirer:

You have only to rest in inaction and things will transform themselves. Smash your form and body, spit out hearing and eyesight, forget you are a thing among other things and you may join in great unity with the deep and boundless. Undo the mind, slough off spirit, be blank and soulless, and the ten thousand things one by one will return to the root--return to the root and not know why. Dark and undifferentiated chaos--to know the end of life none will depart from it. But if you try to know it, you have already departed from it. Do not ask what its name is, do not try to observe its form. Things will live naturally and of themselves.³⁶

The practice recommended by the figure in the Zhuangzi is a form of fasting that does not allow the mind to make distinctions. The practices which Su Shi felt allowed him to transcend difficulties and to calm his mind were recommended to others in exile. He urged them to overcome the ultimate distinction of life and death. Writing to Qin Guan 秦觀 (1049--1011), then

³⁵. See particularly Chapter 9 "Initiation into the non-dual Dharma" of the Vimalakīrti nirdeśa-sūtra (Wei Mojie so shuo jing 維摩詰所說經). See translation by Lu K'uan Yu (Charles Luk) (Berkeley: Shambala, 1972), pp. 92-100.

³⁶. Watson, Complete Works of Chuang Tzu, p. 122.

exiled in Leizhou, he encouraged him to cling to the practice of the Way. Melancholy and depression had often plagued Qin Guan, who had in 1096 revealed his forlorn spirit after reaching the place of his exile in Chenzhou.³⁷

TO THE TUNE OF "RUANLANG GUI"³⁸

As the buffeting of wind and rain first bring
 winter to Hunan,
 The deep recesses of the hall are empty.
 Strains of "A Junior Chieftain" have ceased in
 the magnificent building.
 Far away the clear night approaches.
 Dream of home broken,
 Roaming spirit alone,
 An extraordinary year has just faded.
 In Hengyang there are still geese carrying
 letters,
 But Chenyang has not even a goose for response.³⁹

While all exiles experienced isolation from family and friends, some felt it more keenly than others, or spoke of it in more compelling terms. Su Shi had been apprehensive because of Qin Guan's sensitive spirit, and had tried to maintain contact with him in his place of banishment. Thus when the general amnesty was granted by Huizong in 1100 and the exiles began their journeys

37. For Qin Guan, see Song shi, 444; Sung Biographies, pp. 235-41.

38. Guan Song ci 全宋詞, 5 vols. edited by Tang Guizhang 唐圭璋 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1965), vol. 1, p. 463. The poem is to the tune of Ruanlang gui 阮郎歸, poem #4.

39. Chenyang 郴陽 is in present day Hunan Province.

northward, Su Shi was fortunate to meet with Qin Guan who had not yet departed from Leizhou. At that time Qin gave Su Shi a poem that revealed his attempt to overcome the fear of death. Su Shi responded by praising him for the attainment of his insight. At the same time, he told Qin Guan that he also had written his epitaph.⁴⁰

The most persistent and obviously most distressing aspect of banishment was the specter of death. While he was forced to respond to the death of a family member or friend when it occurred, the exile was also compelled to find a source of solace as he contemplated the likelihood of his own death.

Disgrace and Guilt

Because Su Shi had not taken his own life after learning of the accusations against him and, because he had survived the passage to the place of exile, he had then to live with the moral affront that accompanied formal disgrace. The assumption of others that the exiled one was guilty of a crime was a challenge to Su Shi's serenity of mind and conception of self. The primary expectation, from the court's point of view, was that the exiled official would reflect on his offenses

⁴⁰. The meeting is described in Li Yibing, Su Dongpo xin zhuan, vol. 2, p. 956. Qin Guan's poem is entitled: "Zi wan ci 自挽詞."

and come to a realization of his wrongdoing. Further, the criminal was then expected to change--he was to desist in his action and also modify his thought. Dutifully, perhaps predictably, Su Shi wrote in each of his reports to the throne that he had experienced the graciousness of the emperor who had mandated exile rather than death. He stated that realization of his guilt and the seriousness of his offense would cause him to change. In the report written after reaching Huangzhou in 1080, he wrote:

The benevolent sage has granted me mercy and has with special care observed the light precedent. He has granted me amnesty from certain death and has allowed me to make myself new again. . . . Keeping to a vegetarian diet forever, I will close my door in order to reflect. I am deeply aware of the errors I have made in these years just passed, and will always warn myself against presumption in your majesty's service. With much affection for your Majesty's sage-like rule, I will not dare take my own life.⁴¹

Almost fifteen years later, then addressing the emperor Zhezong, Su Shi again used the respectful language of a subject to speak of his intent to purify himself of his offenses while in exile.

How would I dare not to comply with your serious instructions and cherish life according to your mercy. I will purify my heart and renew myself; I will show no resentment until the end of my life. I shall definitely live in this miasmic

41. SSWJ, 2/23/654-55. "到黃州謝表 ."

land, surrounded by ghostly spirits, suffering from weakness and illness. I have no longer any hope of dying at my home.⁴²

And at the time of his third exile, reaching Danzhou in the fourth month of 1097, Su Shi wrote that he was aware of his offenses, saying: "I, one with abilities lighter than a hair, have offenses as heavy as a mountain."⁴³

Even though Su Shi made formal admission of his guilt, it was primarily, perhaps only, in Huangzhou that he made a sustained effort to determine the source of his problems. After reaching Huangzhou, one of Su Shi's first actions was to reside for a period of time in the local Buddhist monastery. He intended to reflect on his "crimes," and to understand what had happened to him. He described the time of meditation and wrote of the purpose fulfilled.

ANGUO MONASTERY⁴⁴

In the twelfth month of the second year of Yuanfeng (1079) I was found guilty as the prefect of Wuxing. However, the emperor could not bear to see me executed and appointed me vice-commandant of the Huangzhou militia and directed me to reflect on my offenses, thus to reform myself. In the second month of the following

42. SSWJ, 2/24/706-707. "到惠州謝表" ."

43. SSWJ, 2/24/707. "到惠州謝表" ."

44. SSWJ, 2/2/391-92, "黃州安國寺記" Translated in Ginsberg, "Alienation," pp. 103-104.

year, I reached Huangzhou; when matters of my residence were settled and provisions for food and shelter had been made, I shut my door and did not receive guests; I collected myself and retreated into reflection, seeking the means whereby I could renew myself. Reflecting on my past thoughts and actions, I realized none accorded with the Way and it was not only in the present that I had committed offenses. If I intended to renew one aspect, I was afraid that I would miss the others. I thus sought renewal by doing all together, but because that was not possible, I lamented: 'The way is not adequate for controlling the emotions, and nature is not sufficient to overcome habits. If I do not uproot the evil stem and only cultivate the branches, then even though I reform for the present, it will recur later on. Why don't I adhere in sincerity to Buddhism and seek to purify everything? I found a quiet monastery south of the city called Anguo Monastery, which had luxuriant woods and tall bamboo, hillocks, ponds, pavilions and cottages. Every third day I should go there to burn incense and to meditate and engage in deep introspection. I separated myself from things; my body and mind were both empty. I sought the origins of guilt but could not determine it. Then in a moment all was pure: stain and taint spontaneously fell away. Inside and out all was purified and nothing could attach itself to me. I was very happy. For five years in this way I went forth in the morning and returned in the evening.

The prolonged period of meditation brought to Su Shi the realization that he was innocent because there was no "self" to which the guilt would adhere. Although the ostensible reason for his meditation was the desire to understand why he had been punished, the resulting insight was the answer to a fundamental question. His

meditation on the Buddhist doctrine of emptiness liberated him from any burden of guilt.⁴⁵

The issue of guilt seems not to have troubled Su Shi during his second exile. Upon arriving in Huizhou, he recorded that the people who met him questioned why he had been sent into banishment. "Clerks and commoners think it strange and ask what offense I have committed; elders take my hand and welcome this old fellow."⁴⁶ Clearly, Su Shi was expressing his own view that he was not deserving of punishment.

One indication that Su Shi did not have a strong sense of guilt during the second exile, was that on the journey to Huizhou he recorded an experience that united him to the universe. In the poem written as he crossed the Great Yu Ridge, the mountain range that led him into the southern realm, he spoke of his innocence and transcendence.⁴⁷

In one moment I have dispelled the filth of the
world,
Both body and mind are clean and pure.
Between heaven and earth, vast and limitless,
I alone am upright.
Today I roam among the mountain peaks,

45. For a discussion of the Buddhist teaching of emptiness, see Richard H. Robinson, The Buddhist Religion (California: Dickenson Publishing Co, 1970), pp. 51-54.

46. SSSJ, 6/38/2071. "十月二日初到惠州".

47. SSSJ, 6/38/2056-2057. "過大庾嶺".

My self and the world are separated forever.
 An immortal touches me upon the head,
 Binding up my hair, I accept his bestowal of
 longevity.

The landscape of south China had a vivifying effect on Su Shi; he was able to see himself from the heights of mountain peaks and to rise above any impurity or guilt that might bind him to earthly considerations. Like Li Bai, who had been initiated into the Taoist teachings, Su is touched upon the head. He is thus a devotee, or at least, one favored.⁴⁸

While in each instance, Su Shi had written a report to the throne in which he acknowledged his guilt and pledged a commitment to eradicate his failings, only during the first exile was there a sustained effort to consider the question of guilt. Poetry from the Hainan period gives no indication that he thought he had committed a crime. It could be said that Su Shi never saw himself as a person who had actually been guilty of an offense.

Furthermore, the poem written upon his release from prison implies that he had not placed specific blame for his disaster on others. He accepted censure for himself only in the sense that by becoming an official he had placed his life in jeopardy.

⁴⁸. See Li Bai 李白, Li Taibai ji jiaozhu
 李太白集校注 (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe), vol. 2, p. 615.

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH OF THE TWELFTH MONTH, I RECEIVE THE BENEVOLENT FAVOR OF RANK AS A CLERK IN THE WATER BUREAU AND ASSISTANT MILITIA OFFICER IN HUANGZHOU. I MATCH RHYMES OF THE PREVIOUS POEM.⁴⁹

A hundred days, free to go, and it's almost
spring;
For the years left, pleasure will be my chief
concern.
Out the gate, I do a dance, wind blows my face;
Our galloping horses race along as magpies cheer.
I face the wine cup and suspect it is all a
dream,
Pick up a poem brush, already inspired.
Why try to fix the blame for trouble past:
There's always a reason for stealing a post.

As Su Shi's critics noted, there was no sense of remorse expressed in the pair of poems written after release from prison. The spirit of defiance is evident, as is the relief at being freed. In this poem as in the second, Su Shi lets it be known that he will not be restricted or coerced by the petty men at the court. Without placing blame, he intends to continue writing. Furthermore, as the second of the two poems written upon his release implies in alluding to a story of changing fortunes, he is not ready to predict the future.⁵⁰ Remaining wary of those in power, he intends to stay away from them. But clearly, he did not accept responsibility for the near disaster. However, when his bravado and

⁴⁹. SSSJ, 3/19/1005-1006. 十二月二十八日蒙恩責授檢校水部員外郎黃州團練副使，復用前韻二首。
." The translation is slightly modified from Watson, Su T'ung-po, p. 73.

⁵⁰. SSSJ, 3/19/1005-1006, Poem #2. "In the Twelfth Month I Am Assigned to Huangzhou..."

resistance gave way to deeper reflection on the cause of his difficulties, Su Shi moved through a series of considerations. Finally, he went beyond the political and social dimension of the "crime" for which he was certain he had no guilt, to a consideration of his actions as a man who aspired to be a sage. It was then necessary for him to search in the religious and philosophical traditions for understanding.

Deprivations

Living conditions for the exiled official often contrasted greatly with those he had been accustomed to at the capital or in his provincial post. The most stark contrast between what he had and what he lacked was apparent to Su Shi after he reached Hainan. At that time he wrote to friends of six deprivations:

When you eat, there is no meat; when you are ill no medicine. There is no house to dwell in and no friends when you go out. In winter there is no coal and in summer no cool water.⁵¹

Complaints about conditions abound in Su Shi's poetry. While in Huangzhou, he had adequate food only because he was able to labor in the fields and bring in a harvest from his Eastern Slope. Early during his exile,

⁵¹. SDPOJ, vol. 2, juan 7, p. 218. "Letter to Cheng Tianmou 答程天侔", Letter #1.

he said, "If it were not necessary to ward off starvation would one labor?" Even so, he thought the the rice he himself had grown to be superior, saying, "I now eat fresh rice, not the moldy rice of officials."⁵² One may assume that the flavor came from his sense of self-sufficiency. But in Hainan where rice was not grown, it was as precious as pearls. For a Northerner dependent upon it as a diet staple, lack of rice was considered a privation.

RANDOM WRITINGS⁵³

When northern ships fail to arrive, rice is like
 pearls,
 Our food supplies are wanting, for half a month
 we've had nothing.
 Tomorrow my eastern neighbor will sacrifice to
 the kitchen god,⁵⁴
 Chicken and a jug of wine ought to be offered to
 me.

Su Shi wrote that he hoped the natives would learn to plant rice. As others have noted, Su Shi's capacity for adaptation was not without limits.⁵⁵ Exotic native foods were not seen as suitable fare.

52. SSSJ, 4/21/1079ff. The poems written to describe his farm combine complaint and a sense of satisfaction in self-sufficiency.

53. SSSJ, 7/42/2327-28. "縱筆" Poem #3.

54. This is the sacrifice offered during the La Festival, on the 23 or 24th day, to send the kitchen god to heaven.

55. See Schafer, Shore of Pearls, pp. 74; 91.

ON HEARING THAT ZIYOU IS ILL⁵⁶

Only once in five days do I see the flowered pig,
 Once in ten I have yellow rooster porridge.
 People here have taro and yam for every meal,
 Giving me odorous rats and broiled bats to eat.⁵⁷
 ... When we meet we'll be emaciated immortals,
 Who can mount a yellow swan to return home.⁵⁸

The living conditions for the exiled official were determined in part by the appointment and rank he retained. When exiled officials served as district magistrates, even though in remote areas, they continued to receive government salaries. Another factor determining the manner of life in exile was the financial condition of the official before he was exiled. Su Shi admitted that he was not adept at managing money, saying that even before exile he had been in financial trouble.⁵⁹ While in office, he had complained that officials were not paid adequately and had suggested that it was evidence of lack of proper respect for those serving the court. However, the official class,

56. SSSJ, 7/41/2257-58. "聞子由瘦 ."

57. Schafer, Shore of Pearls, pp. 91-92. He identifies the flowered pig as a spotted one; the rat is a civit.

58. The yellow swan 黃鵠 was said to fly a thousand li in a day; it was the mount of immortals.

59. Su Shi admitted that he had frequently encountered financial difficulties because of his inability to manage money well. See "Letter to Qin Guan," SSWJ, 4/52/1535-37. Letter #4.

certainly those with positions as high as Su Shi and his colleagues, were accustomed to a high standard of living in comparison with the general populace. During his first ten years of provincial appointments, Su Shi had-lived in geographically diverse places of varying cultural and economic standards. He once contrasted the conditions in the flourishing cultural center of Hangzhou with those of his post in remote and undeveloped Mizhou.⁶⁰

Because life in exile was lacking in the material supports and comforts that Su Shi had enjoyed in the capital and in provincial government posts, the contrast prompted him to complain about how he had to do without things to which he had grown accustomed. Complaints were at times presented resentfully, at other times with a touch of irony, even humor.

The first year of farming on his Eastern Slope was fraught with difficulties. In addition to the work of clearing the land and planting, he was forced to overcome the natural calamity of drought. Su Shi supervised the work and felt anxiety about his crops.⁶¹ When his nephew from Shu passed through on his way to the capital to sit

⁶⁰. SSWJ, 2/11/351-52. "超然臺記". Su Shi's "Tower of Transcendence" is evidence that he was developing a philosophical position of detachment from things.

⁶¹. See the poems to Kong Yifu SSSJ, 4/21/1121-24. "次韻孔毅父久旱已而甚雨三首".

for the examinations, Su Shi wrote an extended complaint to alert him to the changes he should expect:

SITTING AT NIGHT WHEN MY NEPHEW ANJIE COMES FROM AFAR⁶²

Dejected in spirit, face changed, as thin as can
be,
When you meet me, you'll recognize only my voice.
All night long I've thought of home, wondering
where it can be,
In my declining years, you've kindly come this
distance to help me.
Fearful of others, sitting in silence, I now
become doltish,
When I ask about former friends, I'm alarmed to
learn only half are alive.
When awaked from dream, sobered from wine, the
mountain rain has ceased.
I laugh as I watch the hungry rat climb up the
lantern post.

Depicting himself as a man in dire straits, Su Shi's self-portrait was of a man dejected in spirit. Similar grievances were voiced in Huizhou, though the tone of the poetry was less intense. As he explained his situation, he modified the outright complaint. Although bemoaning the lack of necessities, he was not bent by his impoverishment.⁶³

After I had been exiled to Huizhou for a year, I became gradually impoverished with regard to food and clothing. As the Double Ninth Festival neared, I found my goblet and my chopping board [table] bare. Therefore I wrote seven matching

62. SSSJ, 4/21/1094-96. "姪安節遠來夜坐三首." Poem #2.

63. SSSJ, 7/39/2136-40. "和陶貧士." Preface and Poem #5.

poems to Yuanming's "Impoverished Gentlemen" and sent them to my sons and nephews in Xuxia, Gao'an, and Yixing.⁶⁴ I also had my son Guo compose with me.

The hibiscus grows tangled with the golden
 chrysanthemum,
 Their tendrils and leaves are always
 crisscrossed.
 From afar I envy the men who have left the court,
 Waiting to partake of cakes and wine from royal
 supply.
 Who would have thought that here on the seas, The
 fallen blossoms would be found to be edible.
 To celebrate the festival, I pawn my clothes,
 Miserably I will be colder toward the end of the
 year.
 Without clothing I have goose bumps on my flesh.
 Without wine my face curls up tight.
 To live in poverty is truly lamentable,
 These two things are always my concern.

Su Shi's complaints about his straitened circumstances seldom lacked irony, humor or outright defiance. His determination to maintain a degree of independence in his enforced conditions is evident in his poetry. During the Huangzhou exile, he wrote that he did not intend to beg. The drought was a natural disaster sent by Heaven. Su Shi identified himself as a common person affected by natural events, but dependent upon the will of Heaven. At the same time, he compared himself

⁶⁴. The sons and nephews were in the following locations: Ziyou's sons Chi 遲 and Shi 適 were in Xuzhou 許州; his youngest was with him in Gao'an 高安. Su Shi's two eldest were at his land in Yixing 宜興. The last poem of the series on "Impoverished Gentlemen," Poem #7, tells of the sons who have become farmers in their various places, and also expresses Su Shi's desire to return to them.

with Confucius, who sought to maintain his humor and self-respect despite derisive remarks about him.

AGAIN MATCHING KONG YIFU'S 'GREAT RAINS AFTER LONG DROUGHT'⁶⁵

Although I'm in straits and not as rich as
others,
I am also one among the people.
Though I look almost like a dog who has lost his
master,⁶⁶
I'm still not willing to droop my ears or contend
for the tossed bone.

In the second poem to Kong, Su Shi persisted with the image of the old scholar who, though in straitened conditions, has not lost his self esteem. He says: "An old Confucian with a bit of rice can sustain himself for a century; With effort I'll farm and not receive the pity of others."⁶⁷

The capacity to withstand hardship was supported by Su Shi's search to find the appropriate practical actions and philosophical ideas to sustain him during times of

65. SSSJ, 4/21/1121. "次韻孔毅父久旱已而甚雨三首." Poem #1, LL. 17-20.

66. The allusion is to Confucius who was described as looking like a dog who had lost his master. See Shi ji "Kongzi shi jia 孔子世家 ." Also, see compilation by Wang Su of Wei. Kongzi jia yu 孔子家語, 1. 19a. See R. P. Kramers, K'ung Tzu Chia Yu: The School Sayings of Confucius (Leiden: 1950) for a translation of Sections 1-10, specifically, p. 219 that recounts the Confucian virtues to be practiced. The Confucian is not to be dejected on account of poverty and lowliness.

67. SSSJ, 4/21/1122-23. The line is from "Again Matching the Rhymes of Kong Yifu..." Poem #2.

adversity. His response was not characterized by a single plan or a limited vision of possibilities. The Confucian tradition with its insistence that the follower of Confucius maintain his dignity under all circumstances also was a source of strength for Su Shi.

RESPONSES IN EXILE

Escape Through Wine

Physical deprivations, assumptions of guilt, and the possibility of death, all forced the exile to respond in a variety of ways. One of the more frequent responses was escape into a world of forgetfulness.⁶⁸ Two common means for achieving that state were wine and sleep. Su Shi also used these means, apparently to avoid thinking about his undesired circumstances. Wine has traditionally been associated with the indeterminate state of mind from which creative works arise and has been the companion of China's great poets.⁶⁹ Prior to

68. For a general discussion of the Chinese literati's use of wine as a means of escaping the distress created by social disorder or corruption, see Wang Yao 王瑤 "Wen ren yu jiu 文人與酒" in *Zhong gu wenren shenghuo 中古文人的生活* (Taiwan: 1974), pp. 44-76.

69. See Wang Yao, *Zhong gu wenren shenghuo*, p. 72 for the view that Tao Yuanming was the first literary figure to make the clear and persistent connection between wine and poetry.

his Southern exiles, Su Shi had written about some of the salutary effects of wine in his matching pieces to the twenty drinking poems of Tao Yuanming.⁷⁰ However, as inspiration for poetry, drunkenness was not effective for Su Shi during the first months in Huangzhou. With more than a touch of irony, he wrote of rising from sleep, roaming in the village, and composing poetry while in a stupor.

Three glasses of morning wine made me sleepy,
 For lunch I had only a piece of meat.
 With the sound of rain steady,
 I slept soundly in the coolness.
 Slightly dazed I awoke, but lay down again,
 Turning over, felt I had not yet slept enough.
 Forcing myself to rise, I walked out the gate,
 Still able to continue my solitary dream.
 The mud was deep and bamboo partridge were
 clucking,
 In the dark village were the cries of dove.
 Tomorrow when I look at this poem,
 It will be hard to read these words written in
 sleep.⁷¹

Apparently, Su Shi frequently slept during the day and roamed about at night. He recorded one of his night-time reflections in a lyric poem that told of his return to his Lin'gao dwelling late one night. "Drank tonight at Eastern Slope, sobered up, drank again; Got home

⁷⁰: SSSJ, 6/35/1881-1891. "和陶飲酒 ."
 Twenty Poems and Preface.

⁷¹. SSSJ, 4/20/1040. 二月十六日, 雨中熟睡, 至晚
 強起出門, 還作此詩, 意思昏昏也。

somewhere around the third watch."⁷² The poem concludes with the thought that he will float down the river and leave his place of exile. Thematically, the piece is an expression of the desire to quit the world, or at the very least, to escape the restrictions imposed by exile.⁷³

The melancholy and distress felt in Huangzhou were most evident in a lyric poem which expressed his sense of rejection as he gazed toward the northern capital where friends were gathered. He complained that he was passing the Mid-Autumn Festival drinking alone in Huangzhou:

The events of life no more than a dream,
How often can we pass the cool season of autumn?
As evening comes the wind blown leaves are
 already stirred,
As I watch, they cling to my temples and brow.
My wine is poor, I always regret my guests are
 few,
And the moon is often hidden by the clouds.
On this Mid-Autumn Festival who will enjoy the
 solitary ray with me?
Somberly I lift my glass and gaze northward.

72. DPYFJ, juan 2, p. 12 a/b. 夜歸臨臯 .
"Translated in Burton Watson, Su Tung-p'o, p. 86.

73. Wine was also considered a suitable cure for his frustrations. He wrote a matching poem to Bai Juyi's "Sending Wine" to speak of the power of wine: SSSJ, 4/20/1043. "次韻樂著作送酒 ."
When young I was often ill and didn't like wine,
Now that I'm old I know the value of this taste.
A great heap of bundled sorrows are just like snow,
One jug of spring wine is like hot soup melting them away.

Although Su Shi initially received wine from the local magistrate of Huangzhou and drank at the local wine shop of his friend, by the second year of exile, he had begun to make his own wine. The recipe was recorded in his Zhilin. He explained in the preface to his "Honey Wine Song" 蜜酒歌 that he had obtained it from the Taoist Yang Shichang 楊世昌, and that heaven had instructed him, the Drunken Gentleman, how to make wine.⁷⁴

Making wine became a way of passing the time in Huizhou as well; he wrote of the ingredients of rice, wheat and water used for his "Superior" wine.⁷⁵ Yet, he seems seldom to have drunk wine alone in Huizhou. Contacts with guests were more numerous than in Huangzhou, and he enjoyed watching others drink wine.⁷⁶ He wrote of his pleasure, ostensibly associating himself with Wang Ji 王績 (585?--644) who had written of the joys of wine.⁷⁷ Furthermore, Su Shi had a literary and

74. SSSJ, 4/21/1115-1116. "蜜酒歌".

75. SSSJ, p. 2124. See Wu Lushan 吳鵬山, Su Shi shi xuan zhu 蘇軾詩選注 (Tianjin: Baihua wenyi chubanshe, p. 214, suggests the three as one refers to using rice, wheat and water for the wine. At the same time, it refers to the Taoist saying that essence, breath and spirit are a single reality.

76. Li Yibing, Su Dongpo xinzhuan, vol. 2, pp. 857-58 discusses Su Shi's wine drinking practices.

77. Wang Ji took the courtesy name Donggao 東皐子. His literary works are collected in the Donggaozi ji

personal model in Ouyang Xiu who had written during his exile in Chuzhou of the effect of wine on his spirit. The persona of the "Old Drunkard" adopted by Ouyang had provided a means of overcoming melancholy in exile.⁷⁸ Su Shi also sought to find meaning beyond the wine itself.⁷⁹ After reading about Wang Ji, Su Shi wrote about inebriation, the intoxication he preferred in the company of friends.

WRITTEN AFTER READING THE BIOGRAPHY OF DONG GAOZI⁸⁰

If I drink wine for the entire day it would be no more than five cups. There is no one in the world less able to drink wine than I. But I love to watch others drink wine; when I see the guests raise their glasses, I feel comfortably intoxicated; the flavor is greater for me than for the guests. Living in leisure, there's not a day that has passed without guests, and not once have I failed to give the guests wine. There is no one in the world who enjoys drinking more than I do. I often tell people that the greatest happiness exists when the body is free from illness and the mind is free of worry.

東臯子集 . The biography of this classical lover of wine is in the Tang Caizi zhuan 唐才子傳 .

78. See Yu-shih Chen, "The Literary Theory and Practice of Ou-yang Hsiu" in Adele Ricketts, ed. Chinese Approaches to Literature (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), pp. 81-96 for an interpretation of Ouyang's "Old Tippler" persona.

79. See Ronald Egan, The Literary Works of Ou-yang Hsiu (1007-72), pp. 85-89 for poems that utilize the persona of the "Old Drunkard" in presentation of the theme.

80. SSWJ, 5/66/2049. "書東臯子傳後" .

Continuing his commentary on wine, Su Shi states that since he is presently free from illness and worry, he will provide medicine and wine for those who need it.

Nonetheless, due to his limited capacity for wine, some harm to his own body seems to have resulted from drinking. The severity of his case of piles caused continuous pain. Ziyong thought that Su Shi ought to give up wine altogether. Before Su Shi left for his exile in Hainan, the brothers spent a sleepless night together in Leizhou. At that time, his brother's request that he model himself after Tao Yuanming prompted Su Shi to promise that he would try to stop drinking:

MATCHING TAO'S POEM ON 'GIVING UP WINE.'⁸¹

We met each other in the valley between the
peaks,
And for the entire month spent days and nights
together.
How vast the sea to the north and the south,
Barely sufficient to meet the necessities of
life.
You urge me to model myself after Tao Yuanming,
Since I've little capacity, I should take care of
myself.
A bit sick now, I sit and drink a glass of wine,
To stop drinking wine would make me really ill.
Although it doesn't look like I will see the Way,
Vaguely I seem to be able to catch sight of a
fording place.
From this day forward, in Dongpo's home.
There will be no shrine set up for Du Kang.⁸²

⁸¹. SSSJ, 7/41/2245-2246. "和陶止酒并引." With Preface. "

⁸². Du Kang 杜康 was the inventor of wine. The term now stands for wine.

Despite his intentions, Su Shi continued to rely on wine in Hainan. He sketched himself in ironic contrast as one whose appearance belied his ill-health:

Lonely Master of the Eastern Slope, lies ill in
 silence,
 His white hair disheveled by frosty wind.
 My son by mistake is pleased to see my ruddy
 glow.
 I laugh: how could he know it is the flush of
 wine.⁸³

If Su Shi drank alone to relieve his sorrows in Hainan, he also joined with others in making wine and drinking it. A curious incident indicates his interest in the communal aspects of drinking. On one occasion, Su Shi's neighbors, Li Ziyun and his brother, approached him about visiting the local magistrate Zhang Zhong. As the men were talking, someone suggested that they combine their money in order to build a hall where Su Shi could instruct the young men of the village. The place was to be called the "Bringing Along Wine Hall 載酒堂," for which Su Shi wrote the inscription.⁸⁴ Although it is unlikely that the hall was finished during Su Shi's stay in Hainan, it is certain that Su Shi instructed some of the young men and that he enjoyed drinking wine with

⁸³. SSSJ, 7/42/2327. "縱筆三首," Poem #1.

⁸⁴. For a discussion of differing views regarding whether and when the hall was built, see Zhu Yushu, Haiwai qi cong, pp. 77-82.

them. On the Winter Solstice he drank wine made according to the Li method and toasted their friendship: "Chinese and Barbarian both raise goblets; In drunken laughter, there is shared happiness."⁸⁵

Flight in Dream

The limits and restrictions on Su Shi's movements in exile provoked another form of response. In dream he left the place of exile and traveled elsewhere. Drawing upon a literary convention that had been used to express the desire to traverse quickly from one place to another, Su Shi wrote of flights taken in dream. Although he did not create dream literature as such, he used the idea of dreaming to express his dissatisfaction with life and with current circumstances which seemed as unreal as dreams.⁸⁶ While in his place of banishment in Huangzhou, he received letters from old friends in Hangzhou; in reverie he journeyed back to West Lake in Hangzhou:

Last night in the cool of wind and moon,
I traveled in dream to West Lake.

⁸⁵. SSSJ, 7/24/2324-2345. "用過韻冬至與諸生飲酒."

⁸⁶. For the use of dream in Su Shi's poetry, see Zhang Zhilie 張志列, "Tan Su shi zhong de meng 談蘇詩中的夢" in Dongpo shi luncong, pp. 105-20.

When morning came I heard the pleasant talk,
 With a knocking on the door, I was given the food
 of Wu.⁸⁷

Continuing, he tells how he was welcomed with friendship and kindness, concluding with the line, "Again, I shall go there in my dream, all the way through the night to the Flowing River Bridge."

Su Shi himself explained the psychology of the act of dreaming, showing how it fulfilled desires otherwise unattainable. He wrote of how he left Hainan to return to his White Crane Hill home. The account of the dream experience highlights the difficulty of distinguishing between dream and reality.

MATCHING TAO'S 'RETURNING TO MY OLD HOME',⁸⁸

As the paralyzed man always thinks of standing
 up,
 How could I forget about returning?
 I simply dare not dream of the old hills,
 For fear of inducing sad memories of a grave.⁸⁹
 Life is actually only a temporary lodging,
 This body, when I think seriously of it, is
 unreal.
 Besides, what is there in the Crane City,⁹⁰
 Where one occasionally picked up feathers shed by
 cranes?
 The fated fish stay in the old pond,

87. SSSJ, 4/21/1090-1091. "杭州故人信至齊安" ."

88. SSSJ, 7/41/2250-2251. "和陶還舊居" ."

89. Zhaojun's grave was in Huizhou.

90. The Crane City was a name for Huizhou.

With moisture issued internally, they still rely
 on each other.⁹¹
 My eldest son stands firm taking care of the
 household,
 Responsible for all affairs throughout the
 seasons.
 I dream of talking with my old neighbor fellows,
 Who quietly commiserate regarding my declining
 health.
 Come and go, for we will all return to the Great
 Creator,
 No need to tell each other what to do.

While the dream itself is an indication of the desire to return to his home in Huizhou, the attempt to suppress the dream is explained as an effort to avoid the pain of remembrance. Just as the dream is a compensatory act, like the thoughts of the paralytic who wants to move, so also is the perceived reality of life in Huizhou a delusion. The poem is of interest also because of the selective memory it reveals. Su Shi does not wish to recall the grave of Zhaoyun, but prefers to think of his children, grandchildren and the neighbors who consoled him. But for the Buddhist, life itself can be compared to an illusion and a dream. The Buddhist questioning of the reality of life also informs this poem.

⁹¹. Together with Zhaoyun, he made a pond for releasing the fish, a Buddhist act of compassion and thus of merit. Here he alters the meaning of Zhuangzi, 6.72. See Watson, The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu, "The Great and Venerable Teacher," p. 87. So it is said, the fish forget each other in the rivers and lakes, and men forget each other in the arts of the Way."

Search for Meaning

As Su Shi's involvement with the responsibilities of official life decreased, his interest in matters related to Buddhism and Taoism increased. Times of demotion provided both the stimulus and the leisure for personal consideration of the traditions. The problems he faced at those times and the questions he posed were treated more directly in those two traditions than in Confucianism. Su Shi was seeking to understand the causes of suffering, the meaning of death and immortality, the nature of the self, and the means of preserving oneself. Clearly, there were times when he drew direct inspiration from Buddhism and Taoism for his responses to the adversities of exile.⁹²

However, Su Shi was attracted to Taoism at an early stage in his life, a fact obvious in his response after first reading the Zhuangzi. His brother records that Su Shi exclaimed, "All my life I have thought this way but never had the words to express it. Now I see that he has put into words what was in my mind."⁹³ In addition to

⁹². Su Shi's use of the traditions while in exile is the focus here; for details regarding his response in other periods, see Cao Shuming, "Dongpo yu Tao Fo zhi guanxi." For a biographical sketch which clarifies the influence of Buddhism and Taoism throughout Su Shi's life, see Beata Grant, "The Influence of Buddhism and Taoism on Su Shi's Poetry," Chap. 2.

⁹³. Su Che, Luancheng ji, vol. 3, p. 1421.

the Zhuangzi and the Laozi, which were frequently read by Confucian scholars during the Song, Su Shi read other texts associated with Taoism.⁹⁴ While serving in Fengxiang in 1062, he wrote a poem "On Reading the Taoist Canon 讀道藏".⁹⁵ The Taoist canon had been formalized and printed for presentation to the throne early in the eleventh century. Meishan, home of the Su family, was a center for the printing of Taoist works.⁹⁶ During his first provincial appointment from 1061-1065, Su Shi had the leisure to study not only Buddhism but Taoism.⁹⁷ It was evident, even at this early period, that when duties of governance did not make demands on his time, Su Shi satisfied his intellectual curiosity by turning to traditions other than the Confucian.

⁹⁴. Su Che wrote a commentary on the Laozi. See A Sung Bibliography, pp. 358-59. Written during his exile in Yunzhou from 1080-1085, it reflects the author's tendency to amalgamate the three teachings of Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism.

⁹⁵. SSSJ, 1/4/181-82.

⁹⁶. For details see, Wu Tianchi, "Songdai Sichuan cangshu kaoshu," pp. 62-70. See Nathan Siven for information on the miniature Patrology as a selection of 20 juan of essential works for presentation to the throne. See also Needham, Science and Civilization in China, vol. 5, part 3, section 33, p. 115.

⁹⁷. SSSJ, 1/4/179-81. See the poems which recount Su Shi's visit to the Taiping gong in Zhongnan 終南 to read the Taoist texts housed there. See especially p. 181, "讀道藏".

The ideas and world view he garnered from Taoism were often revealed in his writings. Of particular interest was the idea of the unity of the mysterious Tao or Way. All things in the universe were said to be contained within it. As the totality of all things, it was forever the same, though it seemed always to be in flux.⁹⁸

Taoist Practices

While Su Shi exhibited an interest in the philosophical aspect of the Taoist works, he also was curious about esoteric and mystical interpretations that had led to the development of a concept of immortality and the techniques for attaining it.⁹⁹ When he sought relief from the distress brought on by exile, Su Shi began to make serious use of meditation and breathing techniques that had been developed by Taoists.

Taoist practices are often distinguished in two categories. The "outer elixir" or waidan 外丹 referred to alchemical practices designed to make an elixir that

⁹⁸. Essential features of Taoist thought are presented in Herrlee G. Creel. What is Taoism: (University of Chicago Press, 1970). See also Fung Yulan, A History of Chinese Philosophy, vol. I translated by Derk Bodde. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952), pp. 220-46.

⁹⁹. The relationship between the philosophical and the religious tradition of Taoism is discussed in Laurence Thompson, Chinese Religion: An Introduction (California: Dickenson Publishing Company, 1969), pp. 89-95.

could be ingested; the elixir was thought to possess the power to change the person into an immortal. The "inner elixir" or neidan 內丹 dealt with esoteric practices designed to cultivate the body's own substances.¹⁰⁰ The practices had piqued Su Shi's curiosity for some time, and he believed that Su Che had received salutary effects from his use of them. During exile in Huangzhou, Su Shi had the opportunity to delve more deeply into the matter. While in Huizhou in 1094, he wrote about the efforts of Bai Juyi to smelt cinnabar. Su Shi had earlier identified himself with Bai Juyi as one who had developed effective responses to adversity while he was in exile.

LETIAN SMELTS THE CINNABAR¹⁰¹

Letian built a cottage at Lu Mountain presumably because he wanted to smelt cinnabar. The project failed just before it was completed. Later, when the edict arrived appointing him to Zhongzhou, he came to the realization that to be in the world and to leave the world are not two stances one is able to attain at once. I had long held this ambition, but had never been able to realize it because I had not failed in worldly matters. Today, I have truly experienced the failure. The Book of Documents contains a saying, "What one desires, heaven is sure to give him." Truly it is something supported by this evidence.

There is ample evidence that Su Shi experimented with the smelting of cinnabar before he went to Huizhou.

100. Thompson, Chinese Religion, pp. 89-95.

101. Dongpo Zhilin, (Beijing: Zhonghua), p. 11. "樂天燒丹."

During his first exile in Huangzhou, he wrote a poem describing a newly constructed building with three additional rooms, one of which was used for smelting.

SOUTH HALL Poem #2¹⁰²

In my late years I am relieved to still have my
eyesight,
Despite frequent illness, my hair is not yet
white.
I have made a bright window under which I
practice exquisite calligraphy,¹⁰³
And have also a secluded room where I cultivate
the cinnabar.

Su Shi told a friend that he dared not ingest the cinnabar, but that he enjoyed observing it as it changed color. In the chemical process, the red of the cinnabar would change to a golden color and could then be changed back to the original red.¹⁰⁴ Writing to Wang Dingguo,

102. SSSJ, 4/21/1166. "南堂五首," Poem #2. The Hall had been built by Su Shi's colleague Cai Chengxi, a jìnshi classmate.

103. Su Shi, together with Cai Xiang 蔡襄 (1012--1067), Huang Tingjian, and Mi Fu 米芾 (1052--1107), was one of the four great masters of calligraphy from the Song dynasty. Apparently, he practiced calligraphy during times of exile. His friendship with Mi Fu may have begun during the Huangzhou exile, but extant letters exchanged by the two probably date from Su Shi's later exiles. For this view that several letters were written during Su Shi's return from Hainan, see Lothar Ledderose, Mi Fu and the Classical Tradition of Chinese Calligraphy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), p.46.

104. Su Shi learned the techniques from others. There is no indication that at this time he had read the Baopuzi which gives recipes in juan 4, "Gold and Cinnabar (Jin dan 金丹). See Ge Hong 葛洪, Baopuzi 抱朴子

who was then in exile in Binzhou in the Guangxi area, Su Shi explained:

Recently someone gave me a particle of cinnabar; its brilliance and color are most marvelous. Of course, I dare not ingest it, but he taught me how to heat it and to watch the changes and thus for moments to enjoy myself and pass the time.¹⁰⁵

Although he did not mention it explicitly, it is possible that Su Shi experimented with internal alchemy. In the same letter to Wang Dingguo, Su made a request for cinnabar.

Binzhou is not far from Guizhou. If you can easily get several ounces of cinnabar, please send them to me. If it is difficult, then forget the matter, since I have no urgent need of it. In a remote and adverse environment, there are surely some unique persons. You should calmly and quietly seek them out. Generally speaking, a Taoist adept cannot achieve release without using gold and cinnabar. Furthermore cinnabar material comes primarily from the southern regions. That is why Ge Zhichuan asked to be sent to Goulou and in the end was transformed in Guangzhou. This fact should not go unnoticed.¹⁰⁶

(Taiwan: Shangwu, 1979), 60ff. for the types of cinnabar. See James Ware, trans. Alchemy, Medicine, Religion in the China of A. D. 320: The Nei P'ien of Ko Hung (Pao-p'u tzu (Cambridge: 1966), p. 68ff. See also, Nathan Siven, Chinese Alchemy. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), pp. 40-42 for comments on Ge Hong's contribution to the esoteric Taoist arts.

105. SSWJ. 4/52/1516-18. "與王定國書." Letter #8. The letter describes what is probably the "projection" method of casting a spatula-full of elixir upon a large quantity of quicksilver which is then transmuted into red gold. See Siven, Chinese Alchemy, p. 41 for reference to methods in the Baopuzi.

Other comments in the letter focused on Taoist techniques, which Su Shi found to be too numerous to master. He recommended a meditative practice of closing the eyes in order to gain a calm spirit and effective circulation of the vital force, qi 氣. According to Su Shi, the practice was effective in warding off ailments.

Whether or not Wang Dingguo sent cinnabar from Binzhou is not known. However, it is apparent that Su Shi learned the techniques of smelting from the Taoist master Lu Weizhong 陸惟忠, a native of Meishan, who taught both internal and external alchemical practices.¹⁰⁷ Even though Su Shi stated that he did not believe immortality could be achieved by ingesting the pill, he did not discount the benefits of the pill nor refrain from experimenting with it.¹⁰⁸ The ailments Su Shi sought to cure may well have been produced by the external alchemy. Li Yibing takes note of Su Shi's

¹⁰⁶. SSSJ, 4/52/1518. See Ginsberg, "Alienation," pp. 218-19 for complete text and translation of the letter.

¹⁰⁷. See Li Yibing, Su Dongpo xin zhuan, vol. 2, p. 861ff. reviews the tradition in China and specifically Lu's teaching.

¹⁰⁸. For the view that Su Shi not only lacked a sustained interest in alchemical arts, but also was skeptical about their effects, see Beata Grant, "Buddhism and Taoism in the Poetry of Su Shi," p. 58

problems with reddened eyes and piles, conditions which were associated with the ingesting of cinnabar.¹⁰⁹

When he reached Huizhou, Su Shi found himself surrounded by artifacts of the practices of the Taoists. On the journey, he had made an excursion to Luofu Mountain with several of the Buddhist and Taoist leaders of Guangzhou and had seen the area where Ge Hong had carried out his alchemical experiments:

AN INSCRIPTION ON LUOFU¹¹⁰

On the twenty-sixth day of the ninth month of the first year of Shaosheng [1094], I was exiled to Huizhou and took a boat to the village of Buotou. Early in the morning we went by sedan chair for fifteen li to Luofu Mountain. We entered the Yanxiang baoji Monastery and worshiped at the Tianzhuduan image. I took a drink from the spring of the Chan Master, the monk Jingtai of the Liang period. I enjoyed the flavor of the water, noting that it came forth from the distant Yangtze. Three li to the east we saw the Longevity Temple. And three li to the northeast reached the Zhongxu Temple. We saw Ge Zhichuan's cinnabar smelting furnace. . . .

Living in the ambience of Luofu, Su Shi was inspired to read Ge Hong's Baopuzi and to identify himself with the recluse-chemist who had spent his final years on the mountain. While equipment for smelting cinnabar was not available in remote Huizhou, it could be found in

¹⁰⁹. Li Yibing, Su Dongpo xin zhuan, vol. 2, p. 863 discusses the ailments presumed caused by cinnabar.

¹¹⁰. SSWJ, 5/71/2268. "題羅浮 ." See also, Su Shi yu Huizhou, pp. 120-21.

Guangzhou; Su Shi asked Cheng Zhicai to purchase it for him.¹¹¹

Because of the lack of medicine in Huizhou, Su Shi made the decision to use whatever means he could to ward off illness and to maintain good health and equipoise. He joined curiosity with knowledge as he sought medicines and practices which would benefit not only himself but also others who suffered from ailments in the malaria infested area.

In addition to his alchemical and yogic practices, Su Shi grew herbs which could be used in making medicines. These were described in a series of five poems on the herbs grown in the small garden behind his White Crane House. His "Five Songs for My Small Garden" described the properties of plants such as ginseng, or renshen 人參, which he said had changed somewhat after being brought to Luofu.¹¹² Su Shi used both herbs and chemicals to make the medicines, which he often distributed to others.¹¹³ When exiled to Hainan he

¹¹¹. See Li Yibing, Su Dongpo xin zhuan, vol. 2, p. 863 regarding purchase of alchemy equipment.

¹¹². SSSJ, pp. 2156-60. "小圃五詠." It is difficult to assess Su Shi's knowledge of the medicinal properties of medicinal plants. However, it is known that there was an increase in information regarding drug properties during the Song. See Paul U. Unschuld. Medicine in China: A History of Ideas (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), p. 166ff.

continued to use the medicines when he could obtain them. On the trip back to the North from Hainan, he wrote a letter saying, "Last year in Hainan, I obtained a cinnabar pill; at that time I ingested it. When it had reached my cinnabar field, I felt relaxed."¹¹⁴

Apparently, he had been able to obtain some medicines despite deprivations in Hainan. When he lacked medicines, Su Shi improvised and experimented. His knowledge of the human body and of the properties of things owed much to reading of Taoist texts and his conversation with Taoist adepts.

Su Shi's primary purpose for practicing the "inner alchemy" or neidan was to achieve a state of calm and equipoise. He wrote of "cultivating the vital forces" which meant essentially conserving them. A host of practices existed, and he attempted several of them. Why he practiced these arts of cultivation is a question no less important than what he practiced.¹¹⁵

¹¹³. His activities are recounted in Li Yibing, Su Dongpo xin zhuan, vol. 2, pp. 854-55.

¹¹⁴. SSWJ, 4/53/1551-52. "與錢濟明書," Letter #6.

¹¹⁵. Details regarding Su Shi's practices are given in Ginsberg, "Alienation," pp. 211-20; see also Lin Yutang, The Gay Genius, pp. 233-46. Analysis of the relationship between esoteric practice and aesthetic theory is given in Andrew March, "Self and Landscape in Su Shih" JOAS 86 (1966) pp. 383-88.

Su Shi's writings on these matters are found primarily in his Zhilin, a collection of miscellaneous pieces written, for the most part, during times of exile. Several entries record his attempts at self-cultivation and the prolongation of life (yang sheng 養生).¹¹⁶ To pursue further the question of why Su Shi engaged in these practices during times of exile, one can refer to his own explanation, one which prefaces a description of an esoteric practice called the Dragon-Tiger breathing. The account was probably written during his Huizhou exile. While Su Shi's interest in the practices of Taoism was not necessarily the result of his banishment, he himself noted that the fact of exile determined the intensity with which he pursued his interest.

ON THE DRAGON-TIGER TECHNIQUE¹¹⁷

The reason people are born and die is due to kan 坎 and li 離. When kan and li join there is life; when they are separated there is death. This is an inevitable matter.

Su Shi continues with an analysis that relates physiological breathing practices with terms from the

¹¹⁶. Dongpo zhilin (Zhonghua, 1981), pp. 7-14. These are given under the heading of yang sheng.

¹¹⁷. SSWJ, 6/73/2331-33. See the translation in March, "Self and Landscape in Su Shih," JAOS, pp. 383-84. March clarifies the relationships between the cosmological and ascetic and notes how nourishment of vital fluids relates to sexuality and creativity.

Book of Changes. The dragon is identified with water and the liver; the tiger with fire and the heart. Each is explained according to a five phases (wu xing 五行) theory. He says that a recluse once taught him:

If a person can sit upright, close his eyes and regulate his breath, and slowly close them as the breath becomes faint, even though he thinks of nothing he will be loftily inspired and enlightened.

The conclusion to the essay underscores the connection between decision to practice the techniques and the fact that he is in exile:

Even though this theory is strange it is understandable; it is marvelous, but simple; it is definitely believable. However, I have a major weakness: For most of my life I had the desire to practice it, but every time I tried my efforts turned out to be crude and unsuccessful. I supposed that this would be achieved without defeating my body with it, exposing my heart to accept it, or exhausting my life to insist upon it. Now I am already sixty years old. My position and reputation have both been destroyed; I am separated from my brother and parted from my children. I am living among barbarians, and there is no set day for my return to the north. That I have only a bit of worldly pleasure, you can surely imagine. If I were again to be inept and unsuccessful with respect to this effort, I surely would not be equal to others. Thus during these last several days, I have thought of some other promises for myself. It is just like the ancients who went to hide themselves in the mountains, or were sent on duty off to a remote area of the world; they ate herbs and took snow. What does it matter if they are different?

Continuing, he explains that he has made one hundred pieces of bread and that in fasting will take only bread and a bit of wine. He will rise early, meditate, and curtail all study and writing. Visits will be limited to those from Taoists and adepts. All excesses are to be eliminated. Concluding the letter to Ziyou, he expresses his concern that lack of resolve will deter him. But because he is convinced of the possible efficacy of the practice, he has written to tell Ziyou of it.

Obviously, Su Shi was seeking a way to simplify his life and at the same time to maintain his health. He avoided excesses, curtailed drinking, and scheduled rest and meditation. His purpose was not the attainment of immortality. Rather, his activities comprised a regime for accommodating to his situation in exile. His rhyme-prose on the "Draught of Sesame 服胡麻賦" can be read in this light.¹¹⁸ The sesame served as a hygienic food. In speaking of it, Su Shi did not seek to identify himself exclusively with exiles, but rather with the ancients who went to the mountains to prove that they were lofty men.

¹¹⁸. SSWJ, 1/1/45. "服胡麻賦". Preface and Poem. See Le Gros Clark, The Prose-Poetry of Su Tung-p'o, pp. 118-25 for a translation of the poem.

MATCHING TAO'S 'IMPOVERISHED GENTLEMEN',¹¹⁹

Yi and Qi were ashamed to eat the grains of
 Zhou,¹²⁰
 With lofty songs they sang the praises of Yu and
 Xuan.¹²¹
 And how could men such as Chan and Lu,
 Bring to the court Qi and Yuan?¹²²
 From time immemorial some who have quit this
 world,
 Became in the end no more than dying embers and
 traces of smoke.
 To cause oneself to change in later age is
 particularly regretful,
 It is up to your own hand to grind either red or
 black ink.
 Yuanming at one time also served,¹²³
 His zither accompanied song expressed sincerity.

119. SSSJ, 7/39/2136-2140. "和陶貧士" Poem #2.

120. Shi ji, 61. Two princes of the state of Guzhu 孤竹 during the Yin 殷, Bo Yi and Shu Qi, refused to honor King Wu 武王 after he had attacked King Zhou 紂王 of the Yin and established the rule of the Zhou house. In self-imposed exile on Shouyang Mountain 首陽山, they ate ferns and eventually starved to death. Their actions are praised, though not unequivocally, in Lunyu 18.8. See translation in D.C. Lau, The Analects, p. 151. They are criticized by Robber Zhi in Zhuangzi 29.198. See Watson, The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu, p. 329. The classification of various forms of eremitism is discussed in Wolfgang Bauer, "The Hidden Hero" in Individualism and Holism, p. 162.

121. Reference is to the sage emperor Yu 禹 and to Xuan 軒, Huangdi or Yellow Emperor.

122. The Four Hoary Sages of Mt. Shang went into reclusion at the beginning of the Qin. They also refused to serve the Han. Qi 綺 and Yuan 園 were two of the four, men who would not have answered the summons of relatives of Han ruler. See Han shu 72.3056.

123. Tao Yuanming's last appointment was at Pengzi. He left office to return to his fields. For biographical information, consult Yang Yong, Tao Yuanming jiaojian, pp. 381ff.

But because he was unhappy, he took the direct
 way home,
 Observing the world, he regretted that he alone
 was worthy.

Taoist Thought

While the various strains of Taoism were not readily distinguished in Song China, Su Shi was certainly aware of the contrast between practices of the Taoist adepts and the aspects of the philosophical tradition that served as an intellectual stimulus for many of the literati. Several features of Taoist thought were particularly attractive to Su Shi. He accepted the fundamental idea of the Tao as inclusive and indivisible, of all things as being in flux yet permanent in the unchanging Tao. Furthermore, Taoism stressed the mysterious qualities of the Tao. It was thought to be unknowable and indescribable, understood partially, and then only in tranquility and quietude. According to Taoist philosophy, human problems result when the mind seeks to establish itself and to close its being off from other reality. Taoism proposed the emptying of the individuated mind to achieve enlightenment. The one thus enlightened would be freed from the prison of a small world of his making in order to roam in the vast, limitless world of the Tao.¹²⁴ Thus, not only the fixed

goals of wealth, power, fame and sensual gratification would be viewed as inadequate, so, too, the fixations of the mind which distinguished the beautiful and the ugly, the good and the bad.¹²⁵ The manner in which Su Shi's poetry is imbued with this spirit of Taoism gives to his writings a spirit of detachment and transcendence. At the same time it strengthens his depiction of the natural order, particularly in references to the working of nature in the changing patterns of the landscape.

Buddhism

Not only the Taoist tradition, but also Buddhism served as a source of consolation. Because Buddhism takes as its essential understanding of the human condition that suffering is caused by the illusion that there are permanent realities to which one can be attached, it sees enlightenment as the realization that all things are empty or insubstantial (kong 空).¹²⁶

¹²⁴. See Benjamin Schwartz, The World of Thought in Ancient China (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press,) 1985), pp. 188ff for a discussion of modes of thought in early Taoism. See also Feng Youlan, A History of Chinese Philosophy, trans. by Derk Bodde (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952), pp. 171-91; 221-45.

¹²⁵. The views are found primarily in the "Qi wu lun 齊物論", On Making All Things Equal." See Guo Qingfan, Zhuangzi ji, For a summary of Taoist thought in the Zhuangzi, see A. C. Graham, trans., Chuang-tzu (London: 1981), pp. 3-26.

¹²⁶. Buddhist ideas are summarized in Edward Conze, Buddhism: Its Essence and Development (Oxford, 1951) rpt. Harper, 1965. For the doctrine of "emptiness," see, pp.

This teaching regarding śūnyatā, namely that all existence is dependent upon causation, is fundamental to Buddhist thought. Enlightenment, according to the Theravāda tradition, is generally achieved through scripture study, works, prayers and meditation; it is attained through a gradual process of understanding.¹²⁷ The Mahāyāna tradition emphasized belief in an eternal, cosmic Buddha, transformed to appear when it was necessary to express its body of essence. It was the school of Buddhism which taught that the Buddha nature could be apprehended by intuition directly, instantly and completely. Both traditions stressed the necessity of meditation. The realization of the Buddha nature within one was thus the goal of the Buddhist.¹²⁸ As a major school of Buddhism in China, the one least affected by the persecution of Buddhism in 845, the Chan school continued to flourish during the Song.¹²⁹ According to

130-34. See also Robinson, The Buddhist Religion, pp. 51-53.

127. See Robinson, The Buddhist Religion, pp. 16-31.

128. Kenneth K. S. Ch'en, Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey (Princeton: 1964), pp. 350-64. The Chan school of Buddhism in China. Edward Conze, Buddhism: Its Essence and Development, p. 125ff. The Mādhyamikas were most influential in China. The translations of the Prajñāpāramita-sūtras exerted a profound influence in China from 180 A.D. onwards; emphasis was on the wisdom tradition.

129. The introduction of Chan in China is outlined in Tang Yongtong, Sui Tang Fojiao shi gao (Beijing: 1982), pp. 186-90. Note the role of Bodhidharma (d.

Chan teachings, those who are without attachments, that is, whose heart or mind does not cling to things (wu xin 無心) have seen through the illusion that things possess individuated and permanent existence and thus can become enlightened.¹³⁰

Even though Su Shi modestly disclaimed any more than a superficial understanding of the vast corpus of Buddhist scriptures and the array of religious, metaphysical and ethical perspectives that informed them, he possessed a high degree of understanding and experience. While in exile he studied Buddhist texts, continuing the efforts begun in Fengxiang. Frequent association with Buddhist monks, particularly during his years in Hangzhou, were not limited to discussions of poetry.¹³¹ However, he was particularly aware of the influence of Chan thought on the poetry written by

before 537). Kenneth Ch'en, Buddhism in China, pp. 363-64. For a summary of the developments of Buddhism in China, see Richard H. Robinson, The Buddhist Religion, pp. 79-98. The importance of Chan is reviewed on pp. 88-97. See Weinstein, Buddhism Under the T'ang, for developments through the ninth century.

130. For a discussion of the central doctrine of "no thought (wu nian 無念), see Jan Yun-hua 冉雲華 "Patterns of Chinese Assimilation of Buddhist Thought: A Comparative Study of No-Thought (wu-niep) in Indian and Chinese Texts" in Journal of Oriental Studies (Dongfang wenhua 東方文化) 24 no.1 (1986), pp. 21-36.

131. Two of the most noted Buddhist monks were Biancai 辯才 (1011--1091) and Qisong 契嵩 (1007-1072). Qisong, who parried attacks on Buddhism from Neo-Confucians, was a friend of Ouyang Xiu. See Sung Biographies vol. 1, pp. 185-94.

Canliaozi, whose poems seemed to flow forth from one reposing in state of tranquility.

During times of exile he not only sought to achieve a spirit of tranquility, but also looked to receive the efficacy of a religious tradition. The gāthas (jie 偈), metrical hymns of Buddhist devotion, were often composed during journeys and during visits to Buddhist monasteries and temples. While they are not necessarily fine poetry, they are expressions of the his feelings and thoughts at those times and deserve consideration as such.¹³²

While Su Shi was in Huizhou he wrote a number of koan (gong'an 公案) that expressed his understanding of Chan.¹³³ On one occasion his son, Guo copied out the Golden Light Sūtra (金光經) namely, the Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra, bound it, and presented it to the monastery as an act of merit for his deceased mother.¹³⁴

¹³². The presence of the poems in his collection has been something of an embarrassment to some scholars who prefer to say that Su Shi was not drawn to the devotional aspects of Buddhism. Furthermore, the literary value of the works has been considered minimal. Liu Naichang says that the one thousand or so poems of this nature are not to be included with his best poetry. See Liu Naichang, "Lun Fo Lao sixiang dui Su Shi wenxue de yingxiang," in Su Shi wenxue lunji. These poems were collected into the Dongpo Chan xi ji 東坡禪喜集, an anthology which categorizes poems with Buddhist themes and images.

¹³³. The term refers to an exercise given by a Chan master. It can assist the disciple to break through intellectual limitations and achieve a flash of enlightenment

Responding to his son's questions regarding efficacy of his act, Su Shi explained the parabolic language of the sutra by using a koan. He was attracted to this form of discourse used by Chan masters to bring the disciple to an enlightened understanding of reality.

Before leaving for Hainan, Su Shi wrote a gatha in praise of the Embroidered Robed Buddha in which he expressed his views regarding the value of simple acts of merit.

Whoever performs a Buddhist act of merit gives of whatever he possesses. The rich give their wealth, the robust their strength, the clever their talent, and the eloquent their words. If one possesses nothing, he gives his heart. People follow their delight in what they see and hear. They worship and pray. We praise it and sigh that we have never seen anything as fine as this. There is nothing to compare with the effort of this [embroidery] needle, and there is nothing to match his merit. If we follow this example we can become enlightened. The one who made this embroidery is our guide.¹³⁵

Su Shi wrote a devotional work in praise of the Bodhisattva Guanyin 觀音菩薩 頌 during his journey northward from Hainan.¹³⁶ The hymn employs the explicit language of Buddhists and speaks of the devotee's desire

¹³⁴. See Cao Shuming, "Dongpo yu Fo Tao zhi guanxi," Part II, p. 39. Cao recounts the exchange between father and son.

¹³⁵. SSWJ, 2/21/621. "繡佛贊 ."

¹³⁶. For praise of Guanyin (Avalokiteśvara), in traditional form, see Chapter 25 of the Lotus of the True Law or Saddharma-pundarika-sūtra.

to praise the Buddha through meritorious actions. It uses terms generally associated with Confucianism, such as benevolence (ren 仁) and Buddhist-related language such as compassion (ci 慈). The hymn is an example of Su Shi's tendency to join concepts from both traditions. Ostensibly, it is a hymn composed to thank the Bodhisattva for a safe return from exile.

A HYMN TO THE BODHISATTVA GUANYIN¹³⁷

At the Zhongyi Chan Buddhist Monastery in Jinling, the Abbot Zongxi created a statue of Guanyin from the proceeds gained through alms. It was a wonderful image. When I was demoted to the South, I passed by there and prayed before the statue saying, 'When I return to the North I will pass by here again and will compose a hymn.' On the first day of the fifth month of the first year of Jianzhong jingguo (1101) I returned from Hainan. Reaching Jinling I then composed a hymn that said:

Compassion is like benevolence; sympathy similar to righteousness; perseverance is like courage; and concern is similar to wisdom. The four statements seem correct, but actually are not. For when there is perfect enlightenment, equality exists without differentiation. To be without grievances one is benevolent; without favorites one is righteous; without thinking of others there is courage; and, forgetting oneself, one is wise. While the four are similar, some require action and some non-action. But these four come originally from non-being and thus can be used without being exhausted. There were two elders both happily giving alms. One was very wealthy, giving a thousand pieces of gold each day; one was extremely poor giving one hundred cash only. Each is admirable, equally, without distinction in degree.

137. SSWJ, 2/20/586. " 觀世音菩薩頌 ." With Preface.

Oh Guanyin!¹³⁸ Pure Holy One and Great One.
 You fill the universe. You assist and lead all
 on heaven and earth. You have the power to
 release from bondage. This I dare not discuss,
 just as I dare not speak of the four
 nothingnesses.

Su Shi wrote a number of gāthas, koans and hymns that reveal his continuing association with Buddhism. Several were composed during his two exiles in the South and on the return from exile. Nevertheless, the strictly devotional literature and commentary on the Buddhist scriptures constitute a relatively small portion of his literary corpus. Generally, he composed literature in which the images and themes related to both Buddhism and Taoism are integrated into poetry that does not appear to be explicitly or solely religious or philosophical.¹³⁹

Expressions of Transcendence

While engaging in formal study of Buddhism and Taoism, Su Shi the poet was able to use the language and ideas of religion and philosophy, but to express them in

¹³⁸. See Kenneth Ch'en, Buddhism in China, pp. 40-42 for the process of transformation of the Indian Avalokitesvara to the Chinese Guanyin.

¹³⁹. For the distinction between poetry that uses explicit religious language and that which informed by the ideas or the spirit of a religious or philosophical tradition, see Beata Grant, "Buddhism and Taoism in the Poetry of Su Shi," esp. pp. 11-19 and Chap. 4 on the "Paradox of Language."

a poetic form. His ability to integrate the philosophical, religious and aesthetic is evident in the several outstanding works composed during times of exile. A selection from poetry composed in each of his exiles will reveal the achievement.

During his Huangzhou exile, Su Shi forged a view of himself in the natural universe. His perception of reality was strongly influenced by Taoist thought, particularly by the concept that the phenomenal world of flux is a manifestation of the constant reality of the Tao. The formulation of Su Shi's conception was expressed in two works, the "Chibi fu 赤壁賦 " (Rhapsody on the Red Cliff) and the "Hou Chibi fu 後赤壁賦 " or (Latter Rhapsody on the Red Cliff). Both take as setting the landscape of the Yangtze River which flowed beneath the place where Su Shi dwelled in exile.

In the first rhapsody, narrative and dialogue provide a structure for an exploration of the theme of the evanescence of life. As guest and host drift in a small boat on the boundless waters, the guest recalls the heroic exploits of generals of the Three Kingdoms who met in battle at the Red Cliffs. He laments their passing fame and then speaks of the fundamental human sadness that life is limited and temporary while human

aspirations are infinite and eternal. Master Su's response is intended to enlighten and to console.

Does my guest understand how it is with the water and the moon? The one is constantly flowing and is never gone; the other is constantly waxing and waning but in the end never diminishes or grows. That is to say, if we consider that which changes in things, then heaven and earth can last no longer than the wink of an eye. But if we consider that which is unchanging in things, then we and all creation alike are without end. So what do we have to envy? Moreover, everything between heaven and earth has its own master. If some thing does not belong to us, we cannot get even a hair of it. Only the clear breeze over the river and the bright moon in the hills, which are music to anyone who has ears for them and beauty to anyone who has eyes for them--these we can take without their ever coming to an end and use them without their ever being exhausted. They are the inexhaustible treasures of the Creator, the very things that you and I are now enjoying.¹⁴⁰

The fundamental understanding of the universe as governed by the pattern of flux and permanence is presented in the poem. According to C. H. Wang, the excellence of Su Shi's rhapsody lies in the poet's perfect integration of idea and feeling. The power of the poet's mind is evident in the controlling structure that creates the correspondence between the natural world and his emotional response to it.¹⁴¹

140. SSWJ, 1/1/5-7. "赤壁賦" Translated in Yu-shih Chen, Images and Ideas in Chinese Classical Prose (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1988), pp. 143-45.

141. Yang Mu 楊牧 (C. H. Wang) Wenxue zhishi 文學知識 (Taipei: Hongfan, 1985), pp. 48-50.

The "Hou Chibi fu," according to the opening lines, was also written in the year 1083, and also composed after an outing at night on the river. Whereas reflection on the landscape was represented as a source of insight and solace in the first rhapsody, this second one uses the landscape as setting for the narration of an expression of an experience of isolation and desolation. Su Shi describes how he leaves his companions in order to ascend the escarpment alone.

I clambered all the way up to where the falcon's nest was precariously perched and looked down into the dark palace of Feng Yi. My two guests were unable to follow me there. I let out a long, piercing whistle. Grass and trees trembled and shook: mountains rang and valleys resounded: the wind rose and the waters rolled in torrents. I felt a stilling sadness, an awful apprehension; it was so cold that I could no longer stay. I turned back and boarded the boat; we set it loose in midstream and let it go wherever it would. At the time it was nearly midnight. Looking around, all was lonely and desolate. Just then a solitary crane came flying across the river from the west. Its wings were like chariot wheels, and it was clad in a black garment below and a plain white silk jacket above. With a long, hoarse cry, it swooped over our boat and flew toward the east.¹⁴²

The poem ends with the speaker's encounter in dream with a Taoist who inquires about the outing. At that moment the speaker recognizes him as a form of the crane

¹⁴². SSWJ, 1/1/8. "後赤壁賦." Translation in Yu-shi Chen, Images and Ideas in Chinese Classical Prose, pp. 144-46.

he had seen winging across the sky. When the poet awakes he sees nothing. The conclusion points to the conceptual conviction that all forms are empty. Understanding is based on the perception that both Taoist and Buddhist thought propose, that dream and reality are one. Isolation and its attendant suffering are to be overcome by the recognition of the truth of the unity of all forms and thus the emptiness of their phenomenal manifestations.

While it is not appropriate to suggest that the experience of exile caused Su Shi to formulate ideas regarding the nature of reality, of phenomenal change, or of time and the relation of man to the universe, it is clear that he pondered such questions during his time in exile. No poetry composed prior to the Huangzhou period possesses the same degree of integration of scene, feeling and idea.

Later, during exile in Huizhou, Su Shi also used Buddhist and Taoist imagery to describe an excursion into a landscape. The poem is bold in its manner of combining a description of the landscape proper with an idealized roaming in a world shaped by Buddhist and Taoist ideals.

AN EXCURSION WITH MY COUSIN ZHENGFU ON WHITE WATER
MOUNTAIN¹⁴³

How awesome the creator, truly encompassing and
unrestrained,
Forming the landscape by catching dirt and
rolling the sand.
Cleaving the green gorge to let clouds and
thunder pass,
Cutting and breaking with a rapid current to
create pools and caverns.
Because we follow the Buddha's great footprints,
I can fly with my diving brother on our steeds.
Dragging the walking cane we don't know the
valley's depth,
But treading through clouds we feel the weight of
clothing.
Sitting we watch startled birds fly to halt the
fall of frosted leaves,
We learn that the old flood dragon has curled up
in the stone crock.
Golden sand and jade pebbles so bright you can
count them,
Ancient mirror in a precious case is cold and
still.
My brother, I think of how rare you are among
men,
In this remote land, you alone will join with
me.
Rejecting forever the Man and Chu battles on the
snail's horn,¹⁴⁴
With a single washing our hearts are like the
nine layered dream.
Mount Fulai is high, not fully visible as we turn
to look,
The road to Wuling is cut off, no one sends us
off.
We pick dark flowers to fill our bamboo basket,
the ginger is fragrant,
With a simple rope we draw the water, silver jar
is cold.
The road home is foggy, valley of the hot springs
dark,

143. SSSJ, 7/39/2147-2148. "同正輔表兄遊白水山."

144. Zhuangzi, 25.27ff. Translated in Watson, The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu, p. 284.

By a rustic dwelling the marvelous spring gushes
 overflowing.
 Here we cast off clothes and bathe, now men free
 of stain,
 Bodies light enough to try a flight like phoenix
 amid the clouds.

The landscape of mountains, valleys, pools and caverns is described as the totally unimpeded display of the creator. Su Shi and his cousin roam in the created world and are transformed by its power. Weighted and stained by the cares of the world and petty differences, they are far from the utopia of Wuling, the Peach Blossom Source.¹⁴⁵ However, the casting aside of clothing to bathe in the valley hot springs is a purifying action. As Su Shi and Cheng Zhengfu transcend the anger and pain caused by conflicts, they reconcile an entire family. Using an image from Zhuangzi, Su Shi gives a new perspective to a long-standing conflict. According to the Zhuangzi account, the two horns of the snail each hold a kingdom, the Man 蠻 on the right and the Chu 楚 on the left, which at times war with each other. By analogy, the warfare between states is an insignificant undertaking. Su Shi's allusion shows that the quarrels between the Chengs and the Sus are equally petty and insignificant. For the decades following the death of Su Shi's younger sister, the two families had been at odds.

¹⁴⁵. Yang Yong, ed., Tao Yuanming ji jiaojian, pp. 275-82.

Su Xun's conviction that his daughter's death resulted from the harm inflicted by the Chengs after her marriage to Zhengfu had prompted him publicly to proclaim an end to contact between the families.¹⁴⁶ Now years later, Cheng has been sent by the court because high officials who were aware of the family conflict assumed he would desire to harm Su Shi.¹⁴⁷ However, Cheng is willing to join Su Shi on excursions when others avoid him. Their reconciliation is an indication of the way in which Su Shi had been influenced by an ideal transcending worldly standards. Language from the Zhuangzi and allusions to the utopia of the Peach Blossom Source reinforce his use of the Taoist theme of transcendent roaming in the created universe brings freedom.

Because Su Shi was capable of creating worlds of the imagination in which he could dwell, he drew freely from the Buddhist and Taoist sources to construct his own form of reality. A literary piece that exemplifies the intricate interweaving of various strains of thought in one cohesive work is a poem with preface that Su Shi wrote while he was in Huizhou. As a topic he selects the

¹⁴⁶. Su Xun, Jiayou ji, 13, 10a-11b, "Zi you 自尤." Sibu beiyao edition. An account of the family conflict is given in Li Yibing, Su Dongpo xinzhuang, pp. 840-41.

¹⁴⁷. For this assumption, see Li Yibing, Su Dongpo xin zhuan, p. 841.

idyllic world described by Tao Yuanming in his "Peach Blossom Source." However, he contends that the place described by Tao is not beyond the earthly realm. Furthermore, he claims that the world Tao depicts is not unique, but that there exist other realms in the human domain where people can achieve long life. Included among them is the land in Shu encircled by mountains and watered by springs; the idyllic place is known as "Qiuchi 仇池." It should be remembered that Su Shi's imitation stone mountain was named after this place, and that the mountain served as a miniature world he could carry with him. It was the stone mountain he took into exile. Whenever he mentioned Qiuchi, Su Shi brought forward an image of a retreat from the world.

MATCHING TAO'S PEACH BLOSSOM SOURCE¹⁴⁸

Generations have passed down the matter of the Peach Source and most have exaggerated its reality. If you investigate what Tao Yuanming recorded, you will see that he says only that the people in the past were avoiding the disorder brought about by the Qin, and that those whom the fisherman saw were probably their descendants. It was not that the people of the Qin did not die. He also spoke of killing chickens and preparing food. How could they have been immortals and still kill things? There is an old saying that in Nanyang there is a Chrysanthemum River; the water is sweet and fragrant. More than thirty families live there. Because they drink the water, they all possess long life, some living to be as old as one hundred twenty or thirty years of age. In the Elder's Village on

¹⁴⁸. SSSJ, 7/40/2196-2198. "和陶桃花源" .
With Preface.

Qingcheng Mountain in Shu one can see descendants to the fifth generation. The roads there are remote and dangerous. Throughout their lives the people have had no had salt or vinegar. But because there are numerous medlar with roots like dragons and reptiles in their streams, the people who drink it possess long life. However, in recent years there has been some communication with the world outside. They have gradually been able to get the five spices, thus bringing about a gradual decline in longevity.

We might compare the Peach Blossom Source to these places. If the prefect of Wuling had reached that place and discovered the people, then the place would already long ago have become an arena of conflict. I have been of the opinion that there are a number of these places between heaven and earth. The Peach Blossom Source is not the only one. When I was in Yingzhou, I once in dream visited an official place. The people and things were no different from the ordinary, but the mountains and streams were pure and distant and there was enough to make one happy. I looked at a placard on the hall which said "Qiuchi." When I awoke, I kept thinking about it. Qiuchi was the former land of the Wu Du family, and that which had been protected by Yang Nan; how could I be living there. The next day, I asked some visitors about it. Among the visitors was on Zhao Linshi, styled Deling, who said: "How is it that you inquire about this? This is a land of plenty. It is an appenage of the Small World by its Own Sky." Du Fu said of it: "There are eternal caverns in Qiuchi which secretly connect the Small World by its Own Sky as thoroughfares." At another time, Wang Qinchen, styled Zhongzhi, of the Engineering Division, said to me, "I once passed by Qiuchi when on official business. It had ninety-nine springs with myriad mountains encircling them; there one could escape from the world just as in the Peach Blossom Source."

The poem which Su Shi wrote for the matching piece serves as a commentary on utopias. It reveals how his idyllic world differs from that of Tao Yuanming because of the way Buddhist and Taoist views of reality have

influenced him. The underlying conception accords with the Taoist idea that all things are equal. So, too, it reflects the Chan Buddhist idea that all dualities should be overcome, that even saṃsāra and nirvāṇa are not to be distinguished.¹⁴⁹

POEM: THE PEACH BLOSSOM SOURCE¹⁵⁰

The commoner and sage have no distinct dwelling,
Both the pure and turbid exist in this world.
The mind at rest suddenly achieves self
understanding,
Thoughts arise but suddenly have departed,¹⁵¹
If you want to know the unity of reality,¹⁵²
You must cause the dissipation of the six
senses.¹⁵³
Convinced that the Peach Source is not far,
Taking the cane, you can rest awhile.
Bend to till; be dependent upon the force of the
land,
This ultimate knowledge is united with the
Heavenly arts.
Were my arm a chicken it would at times crow;¹⁵⁴

149. Jan Yun-hua, "Patterns of Chinese Assimilation of Buddhist Thought, pp. 26ff.

150. SSSJ, 7/40/2196-98. "和陶桃花源".

151. The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch (Liu zu tan jing 六祖壇經) is of central importance in the development of the idea that thoughts should be extinguished.

152. "Zhen yi 真一." According to Buddhist teaching, this is the locus of truth.

153. For a discussion of the Buddhist images in the poem, see Chen Changhua 陳昌華, "Xin ling, wei Tao Yuanming suo xiyin 心靈, 為陶淵明所吸引" in Lun Su Shi Lingnan shi luancheng qita, pp. 209-221. The six yong refer to the eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body and mind. See p. 214.

Were my buttocks a chariot there would be nothing
to tax.

The fungus tortoise also breathes at dawn,¹⁵⁵

The medlar dog sometimes barks at night.¹⁵⁶

Tilling and cutting, you cook and get sweet
fragrance,

In eating, then you avoid the cooked food.

Although Liu Ziqi is removed from it in body,¹⁵⁷

Tao Yuanming's heart is already there.

It is not difficult to cross the high mountains;

There is no fear in crossing shallow streams.

They don't compare with my Qiuchi,

High peaks renewed for how many seasons?

I have always viewed life and death as one;

Recently, thought stupidity and wisdom the same.

Pujian is the domain of Anqi,¹⁵⁸

154. Zhuangzi, 6.50. "Da Zongshi 大宗師 . "
Chuang-tzu: The Seven Inner Chapters and other writings
from the book Chuang-tzu, Translated by A. C. Graham.
(London: 1981), p. 88. "[Master Yu] fell ill; the
transformation is underway: the arm is transformed into
a cock; I hear a cock crow at dawn. The buttocks
transformed into a chariot and daemon into a horse; there
for me to ride. [This is called being loosed from the
bonds.]"

155. Bernard E. Read, comp., Chinese Medicinal
Plants from the "Pen Ts'ao Kang mu (本草綱目)" A.D.
1596. (Peking: Peking Natural History Bulletin, 1936),
p. 279, #838. The fuling 茯苓 is the Pachyma Cocos,
Indian Bread or Tukahoe. According to Stuarts's Chinese
Materia Medica, p. 298, it is a fungus growth on the
roots of fir trees, used as both a food and medicine.
Because of its corrugated blackish-brown skin, Su Shi
could make the poetic comparison with a tortoise.

156. Read, Chinese Medicinal Plants, p. 29, # 115.
The gouqi 枸杞 is the Lycium chinense or Matrimony
Vine. It is identified in Chinese Materia Medica, p. 298
as a shrub with leaves that can be eaten, small reddish-
purple flowers, and red berries. It has numerous
medicinal uses. According to Wang Wen'gao's collated
notes, among the strange sights on Loufu Mountain is the
tree that has a red dog in or beneath it; when it barks,
the tree appears to be barking.

157. Liu Ziji 劉子驥 is the lofty hermit of
Nanyang, mentioned in Tao's poem, who intended to go in
search of the Peach Blossom Source.

Luofu is the world of Zhichuan.¹⁵⁹
 In dream I follow them in their wanderings,
 Spirited communications dispel my blindness.
 The peach blossoms fill the area beneath the
 pavilion.
 Flowing waters are outside my dwelling.
 Thus I laugh at the ones who fled the Qin;
 Those who have fear are not really united with
 the Way.

The poem combines images and ideas from both Buddhism and Taoism as it describes the world in which Su Shi wishes to dwell. At the outset, he speaks of it as a world where distinctions cease to exist. The Taoist views of Zhuangzi are expressed, and are augmented by Buddhist allusions that emphasize how enlightenment is achieved when thoughts and desires have been extinguished. The state of "no mind" is a form of enlightenment, for no thoughts arise to make distinctions.

Speaking then of the world of the Peach Blossom Source, Su Shi actually begins to describe his own idyllic world. Like the recluses who found a world of

¹⁵⁸. The Pujian Monastery was located fifteen li northeast of Guangzhou city. Su Shi's poems written at that site speak of those who seek immortality. See SSSJ, pp. 2065-68. "廣州蒲澗寺" and "贈蒲澗信長老." An Qi Sheng 安期生 was a legendary Pre-Qin Taoist. See Shi ji 28.1385. "Feng chan shu 封禪書." The court Taoist Li Shaojun 李少君 told Emperor Wu that An Qi ate dates as large as gourds on the island of immortals, Penglai. An Qi was said to have been instructed by the Yellow Emperor.

¹⁵⁹. Zhichuan 維川 or Ge Hong spent the final years of his life in seclusion on Luofu Mountain.

harmony and serenity in rustic existence, he describes an idyllic world close to the earth where planting takes place and cooking is minimized. Similarities and differences among various worlds presented can be adduced. The classic "small domain" of the Laozi is characterized by simplicity and rusticity. There are no taxes to pay; without meddling by the ruler, the people live in natural and harmonious state.¹⁶⁰ However, in Su Shi's desired realm more than rectification or a simple social ordering in naturalness are desired. Allusions to the Zhuangzi show that he is speaking of a complete transformation. As the body passes from transformation to transformation, it will eventually become loosed from its bonds and share in the mystery of the universe. There are strange creatures in the natural domain: the turtle plant that breathes the vital force and the red dog that barks at night on Luofu Mountain. The world depicted by Su Shi differs from the realm in Tao Yuanming's account as well. Tao's inhabitants were recluses who sought to escape the perils of a time of turmoil and of harsh governance. They sought a safe haven in which to live a life of sufficiency and harmony.

¹⁶⁰. The idealized world is described in Laozi, Bk. 2: 57; 58; 59. See D. C. Lau, Lao Tzu: Tao Te Ching (Penguin, 1963). pp. 118-20.

Tao seeks the happiness of life lived in simplicity beyond the disordered values of the contrary world.

The realm of Su Shi's creation surpasses the qualities of the Peach Blossom Source. The world of Qiuchi has its geographical and historical reality, mentioned in the preface. There one may retreat from the world. Also, the place may be associated with the imaginative realm of the stone Su Shi has carried with him into exile. Specifically, it is inhabited by the immortals such as Anqi Sheng and Ge Hong with whom he wishes to roam.

Despite a single line ridiculing the actions of those who fled the harsh rule of the Emperor of the Qin, the poem concludes with its fundamental conception intact. The Buddhist conception that the world of saṃsāra and the world of nirvāṇa are not to be distinguished allows Su Shi to achieve transcendence while he watches the peach blossoms fall from the trees by his pavilion.¹⁶¹

Enlightenment through the simple activity of one who has the leisure to observe the world is the theme of

¹⁶¹. The degree to which Su Shi is influenced by the ideas expressed in the Vimalakīrti nirdeśa-sūtra is a topic deserving further exploration. For perceptive comments on this topic, see Beata Grant, "Buddhism and Taoism in the Poetry of Su Shi," pp. 48-50. For a translation of the sūtra, see Lu K'uan Yu (Charles Luk), The Vimalakīrti Nirdeśa-Sūtra (Berkeley: Shambala, 1972).

several poems written by Su Shi during his exiles. The simplicity of a poem written toward the end of his life during exile in Hainan reflects the degree to which he had found the ideas and ideals of Buddhism and Taoism appropriate for the expression of his achieved serenity. In the poem, Su Shi describes himself as the banished immortal who has achieved a form of enlightenment in the activities of every day.

ENTERING THE MONASTERY¹⁶²

Dragging my walking stick, I enter the temple
gate,
Holding my cane, I worship the World Honored
One.¹⁶³
I am the Immortal from the Jade Hall,
Banished to this Hainan village.
Living many lives, my karma now is ended,
Unifying the essences, I preserve them in the
midnight hour.¹⁶⁴
In the morning I rise with the old crows,
When hungry I eat rays striking through the fu-
sang tree.¹⁶⁵

162. SSSJ, 7/41/2283. " 入寺 "

163. The shi zun 世尊 is the Bahgavat or Lokajyestha, a reference to the Buddha who is honored by those on earth and those in the heavens. The term is used frequently in the Saddharma-pundarika-sūtra. See for example, Leon Hurvitz, trans. Scripture of the Lotus of the Fine Dharma, p. 16. "He, the World-Honored One, expounded the Dharma, saving incalculable living beings."

164. The line is from the Chuci "Yuanyou 遠遊 ." See Hawkes, Ch'u Tz'u: Songs of the South, p. 83. Line 35: "Unify the essences and control the spirit; preserve them inside you in the midnight hour."
一氣孔神兮, 於中夜存 ."

165. Taoist adepts were said to eat the rays of the sun. Su Shi once complained to Su Che that poverty

Rays circle the maṇi pearl,¹⁶⁶
 Reflecting on the glass tray.
 I have come to seek approval for a Buddha
 seal,¹⁶⁷
 Feeling a bit hurried as though haunted by a
 demon.
 Leisurely I gaze as the tree's shadows point to
 noon,
 Then sit until bells herald the sunset.
 In silence I collect all the thoughts,
 Taking this leisure to review them with a clear
 mind.

The questions which Buddhism posed regarding the human condition are reflected in the poem. The process of acquiring karma because of action and attachment can be ended by enlightenment. The Buddhist teaching can help to dispel the craving of the heart. In leisure and quietude, Su Shi collects his thoughts.¹⁶⁸ Calling himself the Immortal of the Jade Hall, thus referring to himself as a member of the imperial court, Su Shi

forced him to eat the sun's rays. In this passage, he emphasizes his spiritual nature.

166. The maṇi pearl 摩尼珠 is one of the seven treasures of Buddhism; ever bright and luminous, it symbolizes the Buddha and his teaching. See William Edward Soothill and Lewis Hodous, comps. A Dictionary of Chinese-Buddhist Terms, rpt. 1937 (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1977).

167. The Buddha seal 佛印 is one of the assurances; it may also refer to the stamp of the Buddha heart. See Soothill, Dictionary, pp. 226-27.

168. The spirit of meditation presented in this poem is reminiscent of Vimalakīrti-sūtra. The impact of this sūtra on the Chinese literati is discussed in Richard B. Mather, "Vimalakīrti and Gentry Buddhism," History of Religions 8 no. 1 (August, 1968), pp. 60-73. See especially, p. 68 for the spirit represented in Su Shi's works.

presented himself as a banished official, but sought to discover his true self while sitting in leisured reflection.

With the meaning gained from the Buddhist and Taoist traditions, Su Shi was able to respond with equanimity. He could not avoid physical deprivations, affronts to self-esteem, and the danger of death. But because he possessed the knowledge and willingness to draw from differing traditions, Su Shi received various forms of consolation in exile.

CHAPTER FOUR

SU SHI WITHIN THE LITERARY TRADITION OF EXILE

INTRODUCTION

When placed in the context of the extensive Chinese tradition of exile, Su Shi's experiences do not appear exceptional. Historical accounts and poetic expressions provide records of the exiles of various ages in China. Responses to exile were as varied as the exiles themselves. And yet, the unique, personal experiences were often articulated in terms bearing striking similarities to the accounts of other exiles. Over the centuries, a body of material clustering around themes, figures and images associated with exile became part of the literary and historical tradition. Su Shi's understanding of that tradition allowed him to garner from it ideas and strategies that were beneficial to him in his own situation. Knowledge of the responses of other exiles was not passively received; Su Shi articulated his assessment of the actions others had taken, thereby implicitly and explicitly presenting his own interpretation of the meaning of exile.

The following review and analysis of Su Shi's writings on China's exiled statesmen is not intended as an historical account of the long tradition. Su Shi discussed a limited number of exiled statesmen, but those he wrote about were men whose writings greatly shaped the way exile has been understood in China.

A chronological arrangement of Su Shi's writings on figures of the exile tradition begins with Qu Yuan, the first to articulate in poetry the causes and pain of the courtier's expulsion. Figures from the Han, Tang and Song periods are presented next. Coincidentally, the sequential presentation of historical figures corresponds to Su Shi's developing understanding of the major factors regarding exile. His poems on Qu Yuan and the essay on Jia Yi were composed prior to his own exiles. Works which relate to Han Yu and Liu Zongyuan show that Su Shi's encounter with the adversity of exile made him sensitive to the feelings of other exiled officials. References to exiled Tang and Song courtiers reveal Su Shi's awareness of the specific dangers met by his predecessors and contemporaries. Initially, he seems to be probing the causes of exile, but underlying his analysis is the desire to determine how the banished one overcame difficulties encountered. It can be shown that Su Shi eventually developed and deepened the conviction that one must live always as though he might soon meet

with death. He writes that because one has no control over when death will occur, it is imperative to prepare oneself and to live as fully as possible the moments of life remaining. How best to live, even when in exile, is his primary concern. Several of the means Su Shi proposed for continued engagement in life included contributing to the civilizing of peoples outside the dominant Han culture, creating literature, cultivating his talents, and always living in anticipation of change. It is possible to account for developments in Su Shi's thought during exile, but only if those developments are seen as the modification or intensification of views that he held, however inchoately, from an early period of his life.

Integrity of the Exiled One: Qu Yuan

Su Shi was intimately familiar with the traditions regarding the figure pre-eminent among the exiles of the Chinese tradition. This figure from antiquity, statesman and poet, Qu Yuan, encountered slander at the court and a subsequent exile.¹ His biography in the Shiji recounted that King Huai of Chu 楚懷王 (328--299 B. C.), rejecting his advice and believing the slander of other

1. Sima Qian's biography of Qu Yuan is the primary source for later references to Qu Yuan. See Shi ji 84a.2481-92. A translation is in Burton Watson, Records of the Grand Historian of China, vol. 1, pp. 499-508.

ministers, banished Qu Yuan to the South.² The exiled Qu Yuan recorded his dilemma; his lament was expressed in the "Li sao," the emotional outcry of a virtuous minister reacting to perceived injustices.³ Images and themes from the "Li sao" appeared in later literary works that evoked the experiences of Qu Yuan as a means of expressing the author's own distress or frustration.⁴ In particular, statesmen who faced banishment found in the person of Qu Yuan and in the language of his poem an inexhaustible source for imitation. The later poet could model his own actions on those of Qu Yuan or evoke the memory of the exile as a means of commiseration and of self consolation. Imitations, laments, and criticisms of

2. Shi ji 84a.2484-2485; Watson, Records, vol. 1, p. 504. In Sima Qian's account, it appears that Qu Yuan was rejected and banished on two occasions. See also, pp. 2481 which states that Qu Yuan was slandered by those who accused him of arrogance regarding his contribution to reform legal reforms. Sima Qian also says that Qu Yuan's opposition to Chu's policy toward Qin was the major cause of his banishment.

3. For comments on the meaning of Qu Yuan's political and moral stance, see Schneider, A Madman of Ch'u, pp. 48-49.

4. The tradition is evident in the anthology compiled in the Southern Song by Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130--1200). The Chuci houyu 楚辭後語 incorporated works associated with Qu Yuan that had not been included in the Chuci. Zhu Xi added the early work "Chengxiang 成相" by Xun Qing 荀卿, poems written throughout the period following the Han, and writings by those of his own era.

Qu Yuan were composed as early as the Han Dynasty and have continued to the modern period.⁵

Su Shi also wrote literary works commemorating Qu Yuan; he composed an old style poem and a fu, both revealing his familiarity with the themes that could be traced back to Qu Yuan. However, no poem specifically comparing himself with Qu Yuan was composed during a period of exile. Su Shi's two literary works in honor of Qu Yuan were written prior to exile, even before the intense factional disputes that led to his request to serve in the provinces.⁶ Apparently, Su Shi thought that he had thoroughly explored the themes of the Qu Yuan tradition and had personalized what he found significant in it, thus finding it unnecessary to identify himself specifically with the exiled minister. He had contrasted the lofty principles of the heroic figure Qu Yuan with the affectionate, but shallow commemorations of him by

5. For a study of two works in the tradition, see David Knechtges, "Two Han Dynasty Fu on Ch'u Yuan: Chia I's Tiao Ch'u Yuan and Yang Hsiung's Fan-sao." Parerga I (Seattle: Far Eastern and Russian Institute, 1968), p.

6. For influences of the Qu Yuan lore in post-1949 China, see Schneider, A Madman of Ch'u, Chapter 5.

6. There is general unanimity regarding dating of these works. The poem is included in the Nanxingji, composed in 1059, and the fu, according to Lang Ye's commentary in DPWJSL, vol. I, p. 7, was composed in 1066. Schneider has recorded the 1066 date for the work, but has noted, parenthetically and erroneously, that Su Shi's exiles came "before and after" the time of composition. See, A Madman of Ch'u, p. 72.

the common people. On the occasion of the return journey to the capital in 1059, following the mourning period for his mother, Su Shi joined his father and brother in composing poems recording excursions and sights during the trip. At the Qu Yuan shrine in Zhongzhou 忠州, Su Shi wrote a shi 詩 poem to commemorate the poet.⁷ He mentioned the local custom of boat races and the practice of throwing rice balls into the water in honor of Qu Yuan.⁸ Granting the people a sincere motivation, he, nonetheless, lamented that the people seemed unaware that Qu Yuan had chosen integrity over life itself. According to Su Shi, the legacy of Qu Yuan consisted in his understanding that honor and renown lack meaning while persistence in adherence to one's principles makes life significant.

Another occasion for reflection on Qu Yuan occurred when Su Shi passed by a temple in his honor while enroute from the Capital to Shu. At that time, he and his brother were returning home to observe the mourning period for Su Xun who had died in Kaifeng in 1066. The

7. SSSJ, 1/1/22-23. The place was the reputed site of Qu Yuan's birth.

8. For the text of "Qu Yuan ta 屈原塔" see SSSJ, 1/1/22-23. For the origin of festivals and customs honoring Qu Yuan, see Schneider, A Madman of Ch'u, pp. 124-57. Regarding the custom of boat races and throwing of rice into the water, see pp. 142-50.

fu, or rhapsody, that Su Shi composed alluded to and summarized various views regarding Qu Yuan and his actions.⁹ Yet, essentially, it was an attempt to understand Qu Yuan's decision to accept death. The workings of Qu Yuan's mind were explored, particularly his hesitant search for a resolution to his dilemma.

The fu can be divided into two major parts: the first discloses the dilemma facing Qu Yuan and recounts the struggle leading to his apparent suicide; the second consists of Su Shi's reflections, from the vantage of the present, on the meaning of Qu Yuan's actions. Closing with a song of praise, the lines present Su Shi's personal assessment of Qu Yuan's responses.

RHAPSODY ON THE TEMPLE TO QU YUAN¹⁰

Sailing in a small boat, I make my way to Chu,¹¹
And pass by the memorial temple of Qu Yuan.
I view the layered mountains above the river,
Which they say is your old home.¹²

9. For a note on translation of the term fu as rhapsody, see Xiao Tong, Wen xuan: Selections of Refined Literature, vol. 1. trans. by David R. Knechtges (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1982), p. 485, note 1.

10. DPWJSL, vol. 1, pp. 7-9.; also SSWJ, 1/1/2. "Rhapsody on Qu Yuan 屈原賦."

11. The journey from the capital in Kaifeng to Shu entailed passage up the Yangtze through the area of the ancient state of Chu.

12. DPWJSL, vol. 1, p. 8. Lang Ye's commentary identifies the home of Qu Yuan, from the Chungiu 春秋 period known as Kuizi guo 夔子國, and during the Han as Ziguixian 秭歸縣, stating that to the north one

When of old you were sent into exile,
 You crossed the billowing river and then
 journeyed south.¹³
 Away from your home a thousand li,
 You never returned, had no grave after death.¹⁴
 How sad it is!
 Eventually every man dies,
 But the way he meets his death is a challenge.¹⁵
 You roamed along the river bank, intending to
 leave but undecided,
 As you looked down thousands of feet to agitated
 rapids.
 You composed the "Embracing A Stone" to console
 yourself,¹⁶
 Alas, for that alone what must have been in your
 heart.
 Suddenly came the poem's impassioned conclusion.
 Because you will vanish, depart from this place,
 you sigh deeply:

"Why can't I rise aloft and make a distant
 journey,
 Or retreat into silence and dwell in seclusion?"

hundred li is the home of the Grandee Qu Yuan. For a discussion of the confusion surrounding the question of the site of Qu Yuan's home and place of burial, see Schneider, A Madman of Ch'u, pp. 174-76 and accompanying map.

13. Chuci buzhu, "Li sao." Translated in David Hawkes, Ch'u Tz'u: The Songs of the South, p. 26, L. 73. Qu Yuan crossed the Yuan 沅 and Xiang 湘 Rivers then journeyed south toward the Yangtze.

14. It was generally believed that Qu Yuan drowned himself in the Miluo River 汨羅江 and that his body was never recovered. However the idea that he was buried is mentioned in Su Shi's poem on the "Temple of Qu Yuan," SSSJ, 1/1/22-23.

15. The passage is found in the biography of Lian Xiangru 蘭相如 in Shi ji 81.2451: "To know death one must certainly be courageous; it is not death that is difficult but the way one faces death."

16. Text for the "Huai sha 懷沙" is found in Qu Yuan's biography. See Shi ji 84a.2486-2490. For a translation, see Watson, Records, vol. 1, pp. 505-507. The title refers to belief that Qu Yuan embraced a stone as he threw himself into the river.

I alone cry out in the midst of grief and
 yearning,
 Fearing the growing distance between his majesty
 and me his subject.
 In life I was unable to strive to make compelling
 remonstrations,
 In death I can still hope that his feelings will
 be aroused and actions changed.
 If my fatherland should topple,¹⁷
 How could I alone wish for a long life?"

You asked the river god to report your injustice,
 So Ping Yi instructed you to appeal to the higher
 order.¹⁸
 Traversing the nine passes you came to see the
 god,¹⁹
 But even he was saddened and could not help
 you.²⁰
 Attaching the jades and adorning with
 thoroughwort,²¹
 Still with no place to return,
 You remained alone and despondent on the river
 islet.
 Gorge mountains are high and the crags lofty,

17. According to the Shi ji biography, Qu Yuan opposed the agreements made with Qin minister Zhang Yi 張儀, condemned his release, and feared that Qin would invade Chu. His remonstrance was warranted; King Huai was taken as a prisoner in Qin and the kingdom fell.

18. Ping Yi 馮夷 is another name for the river god He Bo 河伯.

19. The "nine passes 九重" is a phrase from Song Yu's 宋玉 "Zhao hun 招魂." According to Wang Yi's Chuci commentary, the gates of heaven had nine layers.

20. This is quite likely an allusion to the sage king Shun 舜, who, tradition held, was buried near the source of the Xiang River at Jiuyi Mountain 九疑山. See Chuci buzhu, pp. 40-41 for line and commentary.

21. Flower images in the "Li sao" serve to present Qu Yuan's purity of spirit, virtuous beauty, and inner talent. The jade pendant was symbolic of official standing and power.

The old buildings decaying and the passers-by
 sad.²²
 Even your descendants have scattered, where are
 they now?
 How could we even think of again seeing the lofty
 terrace?
 Since the time of your passing, now a thousand
 years,
 The world has become even more bigoted and
 difficult to live in.
 The virtuous, fearing slander, have changed their
 way,
 Following the vulgar and changing, hewing the
 square to fit a circle.²³
 Some strive in the disordered times and are
 unable to leave,
 And still, some serve as ministers and
 assistants.
 Though reflecting the alternating red and green
 of the jade luster,
 With these they still refer to you as one without
 wisdom.²⁴
 Since you have lofty virtue that they cannot hope
 to equal,
 It is reasonable that men will not join together
 with you.
 Turning your back on the country, leaving the
 vulgar, even death you disdained,
 Why is it you could not avoid them in future
 generations?
 Alas!
 The way of the superior man,
 Why must it be perfect?
 To preserve yourself and distance self from harm,
 Sometimes is also necessary.

22. The line begins the second section of the poem, a description of the temple at the site of Su Shi's excursion.

23. Chuci buzhu 1.51. The idea of forced conformity is from the "Li sao," line 51 in Hawkes, Ch'u Tz'u: Songs of the South, p. 25. "How can the round and the square ever fit together? " 何方圓之能周兮 ?" A similar line in the "Huai sha" reads: "They would round the corners of my squareness; But I will not change my constant form. See Shi ji 84a.2487; Watson, Records, p. 505.

24. DPWJSL, vol. 1, p. 9. Lang Ye annotates the line with Yang Xiong's remarks on Qu Yuan's wisdom.

I sigh for you only,
 For this alone was difficult for you.
 Although you did not achieve the mean,²⁵
 In essentials you were a worthy man.
 Thus why should I feel sorrowful?
 You have attained contentment.

Perhaps because Su Shi has not yet personally experienced the moral affront of slander, trial, demotion and banishment, he does not dwell on the causes of Qu Yuan's exile nor express a direct identification with him. Rather, he ponders with the banished man who assesses choices, analyzing the mind of Qu Yuan as he reaches the decision to face death. Ending with the statement that Qu Yuan is not to be pitied but admired, Su Shi takes his stand against those who criticized him for his extreme behavior and chides those who would attempt to "change the color of the jade," the symbol of the lofty man. Ultimately, for Su Shi, the issue is one of integrity. Thus, the questions which provoked debate during the course of centuries are touched upon in this work. Su Shi makes his position known regarding the questions of loyalty, integrity, and suicide.

During the Han, many statesmen assumed that Qu Yuan had expressed his loyalty to his lord by remonstrating

25. During the Song there was considerable interest in the idea and ideal of the mean. See Hervouet, A Sung Bibliography, pp. 43-50 for a partial listing of commentaries on the Zhongyong 中庸. Su Shi composed a three-part "Zhongyong lun 中庸論." See DPWJSL, vol. 1, pp. 49-55.

even though his ideas were not favorably received. He was thought to have revealed his integrity by choosing to die rather than compromise. The sympathetic biography in Sima Qian's Shi ji, as well as Wang Yi's commentary on the Chuci, combined to present a figure of compelling intensity whose act of suicide was approved as an appropriate response.²⁶ However, as Su Shi noted, other voices spoke of Qu Yuan's actions as excessive.

One of the first to question Qu Yuan's decision was Jia Yi 賈誼 (ca. 200--168 B.C.), who composed his "Lament for Qu Yuan 屈原" after he himself had been slandered at court and demoted to serve as tutor for the Prince of Changsha 長沙 in the area of ancient Chu.²⁷ When Jia Yi passed by the Xiang River, he composed a rhapsody, to express his condolence and self-commiseration.²⁸ In the preface of the work, Jia Yi describes the occasion for the piece; in the first part, he bemoans Qu Yuan's fate, lamenting that he had been

26. Wang Yi 王逸 (fl A.D. 110--120) Chuci zhangju (Taipei: Yiwen, 1967), pp. 19-21.

27. The association of Jia Yi with Qu Yuan was made by Sima Qian who joined their biographies. For Jia Yi's biography, see Shi ji 84b.2491-1503; translation in Watson, Records, pp. 508-516.

28. The poem "Diao Qu Yuan 吊屈原" is given in Jia Yi's biography. For a translation and study of "Lament for Qu Yuan," see David Knechtges, "Two Studies on the Han Fu" in Parerga, pp. 7-16.

born in a time of disorder. However, in the second part of the poem, he suggests that Qu Yuan was to blame for his disaster, and proposes that instead of committing suicide he should have preserved himself while waiting for an opportunity to serve another prince.²⁹

In a thorough refutation of Qu Yuan's act, Yang Xiong 揚雄 (179--118 B.C.) expressed his regret that the great poet should have committed suicide by drowning.³⁰ Composing his "Fan Sao 反騷," a rhapsody which used phrases from the "Li sao" and contradicted them, Yang Xiong criticized Qu Yuan for wasting his talent and virtue, for failing to retire to await the proper time, and for resisting the fate that had been ordained for him.³¹

During the Tang, the Qu Yuan lore was of particular significance for the numerous exiles who were sent to the south. Liu Zongyuan's "Lament for Qu Yuan 吊屈原" was written as he journeyed to the place of banishment during

29. Knechtges. Parerga, p. 9.

30. The poem "Fan sao 反騷" is found in Yang Xiong's biography in Han shu 87. It is significant that Yang Xiong was not in exile at the time he composed the poem. He did not consign literary work to the waters of the Xiang or Milo River, but rather to the Min River in his native Shu, pp. 17-29. Ban Gu 班固 (32--92) also composed a poem to point out the excesses of Qu Yuan's actions.

31. Translation and detailed analysis in David Knechtges, Parerga, pp. 18-28.

his second exile.³² Adopting the same title which Jia Yi used for his eulogistic poem honoring Qu Yuan, Liu Zongyuan, who also considered himself a victim of slander, sought consolation and commiseration. He wrote:

Since your time, already many generations have passed. Again as an exile, I pass the River Xiang. I seek you at the Milo; grasping hang and ro grasses as an offered fragrance. Desiring with this hurried expression of concern, to present my poem and obtain enlightenment.³³

There is no indication that Liu Zongyuan contemplated suicide as he stood above the Milo River. It is notable, however, that the poem written on the occasion of his first banishment reflects a sense of certainty that his exile will be temporary. He thus contrasts his situation with that of Qu Yuan, saying that he does not grieve because he has expectations of re-entering the capital gates. He does not read the troubled waters of the Milo as a sign that peaceful times are impossible. But the lament written several months later, on the occasion of his banishment to Yongzhou 永州, is replete with themes from the Qu Yuan lore.³⁴ It is not only a realization

32. The events are recounted in Liu Zongyuan's biography in Xin Tang shu 168.5132-42.

33. Liu Zongyuan, Liu Hedong ji 柳河東集, vol. 1, pp. 333-35. The translation is by Schneider, A Madman of Chu, p. 63.

34. Schneider, A Madman of Ch'u, p. 63. Contrast of the two poems provides an important insight into Liu Zongyuan's changing attitudes. However the time frame is

that his situation bears a resemblance to that of Qu Yuan, but also is an attempt to console himself that he, too, is altruistic and loyal. As well, Liu's insistence that unlike those who thought Qu Yuan to be mad, he understands him, reflects the hope that Liu himself will not be criticized or forgotten by others.³⁵

Su Shi's poem "Qu Yuan Temple" and the "Rhapsody on Qu Yuan Temple" contain several themes similar to those in Liu Zongyuan's lament. Like Liu, he presents Qu Yuan as a man not only maligned by his contemporaries but also misunderstood by later generations. Accepting the truth of Qu Yuan's cry "There is none in the kingdom who knows me," Su Shi contrasts the depth of his understanding of Qu Yuan's dilemma with what he perceives to be simplistic or biased assessments of the poet's legacy.³⁶

One of the major critics of Qu Yuan's actions was Han Yu, who rejected suicide as an alternative for a man committed to following the Way. Nonetheless, Han Yu identified with Qu Yuan by visiting the Xiang River as he

not a difference of years, namely the exile to Yongzhou in 805 and to Liuzhou in 815, as he suggests, but rather one of months. Liu was banished to Shaozhou in the ninth month and to Yongzhou in the eleventh month of 805. See notes in Liu Hedong ji, p. 333. Gentzler, "A Literary Biography of Liu Tsung-yuan," p. 125 dates the "Lament for Qu Yuan" as a composition of the Yongzhou exile.

35. See Gentzler, "A Literary Biography of Liu Tsung-yuan," p. 126 for elaboration of this idea.

36. Chuci buzhu, p. 83. The translation is in Hawkes, Ch'u Tz'u: Songs of the South, p. 34, L. 86.

journeyed from Chaozhou 潮州 to Jiangling 江陵. Han Yu's time of exile in Chaozhou had been brief. After only a few months, and subsequent to appeals to the emperor, he had received the assignment to Jiangling and begun his movement back to the North.³⁷ He recalled Qu Yuan's drowning, but did not express a wish to imitate the action.³⁸ However, in a poem written at the Yueyang Tower 岳陽樓 which overlooks Lake Dongting 洞庭湖, Han Yu recounted the causes and conditions of his exile, insisting on his innocence and recalling his grief and despondency. He admitted that as he crossed the lake going southward into exile, the perils of the journey and his own state of mind made him muse on drowning.³⁹ Neither Han Yu nor his friend Meng Jiao 孟郊 (751--814) approved theoretically of the suicide. Meng referred to Han Yu's exile in the South, chiding him for offering libations to Qu Yuan's odorous reputation. In a jesting response Han Yu stated that he preferred to live out his

37. See Han Yu's biography in Jiu Tang shu 160.4195-4204; Xin Tang shu 176.5155-5165.. An account of the incident is presented in Stephen Owen, The Poetry of Meng Chiao and Han Yü (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1975), p. 101.

38. Han Yu, Han Changli shi xinian jishi, 1/3/308-314. "Accompanying Censor Du, I Visit Two Temples on the West Bank of the Xiang River... 陪杜侍卿游湘西兩寺獨宿有題一首因獻楊常侍."

39. Han Yu, Han Changli shi xinian jishi, 1/3/316-27. "At Yueyang Tower: Parting with Dou Xiang 岳陽樓別竇司直."

allotted life span, implying his belief that man's life is determined by fate, and thus also an open disapproval of Qu Yuan's action.⁴⁰

The dominant attitude expressed by major poets of the Tang who experienced exile was that even in the face of slander, expulsion from the court, and banishment to a distant place, suicide was not an appropriate response. It is likely that literati of the Song shared the view. Nonetheless, it should be noted that the Chinese tradition presents numerous examples of men who valued integrity above all. Death was preferred to disgrace or collaboration with the wicked.

Even though Su Shi's poems do not state explicit approval of Qu Yuan's suicide, his praise for Qu Yuan's contempt for death itself and the statement that there is no need to mourn Qu Yuan because he has found solace in the grave, suggest that Su Shi is not scandalized by the action. Also, it is not surprising that the rhapsody should emphasize the fact and meaning of death. The work was composed during the journey transporting coffins of both his father and his wife back to Shu for burial. The word death (si 死) is used four times in the work, and the line, "Eventually every man dies, but how he meets

40. An account of this matter, recorded as part of a linked verse exchange, is given in Owen, Meng Chiao and Han Yü, p. 120.

his death is the challenge," serves as a thematic statement for the poem.

The remaining question, however, is whether or not Su Shi himself, when facing adverse conditions, considered suicide as an alternative. Because accounts that show Su Shi's ability to accommodate himself to the places of his banishment dominate the writings during times of exile, his attempted suicide is generally not discussed. Nonetheless, Su Shi himself recorded that he wanted to throw himself into the river and drown.

After his arrest in Huzhou in 1079, Su Shi was taken to the imperial prison. On the journey he attempted to take his life. As he later wrote, "When crossing the Yangzi River 揚子江, I desired to throw myself into the water but the guards prevented me and I was not successful"⁴¹ While imprisoned during the trial, he again considered death as an alternative to imprisonment. "After I was imprisoned, I tried to starve myself to death."⁴²

The motivation for Su Shi's actions is not articulated in the historical accounts, but it is conceivable that he did not wish to bring harm to his brother and other family members. Also, the attempts

41. SSWJ, 3/32/911: SDPOJ, vol. 2, pp, 508-511.
"杭州召還乞郡狀".

42. SDPOJ, vol. 2, pp, 508-511.

were made as an initial response to his arrest, and at a time when he thought that petty officials were determined to bring about his death. At the time of his initial exile, no poetry was written in memory of Qu Yuan.

Unlike Liu Zongyuan of the Tang and his own disciple Chao Buzhi 晁補之 (1053--1110) who sought identification with Qu Yuan, Su Shi did not make explicit comparisons between his condition and that of Qu Yuan.⁴³ However, it is likely that Su Shi's actions and attitudes continued to be shaped by his fundamental stance of maintaining his integrity, the very spirit which he praised in the poem for Qu Yuan.

Immaturity of the Exiled One: Jia Yi

Su Shi may very well have agreed with the manner in which Jia Yi 賈誼 (200--168 B.C.) questioned Qu Yuan's attachment to the King of Chu, and would have agreed that Qu Yuan should have sought another ruler or gone into retirement to await a propitious time. However, Jia Yi's own actions evoked strong criticism from Su Shi. While serving as minister to Emperor Wen of the Han 漢文帝, Jia Yi encountered difficulties at the court. He was slandered, lost the confidence of the ruler, and was sent

43. For an introduction to the extensive use Chao Buzhi made of the themes and materials of the Chuci, see Peter Bol, "Culture and the Way in Eleventh Century China," pp. 468ff.

from the capital to serve as grand tutor to the Prince of Changsha 長沙.⁴⁴ Although the figure of Jia Yi was sympathetically treated in the Shi ji biography and generally in subsequent literature, Su Shi's critique is negative and suggests that the young prodigy's actions contributed to his adversity.⁴⁵ In his "Discourse on Jia Yi 賈誼論," Su Shi acknowledges the superior talent of Jia Yi while lamenting that his talent remained unused. Su Shi attributes this misfortune to Jia Yi's lack of ability accurately to assess his situation, his inability to yield, and his failure to deal with adversity. The discourse should be read in the context of a tradition which generally attributed the adverse encounters of talented statesmen to the tyranny, ignorance, or capriciousness of the ruler. Themes of the neglected scholar, the unemployed sage, and the slandered statesman had resonated for centuries in the writings of the literate Chinese.⁴⁶ By contrasting Jia Yi's behavior with that of sages who tried to serve inferior rulers, Su Shi contends that Emperor Wen 文帝 possessed

44. In addition to the biography of Jia Yi in the Shi ji 84b.2491-2504, see Han shu 48.

45. SSWJ, 1/4/105-106; SDPOJ, vol 2, pp. 776-77; DPWJSL, vol. 1, pp. 98-100.

46. See for example the allusions to earlier works in James Robert Hightower, "The Fu of T'ao Ch'ien" in Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies 17 (1954), p. 209.

qualities of the acceptable, though not outstanding ruler, while Jia Yi lacked the qualities of a statesman. Failure resulted, according to Su Shi, not because a ruler acted arbitrarily and did not make use of Jia Yi, but because Jia Yi did not serve the ruler adequately. According to Su Shi, Jia Yi, who had been praised as the court's youngest, most talented minister, was expelled because he lacked patience and magnanimity. The discourse makes use of historical precedents and draws comparisons appropriately. Modification of the harsh criticism of Jia Yi is evident in concluding remarks which reveal both Su Shi's admiration for Jia Yi and a recognition that rulers often ignore or repress talent.

DISCOURSE ON JIA YI ⁴⁷

It is not that talent is difficult to obtain but that to use one's talent is truly a challenge. What a pity that Jia Yi was an advisor to the king, yet was not able to make use of his own talents. If what the superior man seeks lies in the future, there is always something for which he must wait. If what he achieves is great, there must have been that which he had to endure. The worthies of ancient times all possessed talent which could have resulted in achievements, and yet the cases in which, to the end, they were unable to put into practice even a fraction of it were certainly not always due to the faults of their princes; in some cases men brought it about themselves. I have considered Jia Yi's comments. If we take into account what he says, then even the worthies of the Three Dynasties⁴⁸ could not

47. SSWJ, 1/4/105-106; DPWJSL, vol. 1, pp. 98-100.

surpass him. However, he chanced to have a sovereign such as Emperor Wen of the Han and yet died without being used. Is this to say that since there was no Yao or Shun in the world, therefore nothing was to be done? Confucius was a sage, who on successive occasions attempted to serve the states in the world. If the ruler of a state did not deviate from the way too far, Confucius would force himself to try to assist, hoping that one day he could put his way into practice. When he was about to go to Jing (Chu), he first sent Ranyou and then sent Zixia as a vanguard. When the superior man desires to gain a lord to serve, he is as persistent as this.⁴⁹ After Mencius had left Qi, he stayed for three nights and only then left the place Zhou. Still, he said, "The king almost summoned me." When the superior man cannot bear to abandon his lord, he shows such largesse of spirit. Gongsun Chou asked, "Master, why are you not at ease?" Mencius replied, "Presently in the world, who is there, other than myself. How can I be at ease?"⁵⁰ When the superior man values himself, it is to this extent. Now if a person is like this and is still not employed, then he knows that the world is actually not good enough for him to work within it. Thus whatever he does, he shall do it without regret. In the case of Master Jia, however, it was not that Emperor Wen of the Han did not call him to service, but that Master Jia did not win the Emperor.

By selecting examples of sagacious persons who attempted to work with rulers who were not enlightened, and by showing that Confucius and Mencius were loyal to

48. The three dynasties are the Xia 夏, Shang 商 and Zhou 周 of earliest antiquity. The legendary sage kings and the philosophers such as Confucius all lived at this time.

49. For this incident regarding Confucius, see Li ji 禮記 70. "Tan gong 檀弓" in Shisan jing zhushu, 十三經注疏, p. 1290.

50. Mencius, 孟子 2B.12. See a translation in James Legge, The Chinese Classics, vol. 3. pp. 229-231.

the degree of serving even mediocre rulers, Su Shi implies, then states, that Jia Yi did not have the diligence or patience to be of service to then Emperor Wen.

The Marquis of Jiang personally held the seal of the Son of Heaven and handed it to Emperor Wen; Guan Ying arrayed several thousand troops and thereby determined the victor and the vanquished between the Liu and Lu clans. Furthermore, both were former generals of Han Gaozu.⁵¹ Here it was a situation in which the ruler and his ministers had a bond of understanding; how can this be construed simply as the relationship between father and son, flesh and bones, hands and feet? Master Jia was a youth from Luoyang. If he had desired to eliminate the old totally and to design the new in a single day, it certainly would have been difficult. In his case, he had the trust of the ruler and the support of the ministers. If he could have had support from the likes of Jiang and Guan, had easy and friendly associations with them, not aroused the emperor's suspicion and had no jealousy from the ranking ministers, then later he could have done whatever he wanted to do with the empire. In less than ten years he could have realized his ambition. How in only a moment's time could people suddenly have been wailing and weeping for him?

The basis for Su Shi's critique in this passage is the ideal relationship between ruler and minister. He emphasizes the bond of trust and intimacy which ought to characterize the association. Because Jia Yi was unable to relate to the ranking ministers, he incurred their wrath and was the victim of their slander. Also, he expected both the ruler and the ministers quickly to

51. Han shu, "Gaozu benji 高祖本紀."

bring about changes which he proposed. He was thus accused of coveting power and of bringing about confusion in the realm.⁵²

When I read of how he crossed the Xiang River and composed a rhapsody in order to lament Qu Yuan, I noted that he was melancholy and frustrated. At that moment he wanted to carry out his ambitions. But after that because of self inflicted sorrow and weeping he died an untimely death. This is precisely a case of not being able to accommodate himself in a difficult situation. Although his plan was not accepted on one occasion, how could he have known that he would not be asked to serve again? He did not know how to await change with restraint, but ruined himself totally. Alas! Jia Yi's ambitions were great, but he was not magnanimous. He had an abundance of talent, but he lacked vision.

In this passage, Su Shi emphasizes two major points, namely Jia Yi's behavior in the face of adversity, and his lack of moral strength. The adverse situations mentioned include Jia Yi's exile to Changsha, the occasion for his lament for Qu Yuan. The Shi ji biography provides the background:

When Jia Yi had taken leave of the court and set out on his way he heard that the region of Changsha was low-lying and damp, and he feared that in such a climate he would not live for long. Also he was aware that he was being sent away as a reprimand, and he was deeply disturbed. When he crossed the Xiang River, he composed a rhapsody entitled "A Lament for Qu Yuan."⁵³

52. Shi ji 84b.2492; Watson, Records, p. 509.

53. For a discussion of Jia Yi's discourses on government and opposition by senior officials, see Hsiao

Not only was Jia Yi disconsolate at the time of his exile, he also responded with excessive grief to the death of King Huai of Liang 梁懷王.⁵⁴ Despondent and accepting blame as the young king's tutor, Jia Yi was unable to transcend sorrow; he died within a year or so at the age of thirty-three. While Jia Yi's inability to respond calmly in adversity is lamented by Su Shi, his other talents are recognized. Furthermore, Su Shi concedes that not only Jia Yi suffered because he possessed superior talent:

The men of ancient times who had talent superior to their contemporaries always had the frustration of being rejected by the vulgar. For this reason, unless there was a ruler who was intelligent, enlightened and not befuddled, he could not make full use of his service. People always speak about the fact that Fu Jian obtained Wang Meng from among the commoners. In one day, he completely eliminated the old ministers and made plans with Wang Meng. But the reason he gained only half of the empire was because he was an incapable ruler.⁵⁵

Kung-chuan, A History of Chinese Political Thought, vol. 1, trans. by F. W. Mote (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), pp. 473-84.

54. Shi ji 84b.2503; Watson, Records, p. 515. The king fell from a horse when riding; as his tutor, Jia Yi took responsibility for his death.

55. If Fu had not rejected others and used them along with Wang, he would have gained the entire world. The event is found in Jin shu, 113. See Michael C. Rogers, The Chronicle of Fu Chien: Exemplar History (University of California Press, 1968), pp. 116 ff.

I am deeply saddened when I consider the aspirations of Jia Yi, and thus have discussed them in detail. Also, I hope to bring rulers who obtain someone like Jia Yi to understand that men have their principles of moral fortitude and integrity. If one day, a man is not used, he will become frustrated and despondent and cannot again be aroused. As for those who are like Jia Yi, they ought also to be prudent in what they do.

While Su Shi's "Discourse on Jia Yi" is an articulation of the reasons for one incidence of exile, it is at the same time an analysis of one of the major underlying causes of exile. Su Shi explains that the relationship between ruler and minister is a unique one which requires cooperation from both. Accordingly, the discourse closes with an admonition to both the minister who has been impatient or intolerant and to the ruler who has failed to give due attention to the exceptionally talented. Unlike the works which decry the plight of the man who is "born out of his time 不遇時," Su Shi's discourse does not place the blame solely on the ruler. Neither does he attribute the problem to some ambiguous fate.⁵⁶

According to Su Che's comments on his older brother's literary preferences, Su Shi was particularly

56. For a discussion of the theme, see Helmut Wilhelm "The Scholar's Frustration: Notes on a Type of Fu," Chinese Thought and Institutions, ed. John K. Fairbank (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), pp. 310-319. For an analysis of Jia Yi's work, see pp. 317-18.

fond of Jia Yi.⁵⁷ It is conceivable that Su Shi, writing his discourse in 1061 for the special palace examination, was aware of his own situation. Having already received acclaim in the capital for his performance in 1057 on the jinshi examination, Su Shi was only twenty-six years old. He had not yet experienced adverse situations in his career of service. Ironically, during the Yuanyou period following his first exile, Su Shi encountered problems caused when officials vied for power and influence at the court. During his own exiles, Su Shi did not again comment on the case of Jia Yi, nor did he allude frequently to the works expressing the particular frustration of the scholar who had not met with the times.

Exiled Official As the Bearer of Culture: Han Yu

The conception of the exiled official as a bearer of culture to those outside the dominant Han cultural sphere had often served as a consolation or compensation for officials who bore the insult of banishment beyond the center. Su Shi had occasion to reflect on the significance of Han Yu's role as one who contributed to the extending of cultural influence when he was asked to compose a memorial for the newly renovated temple for Han

57. Su Che, Luancheng ji, vol. 3, p. 1421.

Yu in Chaozhou.⁵⁸ During Shenzong's reign, in the year 1084, the posthumous designation of Marquis of Changli 昌黎公 had been bestowed upon Han Yu. A temple in his honor in Chaozhou was dedicated in 1090. That same year the temple to Liu Zongyuan in Liuzhou was officially established and given a new designation.⁵⁹ Recognition accorded the two men in the places they had been exiled was surely not overlooked by Su Shi.

In writing the memorial for the temple renovated and dedicated to the honor of the elevated figure Han Yu, Su Shi achieved several purposes. He praised Han Yu for his great literary accomplishments and for his outstanding contribution to the determination of moral issues for his time. An appropriate review of Han Yu's exile is found in the prose account as well as in the lyric poem that was composed for use in the temple. Han Yu had not spoken in positive terms of his own exile as an opportunity advancing civilizing influences and for enlarging and expanding personal experience. However, he had stated that without the experience of exile, Liu

58. The memorial was composed in 1092. See Niu Baotong 牛寶彤, *San Su wenxuan* 三蘇文選 (Sichuan: Renmin chubanshe, 1983), pp. 176.

59. For details regarding the temples, see Diana Mei, "Han Yü As A Ku-wen Stylist," p. 114. In 1090, the temple was formally established; in 1011, Liu Zongyuan had been given the posthumous title of the Marquis Wenhui 文惠公.

Zongyuan would not have achieved his high degree of literary competence. No explicit statement is made by Su Shi with respect to Han Yu's specific literary accomplishments in exile. Nonetheless, scholars have attributed significant changes and achievements to Han Yu's experiences in exile.⁶⁰

The inscription Su Shi wrote for the Chaozhou temple is similar in purpose, form and tone to the inscription for the stele at the temple in Liuzhou which Han Yu composed in memory of Liu Zongyuan.⁶¹ Su Shi's inscription contains a prose account of Han Yu's achievement and comments on his contributions to the people of Chaozhou. It concludes with a hymn written in poetic meter. While it does not possess the same emphasis on supernatural incidents present in Han Yu's

60. It is likely that several of Han Yu's most important prose works, such as "Yuan dao" and "Yuan xing" were outlined during his exile to Yangshan. For this view, see Charles Hartman, Han Yü and the T'ang Search for Unity, p. 65. Also, Diana Yu-shih Chen, "Han Yü As A Ku-wen Stylist," p. 68. See also, Edwin Pulleyblank "Neo-Confucianism in T'ang Intellectual Life," The Confucian Persuasion, ed., Arthur Wright (Stanford: University of California Press, 1960), pp. 77-114 and note 48. A significant change in his landscape poetry occurred during the exile period. See Stephen Owen, The Poetry of Meng Chiao and Han Yü, pp. 90 ff.

61. Han Yu, Han Changli wen ji jiao zhu, 7/284-286. For a translation of "The Inscription on the Stele at the Luochi Temple in Liuzhou 柳州羅池廟碑" see Diana Yu-shih Chen Mei, "Han Yü As A Ku-wen Stylist," pp. 164-168. The literary and philosophical features are discussed on pp. 101ff.

account for Liu Zongyuan, it is a recognition of the spiritual dimension of Han Yu's presence in the world.

INSCRIPTION FOR THE TEMPLE TO HAN WENGONG IN CHAOZHOU⁶²

For an ordinary man to become the teacher of a myriad generations, and for one expression to become the standard of all under heaven, in both cases this means that [man] forms a triad with heaven and earth in the process of transformation, and has a relationship with the cycle of growth and decay. There is certainly a reason for the birth of such a man and a purpose in his death. Thus there are the stories of Shen and Lu descending from the mountain and Fu Yue becoming a star after death.⁶³ What we learn from tradition is not to be considered absurd. Mencius said, "I am skillful in nourishing my vital moral nature."⁶⁴ This vital moral nature is consigned within the common and fills up all between Heaven and earth.

When suddenly meeting with it, kings and dukes no longer seem noble; states of Jin and Chu no longer seem wealthy;⁶⁵ Zhang Liang and Chen Ping no longer seem wise;⁶⁶ Meng Ben and Xia Yu no longer seem daring, and Zhang Yi and Su Qin are defeated in debate.⁶⁷ What is the reason for

62. SSWJ, 2/17/508-510; DPWJSL, vol. 2, pp. 164--165. "潮州韓文公廟碑." Han was named Literary Duke.

63. For the tradition on Shen Bo 申伯 and Lu Hou 呂侯, see Shi jing, "Da ya; 大雅 Song gao 嵩高." Poem #259. See Zhuangzi, ch. 7 for the story of Zhuan Yue becoming a star.

64. Mencius 孟子 2A. 9-15. Mencius speaks of his "haoran zhi qi 浩然之氣."

65. Jin 晉 and Chu 楚 were the most wealthy and powerful states during the Warring States Period.

66. Zhang Liang 張良 and Chen Ping 陳平 were Liu Bang's advisors, helping him establish the Han Dynasty.

67. In drawing the comparisons, superlative examples for each aspect are chosen. Meng 孟 and Xia 夏

this? There must be something that established itself without depending upon form, moves without relying on force, exists without waiting for birth, and ceases without being subsequent to death. Therefore in the heavens it becomes the stars and planets, and on earth it forms the rivers and mountains; in darkness it is ghosts and spirits and in light again takes human form. This is the constancy of truth, not to be marveled at.

After the Eastern Han, the Way had been lost and literature had become effete.⁶⁸ Heterodox views arose in succession; in the Tang during the flourishing Zhenyuan and Kaiyuan periods, able ministers Fang Xuanling, Du Ruhui, Yao Cong and Song Jing made efforts to assist it but were unable to redress it.⁶⁹ Only with Han Yu rising from the ranks of the commoners, chatting and smiling, leading the way, did everyone follow compliantly and return again to the correct path; this has been the situation for about three hundred years. His writings resurrected eight generations from decline, and his Way rescued the world from the submerging flood.⁷⁰ He was loyal enough to remonstrate with the ruler, brave enough to seize the leadership of three armies.⁷¹ Is that not a case of participating in the work of Heaven and earth, being concerned with the

were both legendary warriors; Zhang 張 and Su 蘇 the most eloquent persuaders of the Warring States Period.

68. Reference is to the literature of the Six Dynasties, generally criticized for being decorative and lacking in substance.

69. The most brilliant periods of the Tang: Zhenyuan 貞元 (627--249) was Taizong's 太宗 reign; Kaiyuan 開元 (713--741) was Xuanzong's 玄宗 reign period.

70. In his "Yuan dao," Han Yu reviews the decline of the Way, giving a sequence of deterioration through the various dynasties.

71. Xin Tang shu 176. Han Yu remonstrated against the emperor's reception of the Buddha relic. Reference to his leadership in military affairs is to service in Zhenzhou.

cycle of rise and fall, and passionately existing without dependence on others?

The introductory remarks serve to give Han Yu's literary and political achievements a cosmological significance. Within this context, it is possible for Su Shi to state that because Han Yu's spirit continues to influence the world, those who wish to contact him will be able to do so. However, Han Yu's attainments were not completed without difficulty, as Su Shi explains:

I once discussed the distinction between heaven and man. I believe that men may do whatever they wish, but heaven will not tolerate falsity. Wise men can deceive kings and dukes but cannot deceive the simple ones.⁷² Force can gain one the empire but cannot gain the heart of the commoner. Therefore, Han Yu's utmost sincerity was capable of parting the clouds over Mount Heng, yet he was unable to overcome the befuddled condition of Emperor Xianzong.⁷³ He was capable of quelling the violence of the crocodile, but unable to stop the slander of Huangfu Bo and Li Fengji.⁷⁴ He was able to gain the trust of the people of the Southern Seas and received temple offerings for a hundred generations, yet he was not able to make himself secure for a single day

72. Literally, the term means, the small fish, but its general reference is to simple or created things.

73. Reference is to Xianzong's refusal to accept the remonstrance of Han Yu regarding the ritual to the Buddha. For an explanation of the issue, see Stanley Weinstein, Buddhism Under the T'ang, pp. 102-105.

74. Han Changli wen ji jiaozhu, 7/329-331. "Ji Eyu wen 祭鳄鱼文." Han exorcized crocodiles that had been menacing the area of Chaozhou. See Xin Tang shu 176 regarding slander of Han Yu in court. He was not called back to Changan immediately, but sent to Yuanzhou, despite the emperor's desire to have him serve again.

at court. Clearly, what Han Yu was capable of doing was the work of Heaven; what he was incapable of doing was due to men.

Su Shi emphasizes Han Yu's positive achievements during his time of exile in Chaozhou by setting up a series of contrasts. First, he states that because of his sincerity, Han Yu was given an omen assuring him that he would return from exile. On the journey from Yangshan 陽山, where he had been exiled in 804, enroute to his new post, Han Yu had prayed that the clouds on Mount Heng would disperse. His wish was granted: "In an instant it was swept clear, A host of peaks came out; Looking up I saw them thrusting forward to prop up the blue sky."⁷⁵ Yet, as Su Shi notes, the clouds in the mind of Emperor Xianzong 憲宗 did not give way to clarity when Han Yu remonstrated. Obviously, he refers to the incident of Han Yu sending a memorial to criticize Xianzong's acceptance of the Buddha relic as an object of reverence. Han Yu's actions led to his expulsion from the court and banishment to Chaozhou in 819.⁷⁶ The second contrast drawn by Su Shi is that between the power Han Yu

75. Han Changli xinian jishi, 1/32/77-83. "A Poem for the Entrance Tower at the Temple on Mount Heng 謁衡嶽廟遂宿嶽寺題門樓".

76. Xin Tang shu 176.5260-61. Han Yu remonstrated against the reception of the Buddha relic in the first month of 819.

possessed in quelling the crocodile and his impotence when facing the slanderers in the court.⁷⁷ Exorcising the land of crocodiles was a power Han Yu possessed as a representative of the civilizing court. But the evils remained at the court itself, and Han Yu is portrayed as confronting them upon his return. Continuing, Su Shi contrasts the honor and homage received from the common people, who continue to remember him and make temple offerings, with the conflicts encountered in relationships with other ministers at the court. Philosophically, the passage is a statement regarding man's dependence upon the workings of fate and his inability to overcome obstacles created by others.

The civilizing influences of Han Yu, like those of Liu Zongyuan, were said to have been significant. Explaining the importance of Han Yu for the people, Su Shi relates the past to the present in Chaozhou. He also provides information about the nature of the request to compose the inscription for the temple.

Someone said, "When Han Yu was sent ten thousand li from his home, exiled to Chaozhou, he was unable to return for more than a year. If after his death he has consciousness, we can be sure that he does not feel attachment to Chaozhou." I said, "That is not so. The way the spirit of Han Yu exists in the world is like water within the earth. There is no place you could go that it

77. Han Changli wenji jiaozhu, 8/329-331.
 "Exorcizing Crocodiles 祭鱷魚文."

does not exist. However, because the people of Chaozhou in particular believe this profoundly and think of him the most, when they make sacrifices with rising vapors, it is just as though they see him. It is similar to drilling a well to reach a spring. Is it proper to say that the water is only at that place?"

Su Shi emphasizes Han Yu's positive achievements during his time of exile in Chaozhou by refuting an anonymous critic of Han Yu. Reference is also made to the fact that Han Yu was angry, resentful and despondent because of his exile to Chaozhou. Although Su Shi concedes that Han Yu did not want to be in Chaozhou, he does not ascribe negative remarks to him. Han Yu had written a poem to his nephew Xiang saying that he was certain the young man had come to collect his bones from the malaria infested land. In still another poem he had stated, through the mouth of a minor official, that Chaozhou was a place of storms and pestilence, fit only for criminals and exiles.⁷⁸

Even though Han Yu had described the people encountered in his exile in Yangshan as men who spoke a bird language and looked like barbarians, Su Shi does not refer to these remarks. As Su Shi says, some people would say that if Han Yu now possessed consciousness he would not want to be in the place of his banishment. However, Su Shi handles the issue philosophically, saying

78. Han Changli xinian jishi, 2/2/127.

that after death, Han Yu's spirit is everywhere; like water, it flows freely and is present to those who are aware of him, namely the people who care about him in Chaozhou.

Thus in the hymn for Han Yu, Su Shi could portray the former exiled magistrate as a spiritual being currently residing in the heavens but moving from place to place, roaming with other spirits, and finally appearing to the people as they offer him a sacrifice of fruit and wine. It is precisely the image Han Yu had painted of Liu Zongyuan receiving the gifts of the people of Liuzhou and thus appearing as a spirit in their midst.⁷⁹

In the seventh year of Yuanfeng [1084] the court decreed that he would be enfeoffed as the Duke of Changli with a tablet reading: "The Temple of the Duke of Changli, The Literary Duke Han."⁸⁰ The people of Chaozhou requested that this event be recorded in stone. Therefore I have composed a poem to commemorate it and will have them sing it to express remembrance of Han Yu. The hymn is as follows:

In the past the venerable one rode a dragon in
the realm of the white clouds,
With his hands parting the "Cloud River" he
distinguished Heaven's divisions,
The Heavenly weaving maid made the cloth, a cloud
brocade garment.

79. Han Changli wenji jiaozhu, 7/284-85.
"Inscription for the Luochi Temple in Liuzhou
柳州羅池廟碑."

80. Han Yu's ancestors were from Changli 昌黎 in Hebei, thus the title.

Drifting, he rides the wind and comes to the
 emperor's side,
 Descending to the turbid world he sweeps away the
 chaff,
 To the west he travels to the Xian Pond and
 enters Fusang,
 The grasses and trees are covered with reflecting
 radiance.
 He pursues Li Bo and Du Fu, with them soars
 aloft,
 Perspiring as they follow, Zhang Ji and Huangfu
 Shi run but are stalled,⁸¹
 Like a vanishing reflection, his shade cannot be
 seen by them.
 Writing memorials, censuring the Buddhists, and
 criticizing the ruler,
 He wanted to see the Southern Sea, view Mt. Heng
 and the River Xiang,
 To look at Emperor Shun's Nine Peak Mountain,
 and lament before goddesses Ying and
 Huang.⁸²
 The fire god Zhurong serves as his advance guard,
 the sea god Hairuo hides away,
 He restrains the water dragon and crocodile as
 though herding sheep.
 In the highest heaven no one there, the God is
 sad,
 Chanting and singing, he sends Shaman Yang to
 summon him back.
 We offer a sacrifice, divine with the chicken
 bone and offer sweet wine,
 The lichee is red and bananas yellow, all very
 brilliant,

81. The most famous literary figures of the Tang, Li Bai and Du Fu are mentioned to enhance the praise for Han Yu. His contemporaries, Zhang Ji 張籍 and Huangfu Shi 皇甫湜 are shown to be inferior talents. See their respective biographies in Xin Tang shu 176.5266-67 and 176.5267-68.

82. While on tour of the southern regions, the emperor Shun died and was buried on Nine Peak Mountain. His concubines Ying and Huang wept and died at the River Xiang.

Since he will not remain with us, our tears fall,
Suddenly with flowing hair, he descends to the
vast remote lands.⁸³

Although Su Shi does not make an explicit correlation between Han Yu's exile and his contribution to teachings on the moral way, he does refer to Han Yu's opposition whatever he judged as deviating from a defined orthodoxy. It is quite likely that Han Yu outlined his important political and ethical discourses, "Yuan dao 原道" and "Yuan xing 原性," after 804 while he was in Yangshan. During exile in Chaozhou, beginning in 819, he continued to talk and debate with Buddhists, clarifying his own ideas about the Way.⁸⁴ Encounters with eloquent Buddhists and Taoists led Han Yu to seek a means of articulating his fundamental position regarding the nature of man and the means of cultivating virtue.⁸⁵ Exile, though a negative experience, could be considered a stimulus for clarification of a position.

83. The term refers to areas beyond the human realm; it indicates that after the sacrifice, the spirit of Han Yu departs the human realm.

84. Edwin Pulleyblank, "Neo-Confucianism in T'ang Intellectual Life," pp. 77-115. Charles Hartman, Han Yü and the T'ang Search for Unity, pp. 145ff discusses the "Essentials of the Moral Way" as the major statement of Han Yu's social and political thought. Hartman thinks the text was written in the summer of 805.

85. See Diana Yu-shih Chen, "Han Yü As A Ku-wen Stylist," p. 67ff on the effects of his contacts with Buddhists and Taoists. The primary issue associated with Han Yu's exile in Chaozhou is the degree to which he was influenced by Buddhism.

Su Shi prefers to point to the positive features of the exile and thus speaks of it as expanding Han Yu's experiences. Comparing Han Yu's exile with an excursion, he suggests that Han Yu chose to go into exile so that he could tour the South and visit historical sites.⁸⁶ The memorial piece does not lament the fact of Han Yu's exile, but rather points to the positive aspects of it, noting that Han Yu was able to civilize the barbarians, and to gain their respect, admiration and affection. In fact, Su Shi was criticized for making light of Han Yu's exile and for suggesting that he advanced the memorial on the Buddha relic so that he could take an excursion.⁸⁷ However, it was precisely this idea which Su Shi used, albeit with irony, to describe his own exiles to the south:

Had I died nine deaths in the southern
wilderness, I would have no regrets.
This trip was spectacular, the very best of my
life.⁸⁸

86. Wang Shuizhao, Su Shi xuan ji, p. 143.

87. For various sources that criticize Su Shi for his remarks, see Wang Shuizhao, Su Shi xuan ji, pp. 413-414.

88. SSSJ, 7/43/2366-67. "Crossing the Sea on the Night of the Twentieth in the Sixth Month
六月二十日夜渡海 ."

According to Su Shi, Han Yu encountered difficulties after returning to the court. However, historical accounts do not substantiate Su Shi's claim. It was Su Shi himself who entered into service after his Huangzhou exile only to become involved in new factional disputes.⁸⁹

By stressing the positive aspects of Han Yu's exiles, Su Shi appears to be doing for him what Han Yu had done for Liu Zongyuan. Commenting on the exiles, Han Yu observed that if Liu had not been sent into exile, it is likely that he would not have concentrated his efforts on the development of his literary talent.⁹⁰ Furthermore, the barbarian peoples would not have received the civilizing influence of his governance.⁹¹ Liu Zongyuan had opposed actions deemed unsuitable in a civilized reign. Su Shi had tried to influence the magistrates of Huangzhou and Huizhou to abolish practices such as the selling of children. Influenced by the actions of Liu in Liuzhou, Su Shi expressed his opposition to the sacrifice of cattle in Hainan. When in

89. Because Han Yu enjoyed relative support after his return to the court, commentators believe that Su Shi is speaking of his own situation. For a summary of these views, see Wang Shuizhao, Su Shi xuan ji, p. 411.

90. Han Yu's evaluation of Liu Zongyuan is given in the grave inscription. See Han Changli wenji jiaozhu, 7/294-97. "Liu Zihou Muzhiming 柳子厚墓誌銘." Translation in Diana Yu-shi Chen, "Han Yü As a Ku-wen Stylist," pp. 158-163.

Hainan he agreed to engage in the education of young men who might one day be sent to take the examinations, Su Shi may well have recalled Han Yu's emphasis on education for the people of Chaozhou.

LYRICAL EXPRESSIONS OF THE INDIGNANT: LIU ZONGYUAN

When Su Shi was exiled to the south in 1094, he wrote a poem in which he contrasted the exile experiences of Han Yu and Liu Zongyuan, expressing the desire that the duration of his banishment would be brief, like the several months of Han Yu's exile in Chaozhou. He wanted to be spared the experience of Liu Zongyuan, who had spent nine years of exile in Yongzhou, followed by five years in Liuzhou that were concluded by his death.⁹² On the road to exile, Su Shi expressed his feelings:

WRITTEN ON THE ROAD TO LINCHENG⁹³

No one gives heed to the exiled man,
Only the Taihang Mountains have seen me off on my travels.
I've still no sign that Foolish Brook will detain Liu,
But only that Heng Mountain can understand Han.

92. Liu Zongyuan's biography is in Xin Tang shu 186.5132-42; Jiu Tang shu 160.4213-14. Han Yu's tomb inscription contains much biographical information. See Han Changli wenji jiaozhu, 2/7/294-97.

"柳子厚墓誌銘."

93. SSSJ, 6/37/2024-25. "臨城道中作." With Preface.

The clearing of clouds over the Taihang Mountains 太行山 caused Su Shi to feel that he had been given a favorable omen as had Han Yu, who had seen the peaks of Heng Mountain 衡山 on his journey into exile.⁹⁴ Consequently, the allusion expresses an affinity with Han Yu. Alluding to Liu Zongyuan, Su Shi speaks of the subject of one of Liu's landscape essays written during his Yongzhou exile. "Foolish Brook 愚谿" was the scene of excursions for Liu, in a place he could not leave. Nonetheless, Su Shi's exile experiences were closer in circumstance and spirit to those of Liu Zongyuan. During his Hainan exile, he referred to Liu Zongyuan as one of the "two friends 二友" he took with him into exile.⁹⁵ He kept the literary works of Tao Yuanming and Liu Zongyuan near him. Yet, even during his first exile in Huangzhou, Su Shi had expressed attitudes resembling those of Liu Zongyuan. In particular, Su's use of objects in the landscape to express his feelings about his undesirable situation owes much to Liu Zongyuan's use of the landscape as a metaphor for self.⁹⁶

94. Han Yu, Han Changli shi xinian jishi, 1/2/177. "謁衡嶽廟, 遂宿嶽寺, 題門樓."

95. SDPQJ, vol. 2, p. 217. "Da Cheng Quanfu tuiguan 答程泉父推官" Letter #3.

96. See also Madeline Spring, "A Stylistic Study of Tang guwen: The Rhetoric of Han Yu and Liu Zongyuan" (Ph.

Of the works associated with Liu Zongyuan's exile, few represent his spirit as sensitively as does the series of records of excursions, "youji 遊記" which he wrote after he had been banished to Yongzhou in 805. Although Liu had been given the position and title of local marshall, he had few formal duties. Thus he turned to nature for his activity, spending time alone or with others wandering about the area. He described scenes with a realism and artistic detail that confirmed his perceptive abilities and sensitivity to beauty. However, his descriptions of the landscape were not simply objective descriptions of the scene.⁹⁷ Unlike pleasure seekers of the noble classes who roamed amid mountain and stream to enjoy nature, he found meaning in the scene and in the emotions that nature's objects evoked in him.⁹⁸ Describing the landscape in prose and poetry, he effectively identified himself with features of the

D. Dissertation, University of Washington, 1983). For particular use of the theme of return, see, p. 304; p. 321, note 55. Liu enjoys himself in the landscape and thus forgets to go home. The source of the idea of "wang gui 忘歸" is Chuci 2.23a, "Shan gui 山鬼," Mountain Spirit. The trope appears later in the writings of Xie Lingyun, Shen Yue and Du Fu.

97. Ren Fanqiu 任訪秋, "Lun Han Yu he Liu Zongyuan de sanwen 論韓愈和柳宗元的散文" in Liu Zongyuan yanjiu lun ji 柳宗元研究論集 (Hong Kong: Zongwen shuju, 1973), p. 131.

98. For an account of attitudes toward the landscape during the Six Dynasties, see Lin Wenye 林文月, Shanshui yu gudian 山水與古典 (Taipei: Qun wenxue chubanshe, 1976), p. 15.

landscape. Some objects of the landscape were afforded sympathy because they had been neglected or abandoned. When Liu bought a piece of land, he recorded that others had not been capable of seeing the beauty inherent in it. "Abandoned now in this prefecture, the farmer and fisherman pass by without noticing it."⁹⁹ People from the North, he says, might like to buy the hillock he has cultivated, but he would never sell it. Saying that the rustics of the South were unable to recognize the valuable object in their midst, Liu was clearly referring to himself, unacknowledged in his place of exile.

Su Shi also used the object of the landscape as a metaphor for the neglected and unappreciated man. In the early period of his exile in Huangzhou, while he was still dwelling in the Dinghui Monastery, he recorded an excursion and described a flowering crab-apple tree. Stating explicitly that the seed for the tree was brought from Shu, his native place, he identified himself with it.

99. Liu Hedong ji, vol. 2, pp. 472-473. "Record for the Small Knoll at Gumu Pond 鈎鈎潭西小丘記."

EAST OF THE DINGHUI MONASTERY WHERE I AM LIVING, VARIOUS
FLOWERS COVER THE HILL. THERE IS A FLOWERING CRAB-APPLE
TREE THAT IS NOT VALUED BY THE LOCAL PEOPLE.¹⁰⁰

In the malarial land of the river town vegetation
is luxurious,
There only noted flowers suffer solitude and
loneliness.
With a captivating smile amidst the fence of
bamboo,
Peach and pear cover the mountain; all are coarse
and common.
Thus I know the creator had a profound intention,
In moving the noble one to the secluded valley.
Its naturalness and nobility were heaven given,
It needs no golden tray for presentation to noble
residences.
Red lips gain the wine and a flush appears on the
face,
Its green sleeves are lined with gauze, the
complexion shines red.
The forest is deep, the fog is dark and dawn's
light delayed,
When sun is warm and breeze light, she has much
spring sleep.¹⁰¹
In the rain storm she seems to weep, still sad
and sorrowful,
Beneath the moon with no one there, she appears
even more virtuous.
When the gentleman has eaten his fill, he has
nothing to do,
But stroll and wander patting his full stomach.
He does not visit where families dwell or go
where monks live,
Leaning on his cane he knocks at the gate and
asks to appreciate the tall bamboo.
Suddenly he encounters the rare beauty, shining
for the old, haggard man,
He sighs, and speechless, rubs his weary eyes.
In this backward place, where did you get such a
flower?

100. SSSJ, 4/20/1036-37. "寓居定惠院之東, 雜花
滿山, 有海棠一株, 土人不知貴也." ."

101. The comparison of a flower to a woman is not
as common a trope as that of a woman to a flower.
Emperor Xuanzong had compared Consort Yang to the
haitang, flowering crab-apple flower, that desired more
sleep. Here, Su Shi compares the flower to a woman who
has had a leisurely rest.

Someone who took an interest in it must have
 moved it from Western Shu.
 A tiny root and a thousand miles, it was not easy
 to bring it here,
 Flying here with the seed in its mouth, surely it
 was a wild goose.
 Roaming to the ends of the earth, both should be
 lamented,
 For it I will drink a cup of wine and sing this
 song.
 Tomorrow morning when sober, I will come alone
 again,
 When snowy blossoms have scattered, how can I
 bear to touch them.

In a manner similar to that used by Liu Zongyuan, Su Shi selects the hidden, neglected and unacknowledged object of the landscape to serve as a symbol for the exiled self.¹⁰² Furthermore, he contrasts the beauty of the tree, which all ignore, with the common prettiness of hillside's ordinary trees that are appreciated by everyone.

The most obvious identification is made with the seed of the tree which, he believes, was brought from Shu, his native home.¹⁰³ Now both the tree and the man

102. SSSJ, 4/20/1036-1037; Wang Shuizhao, Su Shi xuan ji, p. 134; Hai Ke 海客, "Shuo Dongpo Ke qiu haitang shi 說東坡柯丘海棠詩", in Dongpo shi luncong, p. 162. The poem was written during the first few months after his arrival in Huangzhou in 1080 while he was still living in the Dinghui Monastery. The temple was located southeast of Huanggang; the tree was situated to the east of the temple on a hilltop on the Ke property.

103. See Read, comp., Chinese Medicinal Plants from the Pen Ts'ao Kang Mu, p. 134. The haitang 海棠 or haihong 海紅 is the pyrus spectabilis or crab-apple. According to Chinese Materia Medica, p. 365, the tree has

have been cast aside at the ends of the earth. For this reason, he proposes a toast and a poem. This is the same spirit one finds in the poetry of Du Fu 杜甫 (712--770) and Bai Juyi who feel that they are persons of value and beauty, but have been neglected or abandoned.¹⁰⁴ Each spring season during his exile in Huangzhou, Su Shi took an excursion to view the tree. The final outing was a visit with Canliaozi and friends during which he offered wine and asked how anyone could ever insult the tree as it smiles from its place deep in the woods.¹⁰⁵ Personification is evident, not only in the poem itself but in other works in which Su Shi identified himself with the flowering crab-apple tree. A complaint is obvious also in his poem at the time of an early spring festival.

beautiful red flowers and bears long-stemmed crab apples. It is common in the Sichuan area, as Su Shi has suggested.

104. The comparison is developed by Hong Mai 洪邁 in Rong zhai suibi 容齋隨筆, who compares it with the "Pipa xing 琵琶行" of Bai Juyi. Su Shi's poem is shown to draw upon earlier works. See Hai Ke, "Shuo Dongpo Ke qiu haitang shi" pp. 162-176 for a comparison with Du Fu's "Jia ren 佳人." The poem speaks of an outstanding person who quietly resides in the among the trees and flowers. She had encountered tumult and disorder in the world and had taken her family with her to dwell alone amid plants and flowers. See Du shi yinde 杜詩引得, vol. 1, pp. 75-76.

105. SSSJ, 4/21/ 1188. "上巳日,與二三子攜酒出遊,隨所見則作數句,明日集之為詩,故辭無倫次."

RAIN AT COLD FOOD FESTIVAL¹⁰⁶

Since coming to Huangzhou,
 I've already celebrated the Cold Festival three
 times.
 Every year I want to hold back the spring,
 But spring passes and won't allow you to detain
 it.
 This year again there were bitter rains,
 For two months we have had this autumn
 desolateness.
 Lying in bed I heard about the flowering crab
 apple blossoms,
 The rouge of fallen petals is covered by mud.
 In the dark someone has stealthily born it away,
 At midnight, his strength is great.
 How does it differ from a sick youth,
 Arising from sickness, his hair is already white.

One of Su Shi's greatest anxieties during his exile
 in Huangzhou was the passage of time. He felt that he
 had been cast aside, and was aging quickly as the years
 passed. Unable to detain time, he also failed to
 accomplish anything of worth. The falling of the petals,
 symbolic of the passing of another season, left the
 ground covered with white. Like the creator who changed
 the appearance of the tree, time was changing the man who
 had aged upon his sick bed. Su Shi, often ill during the
 Huangzhou exile, felt that the years had sapped his
 strength.¹⁰⁷

106. SSSJ, 4/21/1112. "寒食雨二首." Poem #1.

107. Allusion is to Zhuangzi, 6.25. See the
 translation in Burton Watson, The Complete Works of
Chuang Tzu, p. 80-81. "You hide your boat in a ravine
 and your fish net in the swamp and tell yourself that
 they will be safe. But in the middle of the night a

His intense interest in the flowering crab-apple tree was evident in still another poem personifying the tree.

FLOWERING CRAB-APPLE TREE¹⁰⁸

The east wind is drawing out, light from above
fluctuating,
Fragrant mist blurs in the air, the moon turns
over the corridor.
Fearing that in the deep of night the flower
would fall asleep,
I have lit a tall candle to shine on the rouged
visage.

Literary works associating the persona with flowers carried the meaning that Qu Yuan had attached to the adornment of the virtuous and beautiful self with flowers.¹⁰⁹ Su Shi does not use the specific imagery of the "Li sao;" his literary craft is closer in spirit to the Tang style. The flower or landscape is described with detail and objectivity. At the same time it is personified as a reference to the poet. Features of this style and purpose were evident in the early Tang in the poetry of another minister from Shu, Chen Zi'ang 陳子昂 (661-702). His series of poems on things, "Gan wu 感物,"

strong man shoulders them and carries them off, and in your stupidity you don't know why it happened."

108. SSSJ, 4/22/1186. "海棠 ."

109. For an explication of the use of vegetation images in the "Li sao," see C. H. Wang, "Sartorial Emblems and the Quest: A Comparative Study of the Li sao and the Faerie Queene" Tamkang Review 2. No. 1 and 2. No. 1 (October 1971-April 1972), pp. 309-328.

includes several that use the hidden beautiful flowers as symbols for the man of lofty intentions:

Orchid and turmeric grow in spring and summer;
 How richly flowering in their prime.
 Hidden alone their beauty in deserted forests,
 Vermilion blossoms covering purple stems.
 Gradually then the bright sun turns evening,
 With trembling, with quivering the autumn winds
 rise.
 When the year's flowering has all fallen away,
 What becomes of their fragrant intentions?¹¹⁰

In the poetic tradition that utilized objects of the landscape as symbols for self there is often a veiled complaint. In Chen's poem the plants have allegorical significance; the virtuous one is beautiful, but is hidden away in the deserted forest where no one takes notice. The flowering crab-apple tree was a symbol of the rejected and neglected exile. While he was in exile, Liu Zongyuan had perfected the conventional use of the landscape as a symbol for self; Su Shi's poem is properly interpreted within the tradition. The poem on the crab-apple tree remained a favorite throughout Su Shi's life; he often copied it for friends, feeling that it was an expression of himself.¹¹¹

110. Qian Tang shi, #04348; Poem #2 of the "Gan wu 感物" series. Translated in Stephen Owen, The Poetry of the Early Tang, p. 218.

111. Wei Qingzhi, Shiren yuxie, p. 384. Also see Hai Ke, "Shuo Dongpo Ke qiu haitang shi," p. 163.

PERFECTION OF ART IN EXILE: WANG DINGGUO

Su Shi's personal views regarding the influence of adversity on a writer's composition accorded with the general tradition. While not ascribing perfection to himself, he stated that adversity could serve as a force that perfected the literary skills of his friends.

Writing of Wang Dingguo, Su Shi described him as a man tested by the difficulties experienced during exile and stimulated to creative work because of them. Su Shi's comments and analysis comprise his characteristic stance regarding the relationship between adverse situations and the response of the literate person.

Wang Dingguo was one of the primary figures implicated in the literary trial of Su Shi. When Su Shi served as magistrate of Xuzhou 徐州, Wang had visited him and joined in excursions and poetry writing. Later, during the proceedings of Su Shi's literary trial, no evidence was recorded to indicate why Dingguo was described as a dangerous person, yet his name headed the list of those incriminated because they had exchanged poems or received them from Su Shi.¹¹² Of the exiles,

112. See SSSJ, 4/21/1126-31. His name was listed first among the twenty-nine who were implicated in Su Shi's trial for slandering the emperor. Thirty-six persons, including Sima Guang were fined; only Wang Dingguo of Taiyuan was banished to a distant post, namely the salt monopoly office in Binzhou.

Wang was punished with banishment to the most distant place, Binzhou, south in the Guangxi area.¹¹³ Because of the distance from the court and the expected severity of the exile conditions, Su Shi was particularly concerned about Wang Dingguo. Writing from his own place of exile in Huangzhou, Su Shi asked in a poem for Wang Dingguo: "Where is this place Binzhou? I climb the Sunset Tower to look for you."¹¹⁴ Anxiety abated when a letter and poems were received. Because Wang's adversities included the death of his children, as well as his own illness and the fear that he would die in exile, Su Shi expected to read expressions of grief relating his loneliness, anxiety and anger. Instead, Su Shi received works which were notable for their spirit of harmony and peace.

The preface Dingguo requested Su Shi to write for his collection of poetry is organized according to a series of contrasts that reveal Su Shi's views regarding exile and the responses of the banished person. By contrasting the grief and suffering endured during exile with the spirit of calm and harmony in his poetry, Su Shi praises his friend. The assumption that Wang Dingguo

113. The biography of Wang Dingguo (Wang Gong 王鞏) is attached to that of his father Wang Su 王素 (1007-1073) in Song shi 320.10405. The cause of exile is given as association with Su Shi.

114. SSSJ, 4/21/1126-30. "次韻和王鞏六首." Poem # 3.

would be angry with both the emperor and Su Shi for causing his exile gives way to the realization that Wang does not attribute his adversity to persons, least of all to his friend Su Shi. An ideal is presented by the antithesis. Finally, contrasting his own behavior during his banishment in Huangzhou with Dingguo's achievements in exile, Su Shi appears to be chiding himself for his lack of accommodation and purpose.

PREFACE TO THE POEMS OF WANG DINGGUO¹¹⁵

The Grand Historian, in commenting on poetry, said that the "Airs of the States" dealt with the romantic without being licentious, and that the minor elegancia expressed anger, grief and frustration without being insubordinate.¹¹⁶ As I see it, he refers specifically to the deviated odes and deviated elegancia. How could he have been speaking of the decorous style of the odes? In the past, the decline of the civilizing influence of the early kings was followed by the expression of feeling in the deviated odes. Although there was a weakening of influence, it was not totally dissipated, thus the works stopped short of violating propriety and justice. However, they were merely superior to those which did not have that restraint. But how could such poems even be mentioned in comparison with those that expressed emotions without violating loyalty and filiality? The poets of past and present are numerous indeed, but Du Fu is the best of all. Is it not because always in distress and suffering from hunger and cold, he never once ate

115. DPWJSL, vol. 2, pp. 915-917; SSWJ, 1/10/318.
"王定國詩集敘".

116. See the Shi ji 84. Sima Qian discusses these matters in his biography of Qu Yuan. See translation in Watson, Records, p. 500.

a meal without first remembering his
sovereign?¹¹⁷

Now because of me, Dingguo was charged with an offense and banished to a place along the sea for five years.¹¹⁸ One child died in the place of banishment, one child died at home; Dingguo, too, once fell ill and almost died.¹¹⁹ I thought that he would be very angry with me and thus did not dare to write to greet him. However, when Dingguo returned to Jiangxi, he sent several hundred poems which he had written beyond the ridges. The poems are all pure and calm, rich in meaning, and harmonious, in accord with the sound of a peaceful age.¹²⁰ His language does not differ from those who have achieved their ambitions. However, there are also some pieces which express loneliness, anxiety, anger and complaint.

He was particularly fearful that he would die beyond the ridges and that he would not be able to repay the favor of the emperor, and thus would bring shame to his ancestors. Confucius said:
"Do not murmur against heaven, do not blame

117. Xin Tang shu 201.5736. The biography of Du Fu emphasizes his loyalty: "Composing his poetry, when he was ailing and weak, his sentiments were such that he never forgot his lord. His loyalty is admired by all."

118. Ogawa Tamaki 小川環樹 and Yamamoto Kazuyoshi 山本和義, So Tōba shū 蘇東坡集 in Chūgoku bunmei sen 中國文名選 (Tokyo: 1972), vol. 2, pp. 221-222. Wang Dingguo's time in banishment was actually three years; the time has been corrected in several editions. Su Shi received the collection of poetry while he was still in Huangzhou.

119. For biographical information, see Zheng Guangming 鄭光明 et al. Zhongguo lishi da cidian: Song shi 中國歷史大辭典: 宋史 (Shanghai, 1984), pp. 38; 42. Wang Dingguo's father and grandfather, Wang Su (1007-1073) and (957--1017), both of whom had held high official positions.

120. The source for the idea of music expressing the strains of a peaceful age, see Shi jing, Mao Commentary, "The Great Preface 毛詩大序."

men."¹²¹ Dingguo was not angry with me how could he have been resentful toward heaven? Thus I then set aside the scroll and sighed, regretting that I am shallow in my expectations of people.

Also, I thought of the past when Dingguo came to visit me in Pengcheng. He stayed for ten days and together with me wrote several hundred poems. I was amazed at the number, awed at his quickness and admiring of his skill. One day, Dingguo and Yan Fuchang went for an excursion on the Si River and climbed Huan Mountain. We played the flute, drank wine and came back under the moonlight. I also had some wine prepared on the Yellow Tower to entertain them, saying, "Not since the death of Li Bai three hundred years ago, has the world seen this kind of joy."¹²²

Now I am old and will not again compose poetry, also I am ill and have stopped drinking wine, have shut my gate and do not go out. A few paces beyond my gate is the great river, but for several months I have not gone to the river. My eyes are blurry; I am truly an old farmer. Contrarily, Dingguo's poetry possesses increasingly fine technique, and he has not lost his ability to drink wine. Wherever he goes he roams with ease and calm, exhausting everything beautiful in the landscape. And he does not allow danger and poverty, illness and age to change his attitude. From now on, I will be in awe of Dingguo, and that is not simply because of his poetry.

From the outset Su Shi had taken responsibility for Wang Dingguo's exile, saying, "My actions have entangled you."¹²³ There was apprehension that the friendship

121. Lunyu 14.35. "Xian wen 憲問." Translated in D. C. Lau, The Analects, p. 129.

122. For the original poem, see SSSJ, 3/17/891-94. "百步洪二首. Preface and Two Poems. The reference is to Li Bai 李白 (701--762); Su's poem was written in 1078 in Xuzhou.

between the two men would be affected. However, as Su Shi notes, there was no animosity on Wang Dingguo's part. Wang's basic spirit was one of acceptance of his fate with no desire to blame others for his misfortune. The comparison of Wang Dingguo with Du Fu emphasizes the spirit of loyalty both expressed toward the emperor. The language is conventional, however, and Su Shi does not speak of his own attitude toward the emperor.

The genuine attitude of friendship prompts Su Shi to recall the spirit which informed their comradeship at Xuzhou and to recall their delight in writing poetry together. The contrast between Dingguo's poetry of that time and the improved skill in works written during exile leads Su Shi to comment that he himself no longer composes poetry. However, the corpus of Su Shi's poems from Huangzhou is considerable. Literary conventions allowed Su Shi to disparage his own writing as he praised that of Wang. Furthermore, admiration for Wang Dingguo's indomitable spirit was expressed. During his exile, Dingguo had consoled himself with the traditional forms used as solace for the banished, namely, landscape excursions, wine and poetry.

It was not only Dingguo who gained Su Shi's admiration. After his return, Wang Dingguo and his

123. SSSJ, 4/21/1126-1131. "次韻和王鞏六首." Poem #1.

concubine arranged to meet with Su Shi. At that time, Su Shi inquired about the hardships of life in South. The words of the concubine impressed Su Shi, and he wrote a lyric poem to record his amazement at her response.

TO THE TUNE OF DING FENGBO¹²⁴

Wang Dingguo's singing girl is named Rounu; her family name is Yuwen. Her eyebrows are crescent shaped and lovely; she is adept at polite response. Her family lived for several generations in the capital. When Dingguo came back from the Southern exile, I asked Rou about the environment and customs in the south, saying they must have been quite bad. Rou answered saying, "Wherever my heart is at peace, that place is my home." Because of this I have written a poem:

We often admire the man made of jade among us,
Heaven should send to him a beautiful girl.
She composes the airy tune and sings it as she
 smiles.
The wind arises,
Snow flies and the hot ocean becomes cool and
 clear,
Returning from a thousand li, she seems even
 younger.
A faint smile,
And her smiles still carry the fragrance of
 southern plum,

124. DPYFJ, 2.23a-23b; Cao Shuming, Dongpo ci, p. 86, #149. "定風波." For a study of Su Shi's ci written for or about singing girls, see Cheng Shankai 成善楷, "Dongpo yuefu zhong geji ci de meixue yiyi 東坡樂府中歌妓詞的美學意義," in Dongpo ci lun cong 東坡詞論叢 (Sichuan: Renmin chubanshe, 1982) pp. 90-106. While over one-half of Su Shi's 300 ci poems are thus categorized, they are works which differ significantly from the romantic and slightly erotic ci on singing girls which were popular at the time. See especially, pp. 99-100.

When I inquire saying that the south could not
 have been good.
 She answers, "Where my heart is peaceful, is my
 home."

Admiration for the young woman's attitude is captured in the images of the south which Su Shi uses not only to complement the girl, but also to suggest the hardships she endured. The Lingnan area was noted for its plum trees, the fragrance of which the girl has brought back with her. The snow-white teeth, flashed as she smiles, had cooled the heat of the southern regions. Hardships and difficult journeys have not aged her. Her loveliness is attributed to her capacity to accommodate, to live in peace and to make the place her home.¹²⁵

Later when Su Shi was himself exiled to Lingnan, he acquired a new appreciation for the courage of his own concubine, Wang Zhaoyun. The girl had been given to Su Shi when he was magistrate of Hangzhou in 1072. At age twelve, she became a household maid; she was a member of the family which joined Su Shi in his Huangzhou exile. At some point during the Huangzhou period, Zhaoyun became Su Shi's companion, and she bore his son before they left Huangzhou in 1084. However, the child's death before his first birthday caused great sadness for Su Shi and

125. The language echoes Bai Juyi's poetry, as is explained in Zhang Siyan 張思岩, Cilin jishi 詞林紀事 (Chengdu: Guji, 1982), pp. 138-39.

brought on a period of despondency for Zhaoyun. By the time of Su Shi's second exile, his wife Wang Runzhi had died and had received a formal burial ceremony in the capital area in 1093. Thus when Su Shi received the edict of demotion, he made the decision to arrange for his two elder sons to care for home and property while he took only the youngest, Guo, with him into exile. Apparently, Zhaoyun, unlike the other concubines, insisted that she be allowed to accompany Su Shi. At that time, she was only about thirty years old, while Su Shi was almost sixty. Indeed, there were sufficient similarities for him to compare his situation with that of Bai Juyi, who had also kept concubines in his household, but had thought to release them as he prepared to live out the final years of his life. Anecdotal literature suggests that Bai Juyi regretted his decision to live alone and thus wished that his favorite concubine had stayed with him. In a poem dedicated to Zhaoyun, Su Shi contrasts her behavior with that of Bai Juyi's concubines.

126. For an account of these events, see Arthur Waley, The Life and Times of Po Chü-i (772--846) (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1949), pp. 195-96.

FOR ZHAOYUN¹²⁷

PREFACE:

Tradition has it that Bai Juyi [Letian] wrote poems about selling his stallion and releasing "Willow Branch," saying that in order to assist her lord in his old age and illness, she could not bear to leave.¹²⁸ However, Mengde has a poem which says: "At the end of spring, willow catkins fly and will not be kept; following the wind, they are free to leave alighting on anyone's home."¹²⁹ Bai Juyi's poem says, "Illness and Letian are companions dwelling together; Spring and Fanzi have departed together. Thus it is clear that Fansu left him in the end. In my home I kept several concubines, but during the past four or five years they have departed one after the other; only Zhaoyun has accompanied me in the exile to the south. Because I was reading Bai Juyi's poetry collection, I wrote this poem for amusement."¹³⁰ Zhaoyun is surnamed Wang, originally from Qiantang.¹³¹ She once bore me a son named Ganer who died before he was a year old.

127. SSSJ, 6/38/2073-74. "招雲詩 ."

128. Fan Su 樊素, a talented entertainer was skilled at singing the songs of Bai Juyi. She came to be called "Willow Branch" because of her rendering of the popular song.

129. The reference is to Bai Juyi's friend Liu Yuxi 劉禹錫 (772--842), courtesy name Mengde 夢得 .

130. Gu Xuejie, Bai Juyi ji 3/35/790. The poems Su Shi mentions are "Selling My Stallion 賣駱馬 and "Parting from Willow Branch 別柳枝 ."

131. Qiantang 錢塘 is Hangzhou 杭州 .

POEM:

Unlike Yangzhi who left Bai Juyi,
 She best resembled Tongde who accompanied Ling
 Xuan.¹³²
 A'nu and Luoxiu were not destined to grow old
 together.¹³³
 Devakanya and Vimalakirti both had some
 understanding of Chan.¹³⁴
 Now the scriptures and medicines have become the
 new style of her life,
 Dancing dresses and a singer's fan are the karma
 of the past.
 When the cinnabar is done, she will follow me
 across three mountains,
 She does not serve as Shaman Yang, immortal of
 cloud and rain.¹³⁵

Because of Zhaoyun's devotion in accompanying him into
 exile, Su Shi was consoled in his Huizhou dwelling. With
 Zhaoyun, who studied the scriptures with a local Buddhist

132. For a discussion of the comparison of Zhaoyun with the other women, see Zeng Zaozhuang, "Dongpo ci zhong de Zhaoyun 東坡詞中的朝雲", pp. 214-25. Fan Tongde 樊通德, who was able to tell the story of Zhao Feiyan 飛燕, consort of Emperor Cheng of the Han 漢成帝 was the inspiration for Ling Xuan 伶玄 who recorded the story.

133. The intent of the line is to show that Zhaoyun would not have a son to care for her in her old age, her child having died in infancy.

134. See Lu K'uan Yu, trans. The Vimalakīrti Nirdeśa Sūtra. This work set the path for the householder. See Richard Robinson, The Buddhist Religion, pp. 54 ff. Devakanya lived in the household of Vimalakirti and studied the sutras.

135. The allusion is to the goddess, Wu shan shen nū 巫山神女, who satisfied the sensuous desires of King Xiang of Chu 楚襄王. The event was immortalized in Song Yu's 宋玉 "Gao tang fu 高唐賦".

nun, Su Shi intensified his study of Buddhism.¹³⁶ Yet, Zhaoyun's frequent illnesses weakened her condition; she succumbed in an epidemic in the year 1096 and was buried in a grove near the Jade Pagoda. Her grave site became a place where Su Shi went to pray and seek consolation until memories brought too much pain.

Consolations of the exile, as identified in Su Shi's summary of Wang Dingguo's life and in comparisons made with it, include excursions in the landscape, composition of poetry, enjoyment of wine, and the companionship of a devoted friend. Both Wang Dingguo and Su Shi received consolations from the women who chose to share the adverse conditions of exile. Several of Su Shi's finest poems written in exile were inspired by his relationship to Zhaoyun, in particular the ci poem written after her death in which he compared her to a plum blossom that flowered without fearing a harsh environment.¹³⁷ "Bones of jade do not fear the malarial mists; Flesh of snow possesses an immortal spirit."¹³⁸ The conjoining of lament and lyricism resulted an aesthetically fine poem.

136. See Lin Yutang, Gay Genius, pp. 360-362; 366-368.

137. Cao Shuming, Dongpo ci, p. 143, #146 "Xi jiang yue 西江月." For analysis, see Zeng Zaozhuang, "Dongpo ci de Zhaoyun, pp. 224-25.

138. See Wang Shuizhao, Shi shi xuan ji, pp. 323-26. This is one of Su Shi's most highly praised ci poems. A translation of the poem is found in Lin Yutang, The Gay Genius, p. 367.

MELANCHOLY IN EXILE: TANG AND SONG COURTIER

Exile beyond the realm perceived as "civilization" resulted in an attitude of alienation and distrust. Dark, melancholy scenes that reflected the inner spirit of the exile were common in poetry written during the Tang Dynasty. A poem typical of the exile is that composed by Sung Zhiwen 宋之問 (?--712), a minister of the court of Empress Wu who was banished to South. He was allowed to return during a general amnesty, but later was again exiled. During the second exile, he was permitted by the court to commit suicide.¹³⁹ As he journeyed to his first exile and passed over the peak that served as demarcation between the northern regions and the dreaded South, he expressed his regret:

CROSSING DAYU PEAK¹⁴⁰

As I cross this peak, I leave my native land,
Halt my carriage, gaze continually toward home.
My soul follows the southward winging birds,
My tears last as long as the north side branches'
flowers.
Now a clearing appears in the mountain rain,
And the river's white clouds almost changed to
rose red.

139. Song Zhiwen's biography is in Jiu Tang shu 140b; Xin Tang shu 202, the literary biographies of the respective histories.

140. Complete Tang Poetry, #03284. The translation is by Stephen Owen in The Poetry of the Early T'ang, pp. 376-377.

I pray only that there will be a day of return--
I do not dare be bitter at Changsha.

The poem is replete with images commonly used by the exiled Tang ministers. Although the tropes of the exile experience--hardships of the journey, hunger and sickness, tears and longing, desire for a reprieve--tended to create an overload of emotion in some poems, the exiles were not always exaggerating the conditions. Particularly during the Tang when numerous courtiers were banished to Lingnan or Nam Việt, conditions were particularly harsh. Disease was the most frequent cause of death; few exiles returned to tell of their experiences.¹⁴¹ Furthermore, no emperor during the Song Dynasty acted with the arbitrary power of Empress Wu of the Tang who in the year 693 sent hundreds of ministers into exile and then dispatched agents to instruct them to commit suicide.¹⁴²

Perceptions of the places of exile and expectations regarding conditions in areas such as Hainan were largely determined by the literary accounts of the exiles themselves. Su Shi was the only one of the Yuanyou partisans to be banished to Hainan Island, and his

141. Edward Schafer, The Vermilion Bird: T'ang Images of the South (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), pp. 37-44.

142. See C. P. Fitzgerald, The Empress Wu (Melbourne: Australian National University, 1955).

initial perceptions were shaped by the earlier accounts. Prevalent impressions were that once one crossed the water to Hainan a type of "spiritual death" had already occurred. Passing through the Gate of Ghosts on the way to Annam meant that there was little likelihood of return from the jungle of the South. Stories abounded about those who had not returned. By the early twelfth century a temple had been built in Hainan to honor three of the most famous of the island exiles.¹⁴³ Su Shi revealed his familiarity with the exiles by alluding to their misfortunes:

MATCHING TAO'S IMITATIONS OF THE PAST POEM #7¹⁴⁴

In the chicken roost lives a white haired old
man,¹⁴⁵
Who now has met with men of the Tang.
His later descendants also have flowing white
hair,
They know a bit about Li Yaizhou.
Also they have encountered Lu and Ding,
Thus I see that history truly flows eastward.¹⁴⁶

143. Edward Schafer, Shore of Pearls, p. 86.

144. SSSJ, 7/41/2260-66. "和陶擬古九首" Poem #7.

145. According to apocryphal accounts, when an official surnamed Li was sent to the South and crossed to Qiongzhou on Hainan Island, he encountered an old man who pointed to a chicken's nest where his aged ancestor lived. Su Shi uses the story to point to the inevitable flow of history which repeats itself as banished officials come to the island. See SSSJ, 7/42/2324.

146. The suggestion is that history, like the waters of China, flows toward the sea and cannot be reversed.

Now these men no longer exist,
 Yet they are probably not buried in one place.
 I will imitate the ways of Jizi of Wu,¹⁴⁷
 Who preserved integrity to the late Zhou.
 The event occurred toward the end of Chunqiu,
 It seems too remote and I cannot find its traces.

Referring to Li, Lu and Ding, Su Shi identifies the Lords. Li Deyu 李德裕 (787--848) was the great minister of the Tang who served under five emperors, including Emperors Wen and Wu. He was banished first to Chaozhou, where Han Yu had spent several months. Then in 848 he was exiled to Yaizhou on Hainan Island.¹⁴⁸ Melancholy broke his spirit; he often looked northward longing for a return, but died after a year on the island.¹⁴⁹ Lu Duosun 盧多遜, who served during the Late Zhou 東周 (951--960) and Northern Song periods, was banished to Yaizhou and died in 985 after making a reasonable adaptation to life there. Just a half century before Su Shi's banishment, Ding Wei 丁謂 (962--1033) had been exiled by Emperor Renzong.¹⁵⁰ Although he spent time in

147. See C.H. Wang, From Ritual to Allegory, (Hong Kong, 1988), pp. 34-35. The allusion is to Prince Cha of Wu 吳公子季札 who came to Lu 魯 to observe the music of Zhou 周. His astute and sensitive responses showed him to be one who understood the culture.

148. His biography is in Xin Tang shu 180; Jiu Tang shu 174. He is honored at the Temple to the Five Lords in present day Haikou city on Hainan. See Su Dongpo zai Hainan, p. 2.

149. For a discussion of the fate of the three officials, see Schafer, Shore of Pearls, pp. 87-89.

150. Song shi 283. 9566-71.

solitude, Ding Wei wrote prolifically and left "The Collected Works of the One Who Understands His Fate." The collection is no longer extant, but some poems are preserved, including one recording his initial impressions upon arriving in Hainan:

FEELINGS¹⁵¹

Today reaching Yaizhou, I find affairs
lamentable,
In dream I often seem to be in the capital.
How could the journey have been only ten thousand
miles?
In no village more than three hundred families.
At night hear the gibbons cry from distant
solitary trees,
At dawn I watch pestilential vapors slanting on
the lake.
The official sees nothing of courtly propriety,
Only occasionally a deer coming to the yamen
hall.

Images of desolation, isolation and melancholy shaped Ding Wei's poem. The cries of gibbons and the enervating miasmas were the conventional tropes of the exile poetry. Su Shi also integrated scene and feeling as he wrote about the depressing features of the environment of the exile:

151. Song shi ji shi 宋詩紀事, vol. 1, p.
154. "You gan 有感" describes his initial
impressions.

WEARY NIGHT¹⁵²

Annoyed by the long night, wearily resting on the
pillow,
At the small window, the sky is not yet bright.
In the silent village a dog now barks,
Under fading moon some people walk.
My aging temples turned white long ago,
Feelings of loftiness vainly held now.
In the deserted garden there are crickets around,
But will the vain weaving result in anything?¹⁵³

Weariness and sadness combined to make the nights in Hainan difficult times for Su Shi; he suffered from insomnia there as he had in Huangzhou. Images of the fading moon, silent village and desolate garden create a mood similar to that of Ding Wei's poem. And yet, the dominant tone of Su Shi's writings from Hainan is not the unrelenting complaint one finds in the Tang exiles. The compelling poetic style characterizing Su Shi's poetry written during the exiles in the south is one that combines complaints about the conditions of exile with consolation garnered from another perception of his condition. At times that perceiving might be from an ironic or satiric point of view. More commonly, the way of looking at conditions was influenced by a Buddhist or Taoist world view. At times, it was simply the

152. SSSJ, 7/42/2324. "倦夜."

153. Another name for the cricket was the cuzhi 促織 which literally means "to hasten the weaving." Su Shi uses this meaning to lament the futility of his action.

juxtaposition of images in his immediate experience which resulted in a perceptive expression of the exile condition.

In the poem recording his initial response to the edict of banishment to Hainan Island, Su Shi used the typical and traditional set of images related to the complaints of the exile. In the first stanza of "I Am Demoted to Hainan...", he used the conventional image of the man at the edge of the world. The reference to the solitary city, to the grave of Shun, and to separation caused by waters of the sea also appear conventional.¹⁵⁴ His attempts to console himself seem half-hearted. Saying that he could take culture to natives, he also speaks of endurance because of his study of the Way.

Upon arrival in Hainan, his tone is still one of sadness. The initial lines of "Traveling Between Qiong and Dan" are melancholy in tone. In lines four to eight, he expresses the most grave complaint of the southern exiles, namely, there is no way to return home.

Climbing to a high place I gaze toward the
central plain,
But I see only the empty spaces of water piled
high.

154. SSSJ, 7/41/2243. "吾謫海南, 子由雷州被命即行, 了不相知, 至梧乃聞其尚在藤也, 旦夕當追及. 作此詩示之."

To what place will I return in this life?
Truly on all sides the real road leads
nowhere.¹⁵⁵

However, as Su Shi begins to muse on the relativity of his situation, he composes a startling second stanza for his poem:

Suddenly my solitary recollections are
interrupted,
A constant sougning accompanies the heavenly
wind.
A thousand mountains as though with scales
rippling,
Ten thousand valleys make sweet sounds of sheng
and bells.
How do I know it is not a bevy of immortals,
Their heavenly banquet still not ended.
Happy that my time of return is settled,
They lift up wine toasting the youthful
spirit.¹⁵⁶
How could the intense rain have no meaning,
Hastening the poem comes a herd of dragons.
Suddenly the clouds of dream change appearance,
The laughing lightning also changes its
countenance.
They think it strange that Dongpo is old,
His face is haggard, but his language fine.
For a long time now such marvelous sounds,
Have not been heard in the palaces of Penglai.

Imagination is the factor influencing Su Shi's change of mood and the consequent tone. He describes a sudden rainstorm as an encounter with immortals and attributes the poem to the inspiration of the storm

155. SSSJ, 7/41/ 2246, LL. 4-8. "行瓊脩間,肩輿坐睡,夢中得句云:千山動甲,萬谷酣笙鐘.覺而遇清風急雨,戲作此數句."

156. SSSJ, 7/41/2247. Reference is to the page-boy or to a disciple of the immortals.

itself. Ironical humor is evident in the contrast he draws between the weakness of his physical condition and the vigor of his language. Continuing with the theme of consorting with immortals, he assumes that they are delighted on his behalf, knowing that his time of exile will be limited. He, in turn, has brought a new song to their immortal residence.

With the same expansive spirit, he writes to Ziyong that he will cross the sea back to Leizhou one day. But for the time being, must borrow a dragon for a journey in spirit. Again, imagination aligned to themes of journeying with immortals is evident. Finally, he says:

Mount Emei looks toward me smiling,
The Jin River puts forward a lovely face for me.
Although heaven and man marvelously contend,
Not only those with a handful of talents can
 excel.
When you point to the place of our former
 roaming,
There are weeds growing up on the old palaces.

Finally, it is possible to discern in Su Shi's writings a changing attitude regarding the exile of others. In the context of the shifting fortunes of the ministers of the Song, four major events that brought about numerous demotions and exiles should be noted. As Wang Anshi's New Policies were being put into effect, those opposing him were either forcibly demoted on the basis of a real or contrived charge or they chose

voluntarily to leave the court.¹⁵⁷ Many statesmen chose to stay in Luoyang, the former capital city, which became a refuge for exiles and a center for creative activity during the years 1068--1086. In retrospect, the years are seen as a period of waiting; many officials were willing to bide their time in self-imposed retirement. When the Yuanyou partisans assumed power in 1085, the Luoyang exiles returned to court and, under the leadership of Sima Guang, began demoting their enemies. Su Shi having returned to the court in 1086, joined in the activity and probably copied the decrees that announced the banishment and demotion for a number of Wang Anshi's New Policy supporters. Later, with the ascendancy of Zhezong in 1093, and the reinstatement of the New Policies group, the Yuanyou partisans faced the prospect of exile. Finally, a purge of those Zhezong suspected of being disloyal was carried out after 1100. The context for Su Shi's three exiles was political upheaval, brought about less by imperial whim than by factional disputation and personal vengeance.

It was said that Zhang Chun, chief minister under Zhezong, was responsible for Su Shi's banishment to Hainan island. But, Su Shi, exhibiting an unusual

157. Jonathan Pease, "From the Wellsweep to the Shallow Skiff." See especially pp. 106ff for the fate of men who opposed Wang Anshi.

largesse, did not view the action as action directed against him personally and thus did not show resentment. Relationships among the scholar official class during the period of partisan conflict were especially complex. Zhang and Su Shi had been classmates. Zhang's son had been recommended for office by Su Shi; a teacher-disciple relationship existed between them. In addition, Su Shi's compassion for others seems to have deepened during his time of exile. Thus in 1100 Zhang's son, fearing his teacher would be angry, hesitated to welcome Su Shi back from exile. However, Su Shi greeted him without expressing rancor. Furthermore, when Su Shi learned that Zhang Chun had been exiled to Leizhou, he did not write to console the family, for that would have constituted an action difficult to justify to other exiles, but he did write a letter to his relative saying that Zhang should be patient, should bear with the adversities of exile and then expect to return:

Zihou [Zhang Chun] has been sent to Leizhou. When I heard of it, I was surprised and lamented it for a day. Although the place by the sea is far away, there is no malaria there. My brother lived there for a year and was quite settled. I hope this word will console his wife.¹⁵⁸

158. Li Yibing, Su Shi xin zhuan, vol. 2, pp. 984-85.

The central idea in Su Shi' letter is that Zhang could expect to live through the period of exile and then return. If conditions were not life threatening, he could hope to endure them and to avoid death in exile. On the basis of Su Shi's words, one might surmise that others during the Song held similar views. There was, after all, by the end of the eleventh century, more than half a century of experiences for men of the Song that revealed the pattern of exile and return. Within the context of given political and social conditions, the attendant philosophical views can be better understood. Statesmen could observe the fluctuation in life and see there the working of the Tao. Some men believed, in accord with Taoist thought, that once the extreme of one pole had been reached, movement in the opposite direction would begin. The that which informs Song poetry, a tone often called less intense and less inclined to lament life's misfortunes than that of the Tang, should be seen in this context.¹⁵⁹ Officials in places of banishment could hope for a return and could encourage themselves

159. Yoshikawa Kōjirō, Sō shi gaisetsu, pp. 34ff. The contrast between Tang and Song poetry is not simply one of style. An underlying philosophical shift had occurred.

with the inspiration accorded by those who had come back
or by reflection on the reprieve they themselves had once
experienced.

CHAPTER FIVE
THE THEME OF RETURN IN THE EXILE
LITERATURE OF SU SHI

Introduction

While Su Shi found in the lives and writings of the exiled statesmen of the past clarification and insight for his own situation in exile, he did not choose them as his models. He did not consider his situation analogous to that of the preeminent misunderstood statesman, Qu Yuan. Nor did his actions conform with those of the exiled bearer of culture, Han Yu. Not even his "friend in exile," Liu Zongyuan, was selected for imitation. Instead Su Shi found in one who had rejected public service for a life of reclusion the figure he wished to emulate. Here it will be shown that the paradigmatic recluse-poet Tao Yuanming became Su Shi's ideal.

Reasons for Su Shi's choice of an exemplar of reclusion rather than an archetypal figure of exile for his source of inspiration can be found not only in his literature and actions during exile, but also in what he wrote before and after his banishments. Even though his removal from the court had been politically imposed, Su Shi assumed a stance which gave the impression that his departure was voluntary. Through a variety of stratagems

and poses, he associated himself with those who had rejected official service and had chosen a life of retirement. Considering the political situation of the Northern Song in which a serious offense was often nothing more than an opposing political opinion, it is conceivable that Su Shi wished to present himself as a man who had incurred no guilt despite his expulsion from the court. Association with Tao Yuanming placed him in a position above the pettiness of political disputes. To assume the stance of a man who had voluntarily left the court was to criticize the ambition and quest for power which impelled the fighting. Removal from the fray allowed a stance of lofty superiority. As a matter of fact, when Su Shi was forced to relinquish direct service to the throne, he also lost the power, influence and wealth associated with official life. His situation thus resembled that of those who had never taken positions as court officials.

Because Su Shi had never viewed life in political terms alone, he was not limited to questions central to a Confucian analysis. For him, it was not simply a matter of serving at the appropriate time and withdrawing when the time was not propitious. Rather, the political situation was placed within the larger context of the human dilemma. Su Shi found in Buddhism and Taoism intense probing into the fundamental question of the

meaning of human existence. And it was not only during times of exile that Su Shi sought understanding. His inner conflict between the demands of a life of service and the desire to engage in self-cultivation during retirement influenced his actions and the literature that described them.

When speaking of the fundamental ambivalence in his life, Su Shi frequently used the term gui, return. Often used in its association with retirement and reclusion, the term reveals his persistent probing. The theme of return became a literary motif; the one seeking retirement became a literary persona.

Su Shi could be dismissed as yet another member of literati who used the language and themes of reclusion to adorn his literature. He could be identified as a pseudo-recluse who obfuscated the distinction between those who talked about reclusion and those who actually rejected fame and honor in the political domain. However, his adoption of the traditional actions associated with reclusion and his use of the language descriptive of retirement were the result of an ambivalence that contributed to a poetic tension in his literature. The interplay among the themes of service, retirement and exile in Su Shi's poetry is an intricate weaving of ideals held and realities encountered. A commitment to service manifested in Su Shi's early career

contrasts with his willingness to be without official status in exile. However, the option to retire from official life was precluded by sanctions limiting the actions of exiled officials. And yet, when an opportunity for formal retirement was accorded him, Su Shi did not remain at his estate, but returned to the court.

An impression that Su Shi was indecisive results, in part, from his ambivalence regarding service at the court. It is important to determine whether the tension between the ideals of withdrawal and service continued to the end of his life or whether he was able to resolve it during the exiles of his later years. It can be seen that the use of themes, ideas and paradigms related to withdrawal and reclusion that imbued his writings during times he was not in exile prepared for and aided his capacity for accommodation during periods of banishment. Furthermore, the themes in literature written before exile were a prelude for those written during times of forced withdrawal. In responding to his appointments, demotions and exiles, Su Shi's impetus for withdrawal was at times political. But philosophical and aesthetic considerations also inspired his actions.

A review of several ideas associated with gui will show how the term relates to withdrawal from service as a form either of retirement or reclusion. Five different

uses of the term in Su Shi's works have been selected to correspond with events in his life. Although these biographical moments occur during times other than exile, they foreshadow literary expressions and action during times of banishment.

The foremost idea regarding gui is expressed in Su Shi's desire to return to his family home and to retire with his brother. After a period of formal service at the court, a second use of gui becomes prominent: Su Shi desires to leave the court and to withdraw to the provinces. A third conception of gui, namely total retreat from official life, is expressed by Su Shi after his Huangzhou exile. Another concept to be explored is that which constitutes a "return" in spirit when physical removal from the court is not possible. Finally, Su Shi writes about gui as a form of retreat undertaken to preserve life in the face of perceived danger.

Conceptually, gui was intimately bound to the meaning found in Tao Yuanming's poetry. During times of banishment, particularly during his Huizhou and Danzhou exiles, Su Shi composed poems to match the rhymes of Tao Yuanming's corpus. It must be noted that the central theme in Tao's poetry is "return." Once Su Shi's decision to match the poems has been clarified, analysis of matching poems will reveal in what manner Su Shi

shaped his conception of "return" in relation to that of Tao Yuanming.

Traditional Conceptions of Retirement

A traditional Chinese intellectual's conception of withdrawal was shaped by a variety of sources. Of particular influence were the Confucian classical texts which he read in preparation for the examinations that allowed him to engage in service to the court. The histories were replete with the examples of lofty men who were called from retirement to assist the throne. There were examples, too, of men who served the throne loyally, then retired. While Su Shi held the view that service was the responsible and appropriate way for him to live his life, he conceived of a time of service completed by a life of retirement. Furthermore, he thought of service in relationship to its contrary conception-withdrawal. The traditional interplay between service and withdrawal had been articulated and embodied in a variety of patterns. The ambivalence has been highlighted by Richard Mather:

The tension between the demands of public office and the need for disengaged self-cultivation has always fascinated, and at times tormented, intellectuals in China ever since the end of the Shang Dynasty (trad 1766-1122 B.C.) when heirs of the last Shang king reputedly

starved themselves to death on Mt. Shou-yang rather than serve an alien regime.¹

An unambiguous response was total and voluntary withdrawal. The genuine recluse was one who without compromise refused to engage in political activity, particularly when he suspected that service would demand a compromising of ideals.² For the Taoist, it was not a question of whether or not a particular ruler was enlightened and thus deserving of loyalty the political order itself was flawed. The true Taoist chose seclusion because responsibilities, wealth and power were not worthy of consideration. A desire for harmony with the natural order drew the Taoist away from the social constructs that called the official to service.³ Yet,

1. Richard B. Mather, "Shen Yüeh's Poems of Reclusion: From Total Withdrawal To Living in The Suburbs," CLEAR 5, Nos. 1 and 2 (July, 1983) 53-66; see esp. p. 53.

2. For a summary of the changing views regarding reclusion, see Li Chi, "The Changing Concept of the Recluse in Chinese Literature," Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies 24 (1962-1963), 234-47. A thorough study of the patterns of reclusion is found in Alan J. Berkowitz, "Patterns of Reclusion in Early and Early Medieval China: A Study of the Formulation of the Practice of Reclusion In China and Its Portrayal" (Ph. D. Dissertation: University of Washington, 1989).

3. Concepts of reclusion in Zhuangzi are discussed in Wolfgang Bauer, "The Hidden Hero" in Individualism and Holism: Studies in Confucian and Taoist Values edited by Donald Munro (Michigan: Center for Chinese Studies, 1985), pp. 163-166.

Zhuang zi had praised the man who could be a recluse while still living in the world.⁴

The exalted position of the courtier in ancient China carried with it the notion of loftiness. The most worthy official was seen to be the one called from retirement to service.⁵ Only those who were somehow detached from the desire for a post were considered sufficiently honorable and disinterested to serve. It was incumbent on the official to project at least the impression that he rejected the power and status that accompanied official position.

Upright officials retired from office when a set of circumstances prevailed. In the classical Confucian view, one could retire when he found the time was not propitious; he could wait until a ruler who was just, or one who understood him, called him back to service.⁶ Consultation with the Book of Changes might assist one in determining the appropriate response.⁷ However it was

4. Li Chi, "The Recluse in Chinese Literature," p. 238. Zhuangzi, 6.1a and 8.5ab.

5. Li Chi, "The Recluse," p. 239 refers to the case of Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮 who was summoned from his place of seclusion to assist Liu Bei 劉備 in his effort to reestablish the Han house. See Jin shu, 99.7a.

6. According to Li Chi, passages in the Lunyu that suggest appropriate times of retirement include: 8:15a; 9:6ab; 11.8ab; and 15.3a. See "The Recluse in Chinese Literature," p. 238.

imperative that the upright official express his disapproval of improper policies or practices that the emperor promoted or allowed. Retirement was the means several officials of the Northern Song used to avoid the controversies surrounding the New Policies. A request to retire could therefore be considered a form of dissent or censure. However, a request to retire was not always honored. Moreover, if the official were not circumspect in his request, he stood to lose not only his position but also his life. This situation often prevailed during the Six Dynasties when numerous officials were executed for their real or alleged opposition to the throne.⁸ Dissatisfaction with the political conditions led many men to leave office, but their very act revealed a concern for the political realm, an attitude which often

7. Use of the Yi jing 易經 as a text providing personal determination of a course of action was an aid to the man who sought to assess the appropriate time of retirement. One of the graphs most appropriately considered was dun 遯. See Yi jing, Hexagram no. 33; The Book of Changes, translated by Richard Wilhelm and rendered into English by Cary F. Baynes, pp. 129-132.

8. Although there were precedents in history, particularly during the Six Dynasties period, the likelihood that the Northern Song official who sought retirement would be charged with treason was not great. Ginsberg's comments in this respect owe much to Mote's analysis of the dangers facing the official who refused to serve during the Yuan. See Ginsberg, Alienation, pp. 7-8. Also see Frederick Mote, "Confucian Eremitism in the Yüan Period" in Arthur Wright, ed., Confucianism and Chinese Civilization (New York, 1964), pp. 257-258.

persisted even when the former official lived in retirement.⁹

When total withdrawal from service was not possible, officials could request to leave the court and accept a provincial post. Particularly during the Tang Dynasty, service in the provinces often led to increased freedom: pursuits of the provincial official frequently resembled those of the retired official. Late in life, Bai Juyi showed that service in a provincial post allowed him the leisure to enjoy poetry and to pursue studies of Buddhism.¹⁰ Request for a provincial appointment was also a means of avoiding the conflict at the court. Although it was the Taoists who called for retirement in the face of danger, Confucian scholars also had an imperative to preserve self.¹¹

Ironically, the official who was sent into exile was also a man in retirement. But exile differed obviously in that the place and circumstances of the official's removal were not of his choosing. What the man could

9. See Wang Yao, "Lun xiqi yinyi zhi feng," in Zhongguo wenren shenghuo, pp. 78-80.

10. Bai Juyi's idea of the "semi-reclusion 中隱" influenced Su Shi's conception of service.

11. Dong Fangshuo's 東方朔 practical advice to his son is to play the role of an official without endangering personal safety and security. Dong's words reveal the Taoist preoccupation with preservation of life during that period. See Li Chi, "Recluses," pp. 241-242.

choose, nonetheless, was his attitude toward his predicament and toward the place to which he had been sent. Forced withdrawal was seldom viewed as a form of retirement by the exiled man. In this respect, Su Shi's descriptions can be shown to be exceptional.

The official spoke of withdrawal and service in terms which were understood by his contemporaries. By Su Shi's time there existed a body of literature and a collection of symbols that expressed views regarding service and withdrawal. One of the most frequently used terms was gui tian 歸田, a reference to an official's return to his lands, his retirement from office. For officials who had estates, the return was not necessarily to their ancestral home, but rather to lands purchased while serving as an official. Su Shi and his brother spoke frequently about purchase of land. During the Song, economic factors were joined to political ones as officials sought to purchase land for retirement. Earlier, during the Jin Dynasty, Tao Yuanming had returned to his farm. A return to nature and the simplicity of a life lived in harmony with the natural world which removed him from the artifice of the political realm was an ideal embodied in Tao's poetry. His use of gui came to connote not only retirement but also a critique of the values of official life.

Association with the Recluse Tao Yuanming

The symbolic importance of Tao Yuanming's poetry and the persona it revealed was understood by Su Shi. Accordingly, both a literary interest and a personal attraction prompted his decision to write matching poems to the entire corpus of Tao's poems. Furthermore, the predominant theme of return attracted Su Shi to the poetry. Tao had left office to return to his fields. Motivated by the recognition that he could not in principle serve the court, Tao had acted. Furthermore, he had faithfully followed his inner convictions and inclinations.¹² Tao had chosen to withdraw from service; Su Shi, on the contrary, had been forced to withdraw. Differences in their political stances were patently clear. Su Shi had served for over thirty years in a variety of court and provincial posts. Tao had served for a limited number of years in minor positions. And despite commonly held views that Tao retained political ambitions, there is no evidence of a serious commitment to service comparable to that demonstrated by Su Shi.

12. For details regarding Tao Yuanming's life, see Song shu 宋書 93:11b-15b. See also Nan shi 南史 75.2a-5b which is based on the biography by Xiao Tong in the Wen xuan 文選. See the Jin shu 晉書 94.34b-37a. Note also Yan Yanzhi's 顏延之 (384-456) "Eulogy" in the Wen xuan.

Nonetheless, through the manipulation of literary convention and the use of imaginative association, Su Shi sought identification with Tao. The persona Su Shi created in numerous poems was of a figure who had chosen to retire.

The decision to write matching poems for Tao's works was explained in a letter sent in 1097 from Hainan to Su Che, then living in exile in Leizhou. However, the actual process of identifying with Tao had begun much earlier. An expressed preference for life in the country had been recorded during Su Shi's exile in Huangzhou. Involuntary life as a farmer was given a semblance of voluntariness by comparison with Tao's rustic life away from the duties of government service. Using the themes and images of Tao's poem "The Return," Su Shi had composed the poem "Shao Bian 哨遍" and had taught his farm hands to sing it on their way to the fields.¹³ In one of the songs written to extol the pleasures derived from farming was a description of the yellow mud flats which he traversed each day on his way to till his land.¹⁴ Comparing his Eastern Slope to the Xie Brook scene which Tao had described, Su Shi had insisted on an explicit identification with Tao: "In dream perceptive,

13. DPYFJ, 2.6a-7b. "哨遍."

14. SSSJ, 8/48/2643-44. "黃泥坂詞."

in stupor aware, I am surely the reincarnation of Tao Yuanming."¹⁵

The initial effort to echo the rhymes of Tao's works in a formal manner was accomplished while Su Shi was prefect in Yangzhou in 1092. In the first of the series of twenty poems matching Tao's "Drinking Wine" poems, Su Shi wrote, "I am inferior to Tao; I have allowed worldly affairs to entangle me."¹⁶ In addition to his respect for Tao's decision to leave office, Su Shi admired his predecessor's literary achievement. He said that poetry composed itself when Tao had wine, and further observed that while men of that age sought fame, even in stupor, Tao alone was true to himself.

Similar sentiments had been expressed the previous year while Su Shi was serving as prefect of Yingzhou. At that time he had defended Tao's memory by speaking of his principled response in refusing office and the benefits derived from service.¹⁷ While in Dingzhou, shortly

15. DPYFJ, 2.2a-2b. Composed to the tune of "Jiang Chengzi 江城子," it was probably written in 1081.

16. SSSJ, 6/35/1882. "和陶飲酒" Poem #1. Tao's poems are analyzed in James Hightower, "T'ao Ch'ien's 'Drinking Wine' Poems" in Chow Tse-tsung, ed. Wen-lin: Studies in the Chinese Humanities (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), pp. 3-43. For a comparison of the two poems, see Song Qiulong 宋丘龍, "Su Dongpo he Tao Yuanming shi zhi bijiao yanjiu 蘇東坡和陶淵明詩之比較研究" (Taiwan: Shangwu, 1982), pp. 36ff.

before being exiled to Huizhou, Su Shi had discussed with fellow officials Tao's admirable qualities.¹⁸ Many of the matching poems written during the Huizhou exile recorded everyday events in which he attempted to show a correspondence between his situation and that of Tao. Obviously, Su Shi had reflected on the events and activities that Tao had used as the context for his poetry. When a comparable moment occurred, such as the moving of a residence or drinking wine bestowed by a friend, Su Shi was prepared to write a poem which echoed the rhymes of Tao.

The decision to match all of Tao's poems was made in Huizhou, but not formalized until after Su Shi had been banished to Hainan. A letter written to his brother to explain why he had begun the project was at the same time a request for Su Che to write a preface for the works. When completed, Su Che's preface provided not only an introduction to the poetry, but also the rationale for Su Shi's compositions.

17. SSSJ, 6/34/1814-15. While in Yingzhou in 1091 Su Shi discussed Tao with Ouyang Shu who had read a work critical of Tao's political stance and response. See: Tang Lingling 唐玲玲, "Su Shi de He Tao shi 蘇軾的和陶詩" in Lun Su Shi Lingnan shi ji qita, p. 167.

18. For comments on Su Shi's discussion with others regarding Tao, see Tang Lingling, "Su Shi de He Tao shi," p. 169.

PREFACE FOR ZIZHAN'S ANTHOLOGY MATCHING THE POEMS OF
TAO YUANMING¹⁹

When Master Dongpo was exiled to live in Daner he made his home beneath Luofu Mountain. With only his youngest son Guo he carried his belongings and crossed the sea. There they constructed a thatched hut to live in. He ate yams every day, and did not long for a splendid house and 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. But 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 which 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 ancient thus begins with me. I have no special preference for the poems of a 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 to be spare but have a rich substantiality. No one, not even Cao, Liu, Bao, Zhao, Xie, Li or Du is his equal.²⁰ Altogether, I have written matching poems to over one hundred of his poems. I am quite satisfied with them, and have said that they are not too 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 record them for me. Now, as for me with respect to Yuanming, how could I be fond of his poetry only? I have great feeling for him as a person. When Yuanming was

19. SSSJ, 6/35/1881-82. The preface is by Su Che in Luancheng ji, vol. 3, pp. 1401-1402.

20. The list of poets refers to Cao Zhi 曹植 (192--232), Liu Zhen 劉楨, Bao Zhao 鮑照 (?--466), Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 (385--433), Li Bai and Du Fu.

about to die he wrote a final testament, telling his son Yan and the others:

'In my youth, I was poor and in distress; and because of our family's poverty I had to roam all around. I had an unyielding temperament and crude talent, thus often offended people. I have calculated and thought that, for my own sake, since anything I do will bring about disaster imposed by the vulgar, I now try my best to leave the world thus causing you to be cold and hungry in childhood.'

This is quite likely an accurate recording of Yuanming's words. At this time, I have this problem, but I did not recognize it early enough. Thus for half of my life I have served an official, and because of that I offended many and invited numerous troubles from them. That is why I profoundly admire Yuanming, and have hoped that in my old age I could imitate at least to some degree his virtuous integrity."

Alas, Yuanming was not willing, for the sake of five pecks of rice, to tie his strings and meet with the petty men from town. But Zizhan went into service for more than thirty years and was frustrated and afflicted by the jailer. To the end he did not repent and thus sank into great difficulties. But, finally he hoped to use the late period of his life to attach himself in companionship with Yuanming. How could anyone believe this? Nevertheless, regarding Zizhan's participation in the government, his advancement and retirement can all be verified. Future scholars will learn how to consider these matters.

Confucius said: "I transmit but do not innovate; I am truthful in what I say and devoted to antiquity. I venture to compare myself with Old Peng."²¹ Mencius said: "Zengzi and Zisi followed the same Way."²² Perhaps with only such a few clues it is obviously not fair yet for one to discuss an important man.

When I was young, I had no teacher. At the time Zizhan ceremonially received a cap to manifest the completion of his studies, my father

21. Lunyu 7.1. Translated in D. C. Lau, The Analects, p. 86.

22. Mengzi, 4B. 31. Translated in D. C. Lau, The Mencius, p. 136.

told me to take him as a teacher. Zizhan often said that my poetry possessed the spirit of the ancients and that he did not think his could compare. But from the time that he was exiled to live at the Eastern Slope, his learning advanced with each passing day, flowing copiously like a river just reaching to its end. His poetry could be compared with that of Li Taibai and Du Zimei, and he tried to equal Yuanming.²³ Even though I galloped after him, I was always behind him. I continued his effort to match Yuanming's poems and wrote several of them.

Written in the twelfth month and nineteenth day of the fourth year of Shaosheng (1097), south of Haikang city, in the East Studio.

Reasons for Su Shi's decision to match the corpus of Tao's poems were explained with simplicity and clarity. Su Shi thought of himself as an innovator. While the practice of echoing the rhymes of another's poems had been common among literati since the Six Dynasties and Tang periods, the poems matched were usually those of a contemporary. By echoing the works in the entire corpus of an earlier figure, Su Shi was initiating a literary tradition. His choice of Tao, rather than the then more highly ranked poets such as Cao Zhi, Li Bai or Du Fu was a subjective decision, one he justified by stating simply that he considered others less accomplished. The judgment was based upon two qualities he found in Tao's poems. Su Shi valued the beauty borne of simplicity and

23. Su Che refers, of course, to Li Bai and Du Fu, whose poetry influenced the style and content of Su Shi's earlier poems.

naturalness. He appreciated the richness of idea in an externally spare line.²⁴

Inspiration for the plan to match the poetry had come while Su Shi was still in Huizhou. He had returned from an excursion on White Water Mountain and recalled the outing. While thinking of the kindness of a local man who invited him to come to pick lichees after they ripened, Su Shi heard his son Guo chanting Tao's "Returning to the Country to Live." Thinking that his situation was similar to that of Tao, Su Shi was inspired to match the six poems and to send them to his friend, the monk Canliaozi.²⁵ Even though Su Shi said that he would match one hundred nine poems of Tao's corpus, he eventually wrote only about one hundred pieces.²⁶

24. General studies of the literary features of Tao's poems that Su Shi wished to imitate are numerous. See for example, "Lun Su Shi de 'He Tao shi' ji qi pingjia wenti 論蘇軾的和陶詩及其評價問題" in Zhu Jinghua 朱靖華, Su Shi xin lun 蘇軾新論 (Jinan: Qi Lu shushe, 1983), pp. 180-203.

25. SSSJ, 7/39/2103-107. "和陶歸園田居六首." The preface to the poems is dated the third month of 1095 in Huizhou.

26. For a comparison of the matching poems, see Song Qiulong, Su Shi he Tao Yuanming shi. Also see A. R. Davis, "Su Shih's 'Following the Rhymes of T'ao Yuanming' Poems; A literary or a Psychological Phenomenon?" in Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia 10 (1974) 93-108. See p. 101 for Davis's suggestion that the twenty or so missing poems were not lost in transmission, but were for good reason not written. For example, poems on suffering a fire, on naming a son and reproving sons were not appropriate topics for Su Shi.

Obviously, admiration for Tao's poetic style was not the only reason for matching the poems. A desire to model himself according to Tao's actions and attitudes were other factors in Su Shi's choice of Tao's poems. Even though Su Shi was no longer at the court, his was an involuntary withdrawal from service. The facts of his rise and fall in officialdom were all a matter of public record, just as Su Che had noted. And yet, Su Shi spoke of himself as a recluse, seldom as a banished official. The recluse Tao became a model for imitation and a source of consolation.

The style of Tao's poetry and the imagery which characterized Tao's world as a recluse were attractive to Su Shi. Tao's poetry presented a world of simplicity and satisfaction, despite inherent poverty and hardship. With simple things the recluse was content. Tao's poems were characterized by an interweaving of recurrent symbols and images. Books, a zither, wine and chrysanthemums were the symbols of the man who cultivated himself in retirement. The solitary cloud wafting above the sullied earth, floating freely, symbolized the purity of the lofty man who had freed himself from attachment to fame and honor. The bird that knows when to fly home to nest served to symbolize the official who had returned to his country residence to dwell.

Poets prior to Su Shi often used the images and lines of Tao's poetry as a concise and allusive means of referring to the lofty intentions of a person.²⁷ As Marsha Wagner explains in her study of Wang Wei, a revival that focused on interest in Tao had become fashionable in the Tang:

One striking manifestation of the High T'ang poets' reaction against the ornate mannerisms of Early T'ang court poetry was their return to the simple, straightforward style epitomized by the poetry of T'ao Ch'ien. They were drawn not only to T'ao Ch'ien's stylistic directness, but also to dominant themes in his poetry: an instinctive yearning for the rustic life; a principled withdrawal to "fields and gardens," and a joyful appreciation of the beauties of nature. Moreover, T'ao Ch'ien's persona as the man of moral integrity who spontaneously follows his impulses was particularly attractive to court poets impatient with the highly restrictive decorum demanded by their official positions. Wang Wei was one of the first poets to look toward T'ao Ch'ien as a model, but others quickly followed...²⁸

Su Shi also wrote poems that incorporated many of the commonly used motifs and images. He appeared to be

27. The poet Jiang Yan 江淹 (444--505) wrote imitations of Tao Yuanming's poetry. One of his imitations was often included as Tao's sixth poem in the "Gui tianyuan ju 歸田園居" series. See Wen xuan 31.316. This is the poem matched in Su Shi's echoing of the series. During the Tang, in particular, language from Tao's works was often used in poetry. See Stephen Owen, The Great Age of Chinese Poetry: The High T'ang, pp. 6-7.

28. Marsha Wagner, Wang Wei (New York: Twayne Publishing Co., 1981), p. 97.

paraphrasing Tao in a series inspired by Tao's "Return" poem.²⁹ In the preface, Su Shi stated directly that because he liked to read Yuanming's "Return," he had selected words from the poem and then composed ten poems for his son to chant. Two poems from the series show the typical use of themes:

RETURN Poem #6³⁰

Fame and wealth are really not what I desire,
I have returned to my homeland to retire.
Zither in hand, I have found a valley there,
Bringing along the wine, I again pass the knoll
here.
How lovely is the reflecting sun about to vanish,
Gurgling the spring water, eager to go on
flowing.
Others don't care for the old country folk,
I alone join them on friendly excursions.

RETURN Poem #8³¹

Return! Again I say, Return!
How can there be a paradise for us to long for?
The birds return; I know they are wearied.
When clouds come forth, where do they go?
As I enter the house, I, too, hold my child's
hand,
Nearing the stream, I also compose a poem.
When spring breezes rise, I walk out by myself,
But this is not because I am aloof from kin and
friends.

29. SSSJ, 7/43/2356-2359. "歸去來集字十首".
For Tao's original poem: Yang Yong, ed., Tao Yuanming ji jiao jian, pp. 266-273.

30. SSSJ, 7/43/2358. "歸去來集字十首". Poem #6.

31. SSSJ, 7/43/2359. "歸去來集字十首". Poem #8

The poems were probably written during Su Shi's exile in Huangzhou. Like many other poets, he had drawn inspiration from Tao's behavior and had incorporated phrases from Tao's works in his poetry. However, when he began to match all of Tao's poems, Su Shi was compelled not only to examine the commonly used images, but also to reflect on the style and meaning of the poems. He sought to imitate the simplicity of style and the richness of content as he endeavored to identify with Tao's ideals.

MATCHING TAO'S LIVING IN RETIREMENT ON THE NINTH DAY³²

PREFACE:

Tomorrow is the Double Ninth Festival. It has been raining hard, and I have tossed and turned unable to sleep. I got up, found some wine to drink and wrote a poem to match Tao's. But because I was drunk and befuddled, I regret that it could not be written very well.

What does this Double Ninth day mean for me?
I am happy and satisfied with my life.
Not one of the four seasons is without beauty,
I delight in the name the ancients have given us.
I recall Master Meng at Long Mountain,³³

32. SSSJ, 7/41/2259-60. "和陶九日
閑居并引". Tao's poems are translated and annotated in A. R. Davis, Tao Yuan-ming (A.D. 365--427): His Works and Their Meaning 2 vols. (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press).

33. The allusion is to Tao's maternal grandfather Meng Jia who served as general for Huan Wen of the Jin. An anecdote tells of Huan Wen's excursion to Long Mountain on the Double Ninth. Meng's hat blew off and this caused everyone to laugh. The incident is discussed in a study of traditions related to the festival. See A.

And I think of Yuanming at Lili.³⁴
 Bright the beauty of frosty chrysanthemums,
 I hear sounds of drips from the distillery.
 Dwelling in retirement, I know about the fine
 festival,
 My remaining years will be happy ones.
 I climb to a high place and gaze at the sea of
 clouds,
 In a stupor feel that the three mountains are
 tilted.
 With a long chant, I shake my boots praising the
 Shang,³⁵
 I wave my belt like Rong Qiqi with his zither.³⁶
 Through difficulties, I know the intent of
 Heaven.
 Linger here, I've experienced human affection.
 Enough to eat and drink from my share of the
 grains.
 And year after year enjoy the autumn harvest.

Appreciation for the simplicity of life with the wine, chrysanthemums, and quiet joy for his remaining years give the poem a tone of contentment. Several conventional associations with the Double Ninth place the poem within the literary tradition.³⁷ Ji Yun sees the

R. Davis, "The Double Ninth festival in Chinese Poetry: A Study of Variations Upon a Theme," in Chou Tse-tsung, ed. Wen-lin Studies in the Chinese Humanities, pp. 45-64.

34. Tao Yuanming's home in Jiujiang 九江 was also known as Lili 栗里.

35. The allusion is to Yuan Xian 原憲 who sang the praises of the Shang. See Song Qiulong, Su Dongpo he Tao shi, pp. 153-54.

36. According to a passage in the Liezi 列子, "Tianrui pian 天瑞篇," Confucius once encountered Rong Qiqi 榮啓期 in the mountains. He wore an animal skin coat with a belt and carried a zither.

37. Su Shi's poems may be evaluated in terms of the tradition explored in A. R. Davis, "The Double Ninth Festival," pp. 45-46.

work as reflecting peace and satisfaction.³⁸ Certainly, the poem does not reflect the anxiety over the passage of time seen in Tao's original poem. Nor does it express the somewhat stoic acceptance of his situation and subsequent determination to withstand the difficulties of life seen in Tao's work.³⁹

Specific poems differ significantly in purpose and tone. Nonetheless, the general effort to match the poems clearly reflects Su Shi's intent to identify with Tao.⁴⁰

Themes of Retirement in Matching Poems

Because Su Shi referred to a significance beyond that of literary association, stating his admiration for Tao, it is necessary to understand what he found worthy of imitation. What Su Shi found attractive in Tao was epitomized in the single word "return." As the word most closely associated with Tao, it is at once a symbol of his rejection of official life and of his willingness to accept a life of simplicity rather than to compromise his principles. The series of poems which exemplify Tao's decision is appropriately titled, "Returning To Live in

38. Ji Yun, Su Wenzhong Gong shi ji, 41. 6a.

39. A comparison is drawn by Song Qiulong, Su Dongpo he Tao, pp. 153-54.

40. For a summary of various critiques of Su's matching poems, see Tang Lingling, "Su Shi de he Tao shi," pp. 166-67.

the Country." Su Shi matched the five poems, presenting himself as one who had chosen to live in retirement.⁴¹ In the first poem, Tao had explained why he left officialdom, emphasizing the recovery of his freedom and peace of mind in the decision to live simply:

From early days I have been at odds with the
 world;
 My instinctive love is hills and mountains.
 By mischance I fell into the dusty net,
 And was thirteen years away from home.
 The migrant bird longs for its native grove,
 The fish in the pond recalls the former depths.
 Now I have cleared some land to the south of
 town,
 Simplicity intact, I have returned to farm...
 My home remains unsoiled by worldly dust
 Within bare rooms I have my peace of mind.
 For long I was a prisoner in a cage,
 And now I have my freedom back again.⁴²

In matching the poem, Su Shi did not explain the circumstances of his departure from officialdom, but rather described the setting in which he had been placed to live out his days.

41. SSSJ, 7/39/2103-2107.

42. Translated in James Hightower, The Poetry of T'ao Ch'ien, p. 50.

RETURNING TO THE COUNTRY TO LIVE⁴³

Surrounding the area there is much clear water,⁴⁴
 At the ocean border all are dark mountains.
 To this unlimited scene,
 I entrust my numbered years.
 My neighbor to the east is Confucius,
 To the west there lives Yan Hui.⁴⁵
 In the city no double pricing,
 In the country no contending for land.
 The Duke of Zhou, Guan and Cai,⁴⁶
 Must regret they've no cottage to share.
 One meal is sufficient for me,
 I eat the ferns and brakens before my food.
 My disciples bring me kindling and rice,
 Saving me from a kitchen without smoke.
 With a jug of wine and a chicken to cook,
 They sing sonorously to entertain this grey-
 haired old man.
 How would the fish and the beasts know the Way,
 I just accommodate to the world and feel at ease.
 Since in the long term things are not always as I
 like,
 I'll temporarily take delight in being where I
 am.

43. SSSJ, 7/39/2103-2107. "和陶歸園田居六首."
Poem #1.

44. The language of the first line echos the "Fisherman" in the Chuci. See Hong Xingzu, Chuci buzhu, "Yufu 漁父" juan 7, p. 295. An association with those who live near pure waters and remain uncontaminated by the filth of the profane world places Su Shi among the natural recluses.

45. Yan Hui 顏回 was Confucius' favorite disciple.

46. The Lords of Guan 管 and Cai 蔡 were the younger brothers of Duke of Zhou 周公. They attempted to stage a coup after the Duke of Zhou had taken over the regency during the minority rule of King Cheng. Their attempt was put down. The late Eastern Han recluse Pan Degong 龐德公 is reputed to have said that if the Duke of Zhou and the lords of Guan and Cai had lived in a thatched hut and dined on pigweed and bean leaf stew, they could have avoided trouble. See Sung shu 68.1809.

While extolling the pleasures of a life of simplicity, Su Shi nonetheless uses pointed remarks to show that his basic needs of food and shelter have scarcely been met. Allusions to the honorable men of ancient time underscore his attempt to describe his loftiness and give to the poem a rich texture of meaning. Like the natural recluses, the fishermen, he lives away from the contamination of the world. His acquaintances are satisfied with their lot in life, living in harmony like Confucius and his disciples. Because he lives in simplicity, he avoids the contentions of the lords who challenged the Duke of Zhou. Reference to the brakens, food of recluses from the time of Bo Yi and Shu Qi, associates him with those willing to accept deprivations rather than compromise principles. Finally, he appears to acquiesce in the face of an unpredictable fate and to accept with serenity what has been given.

In the second poem of the series, a direct comparison is made. Like Tao, Su Shi identifies with creatures who have found their freedom and ease. Su says, "The cornered monkey has taken refuge in the forest; The weary horse gets rid of the harness."⁴⁷ In

47. SSSJ, 7/39/2102-2107. "和陶歸園田居六首." Poem #2.

the third poem, he celebrates the freedom gained in his rustic setting:

POEM #3⁴⁸

After bathing I sense that my body is light,
Hair just washed, I feel it getting thin.
Having enjoyed a breeze beneath a waterfall,
I walk along singing as I return.
I look up at the river cradled in the mountain,
And look down at the moon shining on my clothes.
I walk along following the elders and talk with
 them,
When they arrange another outing, how could I
 refuse?

The poems show that Su Shi has defined and described a leisure that is traditionally associated with the man who has rejected office. In taking Tao as a model, he has emphasized the value of leisure and freedom in aiding the creative spirit.

MATCHING TAO'S "EXCURSION TO XIE BROOK"⁴⁹

Living in a place of demotion, quiet, having much
 leisure,
It is really no different from retiring in old
 age.
Although I am past the age of Yuanming,
I have not lost a desire to roam at Xiechuan.⁵⁰
The spring river is calm without ripples,
As we recline, the boat floats naturally along.
I have never had a plan about where to go,
But just float along following the gull's call.
In mid current, we suddenly encounter an eddy,

48. SSSJ, 7/39/ 2102-2107. "和陶歸園田居六首."
Poem #3.

49. SSSJ, 7/42/2318-19. "和陶游斜川".

50. Tao's original poem describing the outing at Xie Brook is in Yang Yong, Tao Yuanming ji jiao jian, pp, 64-68.

Leaving the boat, we walk up the tiered hillside.
 I'll drink with anyone who has an inclination,⁵¹
 Why should I need to find an equal.
 My son Guo's poetry resembles his father's,
 I recite and he answers each line.
 I wonder if Tao of Pengzi,
 Experienced this kind of joy or not.
 I ask Dian what he thinks,
 He does not share the concerns of the sage.
 When he asks me why I am laughing,
 I say it is not because of You and Qiu.⁵²

Su's poem shows explicitly that his exile is like retirement. He is not directing the events of his life, but is able to flow with the current and thus temporarily to cast aside his anxieties. For both poets, leisure provided the opportunity to put matters into perspective through a return to the natural order. The poems of Su and Tao both reflect a desire to seek release from the concerns and anxieties of life through excursions in nature. The cause of their uneasiness differed. For Su Shi, disquietude was often related to his perceived failure to achieve something of significance; for Tao it seems to have been the sense of an approaching death.⁵³

51. Literally, "I'll drink with anyone who has a mouth for wine."

52. The allusion is to the Lunyu, 11.24. Translation in D. C. Lau, The Analects, pp. 110-111. Confucius asks his disciples to tell how they would go about putting their abilities into practice. You 由, the disciple Zilu 子路, says he could administer, giving people a sense of courage and direction; Qiu 求 would use the rites and ceremonies. Dian 點 would bathe in the River Yi 沂 and go home chanting poetry. Su Shi, like Confucius, approves of Dian.

Su Shi does not dwell on the idea of return as death. In this fundamental respect, he differs from Tao.⁵⁴ The philosophical vision of Buddhism and Taoism gave Su Shi a vision that is not apparent in Tao's works.

Association With Impoverished Gentlemen

Echoing the rhymes of Tao's seven poems on the lofty gentlemen who have been impoverished, Su Shi places himself in the company of figures from history who had been praised for withstanding hardships for the sake of maintaining integrity. He makes no allusion to men simply impoverished by circumstances, but only to models who are paragons of virtue. In the first, third and fifth poems, Su Shi establishes Tao as the one worthy of imitation.

53. For a discussion of the problem of death as perceived by the literati of the early medieval period, see Wang Yao, Zhonggu wenren shenghuo, pp. 6-20. Tao is mentioned on p. 6. Wang discusses the importance of practices for prolonging life and explains how questions regarding life and death were posed.

54. The contrast is clearly shown in A. R. Davis, "Su Shih's 'Following of the Rhymes of T'ao Yuan-ming' Poems," pp. 102-106. Davis notes that Su Shi did not match poems to the series of three "Burial Songs," and he shows that the significant contrast in their respective poems on "Body, Shadow and Soul" 形影神 " lies in differing attitudes toward death.

IN PRAISE OF IMPOVERISHED GENTLEMEN⁵⁵ Poem #1

In the sky, Venus and the fading moon,
 Sparkling as though shining on each other.
 As I consider this passing moment,
 I lament that dusk will never stay.
 Heaven makes no distinction between past and
 present,
 How did we expect the crow to fly like a weaver's
 shuttle?⁵⁶
 I desire to be like the nine plains,
 Only with Yuanming will I return.
 Vulgar men do not lament their own situation,
 But express concern only for their hunger.
 Who truly is a man of great splendor?
 Even the rank of a thousand teams is
 lamentable.⁵⁷

In order to associate himself with Tao, Su Shi attempts to transcend the distance that time and space have created and thereby to place himself in direct contact with his other self, Tao Yuanming. Only with Tao will he return. In his typically discursive style, Su Shi also provides a commentary on the vulgar of the world who understand impoverishment of the body while failing

55. SSSJ, 7/39/2136-2140. "和陶貧士七首"
 Preface and Seven Poems.

56. The conceit for the sun is a striking one. Su Shi uses the term "zhi wu 織鳥," literally, a shuttle crow. The idea is that the sun flies back and forth across the sky like a shuttle moving quickly.

57. The allusion is to Duke Jing of Qi 齊景公 who when seeing a good omen exclaimed that he was a man of great splendor. Su Shi suggests that the wealthy men of high position like Jing of Qi are lamentable because they are unaware of their real poverty. For commentary, see Song Qiulong, Dongpo he tao Yuanming shi zhi bijiao yanjiu, p. 94.

to recognize the significance of poverty of the spirit. In Su Shi's eyes, Tao is more noble than the ancients who possessed position and wealth; the splendor of his life exceeds that of Dukes and Lords.

Figures Su Shi selected to praise as impoverished gentlemen included the semi-legendary figures Bo Yi and Shu Qi who refused to serve the new rulers of the Zhou:⁵⁸ "Yi and Qi were ashamed to eat the grains of the Zhou House; with lofty songs they praised the former rulers."⁵⁹ Although Confucius, who had the adversity of an "empty goblet" is also mentioned, Su Shi writes primarily about Tao, making an explicit statement in the third poem:

Who says that Yuanming was in distress?
He still had a plain zither.
With a heart at ease, his hand moved naturally,
To transmit his unlimited music.⁶⁰

The obvious contrast Su Shi wishes to emphasize is that poverty and want do not necessarily mean impoverishment of spirit. Just as Tao had consoled himself by reference to lofty personages of the past, so also Su Shi now

58. Shi ji 61. 2121-2129.

59. SSSJ, 7/39/2137-40. "和陶貧士七首." Poem #3.

60. SSSJ, 7/39/2137-40. "和陶貧士七首." Poem #4.

strengthens his resolve by associating himself with those who accepted their poverty and left a legacy.

A question posed in the seventh poem of Tao's series is whether or not one should subject one's family to the hardships which accompany rejection of office. Su Shi's seventh poem encourages his own sons to retain a lofty stance as they encounter difficulties. Yet, as he thinks of his family distant from him, he inevitably thinks of returning to them:

POEM #7⁶¹

I have six sons in my family,
 All scattered in three or four places.
 Impoverished to the point I will fail to
 recognize them,
 Now they are companions of farmers and growers.
 Their lands are surrounded by tall bamboo,
 Their dwellings placed near the clear streams.
 I have been unable to send them a single servant,
 To share the burdens of gathering wood and
 drawing water.⁶²
 I sit thinking of the day of return to the North,
 This work is not easily compensated.
 I can only bequeath to you this solace,

At the Deer Gate there are former worthies.

#7. 61. SSSJ, 7/39/2137-40. "和陶貧士七首." Poem

62. Here Su borrows lines from Xiao Tong's 蕭統 "Biography of Tao Yuanming." See Jingjie xiansheng ji 靖節先生集, Sbby, pp. 4a-b: "[Tao] sent a servant and gave his sons a letter that said, 'It is hard for you to provide for your daily needs by yourselves. Now I send you this servant to help you with wood gathering and drawing water.'"

Su Shi felt that he had caused undue suffering to his children because he had been sent into exile. By paraphrasing the words Tao used to console his sons, Su Shi draws his children into the web of meaning he is creating. He offers them the same solace he has found, namely, identification with lofty personages.

Identification With Recluses of the Past

Su Shi sought not only to identify himself with men who had retired from office; he desired, as well, to associate with recluses who were devoted to self-cultivation. Tao Yuanming had resigned from his position as magistrate of Pengzi.⁶³ While it is not possible to state definitively why Tao left his office to return home, it is likely that he had observed the decline in rule during the final years of the Jin 晉, particularly with General Liu Yu's 劉裕 establishment of the Song Dynasty in 420. Perhaps Tao sought safety in distance from the court. Or, as he insists, he simply was not inclined to be an official: "My instinct is all for freedom and will not brook discipline or restraint. Hunger and cold may be sharp, but this going against

63. For details regarding Tao Yuanming's life, see Song shu 93:11b-15b; see also Nan shi 75.2a-5b which is based on the biography by Xiao Tong in Wen xuan, 文選. Also see Jin shu 94.34b-37a.; Note also Yan Yanzhi 顏延之 (384-456) for "Eulogy" in Wen xuan, 文選.

myself really sickens me."⁶⁴ Motivation for his actions was likely ambivalent. Even if Tao had withdrawn only for preservation of life, his personal inclination prepared him for self cultivation in seclusion.

Another recluse figure to whom Su Shi was particularly drawn was Ge Hong (283-343).⁶⁵ Although Ge Hong had served in a variety of military posts, he spent a period of semi-seclusion during which he wrote extensively on philosophical, historical and cultural topics. Then, from 326 to 331 he served the new Jin government. Finally, he sought retirement, claiming that ill health prevented him from continuing at his post. At the same time he was also seeking a means of avoiding the likelihood of death, the specter that haunted many office holders in the Jin. The most important factor in his decision to retire was the determination to devote himself to practice of the arts of immortality.⁶⁶ Consequently, he traveled to the south, eventually finding a place of seclusion on Luofu Mountain.

64. The line is from the preface to the "Return" translated by Hightower in Poetry of T'ao Ch'ien, p. 3.

65. See his biography in Jin shu 72. It is translated by Jay Sailey, The Master Who Embraces Simplicity: A Study of the Philosopher Ko Hong (A.D. 283--343) (San Francisco, 1978).

66. Ge Hong, Baopuzi 抱朴子 4 vols. (Taipei: Shangwu, 1979). Chapter 21 contains Ge's autobiography. See translation in Sailey, The Master, pp. 242--272.

On his journey to the place of exile in Huizhou, Su Shi had taken an excursion to Luofu Mountain and had toured the places where Ge Hong had practiced his arts. Even though Huizhou was some distance from the mountain, Su Shi described his White Crane Peak home as being "beneath Luofu Mountain."⁶⁷

It is not surprising that Su Shi would have been influenced by the life and work of Ge Hong. Where Tao Yuanming found his "language of the immortals" in the Shanhai jing 山海經, (The Classic of Mountains and Seas), Su Shi found his in the Baopuzi 抱朴子 (The Master Who Embraces Simplicity). Referring to it as a marvelous book, Su Shi suggests that the Baopuzi was a substitute for companionship. Acknowledging his inferiority in the practice of the Way, Su Shi, nonetheless, sought to be associated with Tao and Ge.

MATCHING TAO'S "ON READING THE CLASSIC OF MOUNTAINS AND SEAS"⁶⁸ Poem #1

The weather today has begun to appear frosty,
All the trees seem sparse as they shiver in the
cold.
As the solitary one closes his door and begins to
sleep,
The bright rays move over to an empty dwelling.
He wants to express his mind but has no friend,
And then his eyes light upon a marvelous book.

67. SSSJ, 7/40/2192-2193. "On Eating Lichee
食荔枝," Poem #2, L. 1.

68. SSSJ, 7/39/2129-2136. "和陶讀山海經并引."
Preface and Thirteen Poems, Poem #1.

In the city of Jiande there are surviving ones,
 But the way is far and I have no chariot to take
 me.
 Without provisions to eat to my satisfaction,
 How could I even consider having grains and
 vegetables?⁶⁹
 I am ashamed before this Old Master Zhichuan,
 But for a thousand years he will be together with
 me.
 If you sketch me together with Yuanming,
 We'll be fit for a painting of "the three
 scholars."
 Although I regret my delay in studying the Way,
 How could I be said to lack a talent for poetry?

By requesting that he be sketched together with Tao Yuanming and Ge Hong, Su Shi made explicit the two forms of cultivation he sought while in exile. For study of the Way, he had a model in Ge Hong. As the author of a text on the arts of immortality, Ge Hong was to be respected as a teacher; Su Shi could not compare with him. Ge Hong had sought the simplicity proposed in the Zhuangzi description of a land distant and hard to reach by any but those who have cast aside cares. Su Shi admits he is incapable of making the journey without chariot and familiar provisions; in this respect he is inferior to Ge. For cultivation of literary talent, the model of Tao remained, but Su Shi did not consider himself inferior to Tao in terms of literary achievement.

69. The allusion is to Zhuangzi, 20.15ff, "Shan mu 山木." Su is alluding to a land where people dwell in simplicity. See translated in Watson, The Complete Works of Chuang tzu, "The Mountain Tree," pp. 211-212.

The interest Su Shi had consistently shown toward the strange and eccentric was provided a stimulus in Huizhou. In reading the Baopuzi, he found a new way to satisfy his curiosity. In several of the thirteen matching poems, Su Shi referred to medicines, transformations and strange stories that the Baopuzi brought before him. Nonetheless, his primary interest in the theme of return persisted, as is evident in the final poem of the series:

MATCHING TAO 'S "ON READING THE CLASSIC ON MOUNTAINS AND SEAS"⁷⁰ Poem #13

Master Dongpo is indeed a transcendent man,⁷¹
 Now, traversing the world, truly spreads his
 talents,
 There is a road for returning to Qiuchi,
 How could I have come in vain to Luofu Mountain?
 Treading on snakes, swallowing venomous insects,
 His heart is detached, entirely free from
 expectations.
 Taking the hands of Ge and Tao,
 I say, "Return," and once again, "Return!"

Su Shi's use of the theme of return in the poetry matching Tao's rhymes captures the central idea of return as retirement from office; it also includes the concept of self-cultivation in reclusion. By presenting himself

70. SSSJ, 7/39/2129-2136. "
 和陶讀山海經并引" Poem #13.

71. Zhuang zi, 6.74. Translated in Watson, The Complete Works of Chuang tzu, p. 90.

as a companion of both Tao and Ge Hong, Su Shi enriched and developed the conventional use of theme of return.

SU SHI'S CHANGING CONCEPTION OF RETIREMENT

Su Shi's identification with Tao Yuanming, emphasizing retirement or reclusion as a mode of life, can be better understood when placed within the context of his experiences prior to exile. The themes and ideas of retirement reflected in Su Shi's poetry came from a variety of sources; these changed over time as Su Shi's status as an official changed. Formal association with Tao Yuanming during the Huizhou and Danzhou exiles was the culmination of a long process, one during which Su Shi's interest in Tao and what he symbolized gradually deepened.

Su Shi's changing conception of retirement will be clarified by analysis which correlates the ways he used the term gui. While this analysis is not organized according to his biography, it is essentially chronological with reference made to later or earlier conceptions when necessary. The most fundamental of the ideas refers to his retirement with his brother in Shu. The concept of gui as reprieve or recall is seldom explicitly mentioned in Su Shi's poetry, but it is implicit in his hopes for a return from exile. Finally,

it can be shown that the fundamental tone and theme of poetry written at the time of his return from Hainan to the China mainland reveal that Su Shi had simplified his understanding of gui. It meant a reprieve that allowed him to return home to retire.

The Ideal of Service Completed By Retirement

For the Confucian statesman, the ideal of retiring to a native place or to an estate acquired during the period of service was a strong motivating factor. The plan to retire with his brother to their native home in Shu motivated Su Shi during his life of service as an official. The promise made to Su Che that they would complete their contribution to the country early and then retire was an acceptance of the traditional view that a scholar-official's service leads eventually to retirement. Even as he prepared to take his place among a governing elite, Su Shi wrote poetry expressing the ideal, attempting to ensure that his brother would be motivated by the same expectation. Reminders were reiterated in poems of parting written whenever the brothers were separated.

Explaining the context of their promise, Su Che wrote of the difficulties encountered when they parted:

MEETING AND STAYING IN THE HALL OF EASY ROAMING⁷²

Preface:

When I was young I followed Zizhan in my studies, and we never passed a day without being together. When we had matured and were about to embark on careers of official service taking us throughout the realm, we read a poem by Wei Suzhou which said: "Do we know on which stormy night, we will again like this sleep on facing beds?"⁷³ We felt saddened by the poem and then promised each other we would retire early in order to experience the happiness of dwelling in leisure. Therefore when Zizhan took up his appointment in Fengxiang, he wrote a poem in parting saying, "When again will we hear the pattering music of the night rains?" Later Zizhan governed in Hangzhou and then moved to Jiaoxi while I was appointed to Huiyang and Ji'an; for seven years we did not see each other. Then in the second month of the tenth year of Xining (1077) we again met in the region of the Tan and Pu; then we both came to Xuzhou where we stayed for more than a hundred days. At that time we dwelt at the Easy Roaming Hall, and seeking to renew again our earlier promise, I wrote these two poems to record it.

POEM #1

Behind the Easy Roaming Hall lies a great
forest,⁷⁴
Trees so tall they send the sound of wind and
rain to the heavens.

In mistaken happiness, I sensed I was in facing
beds seeking our former promise,
Unaware that I had come wandering to Peng City.

72. Su Che, Luancheng ji, vol. 1, p. 158. The preface and two poems were composed in 1079.

73. Wei Yingwu 韋應物 (737--?) was the censor at Suzhou 蘇州, thus his sobriquet, Wei Suzhou 韋蘇州. Su Shi considered him as to be of the best poets of the Tang.

74. Literally, "a thousand xun of trees." One xun is approximately eight feet.

The image of the two brothers in facing beds talking while listening to the night rains became a recurrent motif in their poetry, particularly in lines written at the time of parting. Su Che's preface provides a history of the exchange up until the year 1077 when Su Shi was sent to Xuzhou on his third appointment to the provinces.

Both men wrote of the desire to retire together, particularly when intense feelings evoked the thought of returning to Shu. Su Shi wrote remembering Ziyou: "From facing beds in the night rains we hear the soughing; We regret that this life often brings us partings."⁷⁵

Expressions of the desire to leave official life and to retire to his native place of Shu became frequent in the poetry written during Su Shi's first official appointment in Fengxiang. Aware that the very nature of

75. Cao Shuming, Dongpo ci, p. 131, #227. The lyric is to the tune of "Man jian hong 滿江紅" with the poem title "Remembering Ziyou 憶子由." The poet recalls the promise made when he was exiled to Huangzhou. See, SSSJ, 4/22/1169-70, lines 8-12: "Sent to Ziyou in Early Autumn 初秋寄子由."

We feared parting was unavoidable,
And could not set a time for achievement and fame.
Even then we were already saddened,
Worse now that we are both ageing and weak.
A wrong road taken cannot be found again,
I regret we did not study the Way early enough.
This autumn we spoke of buying a piece of land,
And finishing the house by spring.
In the Snow Hall on a night with wind and rain,
I have already heard us talking from facing beds.

official life brought partings, Su Shi regretted the separation from his brother and father and longed for the day when they could return to their home. Reasons for his desire to return during the Fengxiang appointment, however, were directly related to his growing dissatisfaction with life as an official. His pose as one desiring to retire was at times a critique of official life, at other times the expression of unhappiness brought about because of his first separation from his brother. In 1062 while at the Sifei Pavilion in Baoji just to the northeast of his native Shu, Su Shi revealed his frustrations:⁷⁶

INSCRIBED ON THE SIFEI PAVILION NEAR BAOJI⁷⁷

The road returning to the southwest distant and
deserted,
As I lean on the balustrade, my spirit flies and
cannot be summoned back.
In the vast wilderness there are cattle and
sheep, geese and ducks,
The sky is distant with grass and trees touching
the highest clouds.
Misty and vague, vapors float to the foothills,
Drifting, the spring wind plays with the barley
sprouts.
Who caused you to prefer the official's life and
think nothing of leaving home?
Now you have no way to become old as a fisherman
or woodcutter.

76. Baoji 寶雞 is in present day Shanxi in the southwest area bordering on Sichuan.

77. SSSJ, 1/4/168. "題寶雞縣斯飛閣 ."

Nearness to home prompted him to think of the place he had left behind to enter the official life. Musing on the scene, Su Shi concluded that he was lacking a plan of retirement and that he was mistaken to have preferred official life over life as a common recluse. Using traditional images of the woodcutter and fisherman as foils for the official, he concluded his poem in a conventional manner.⁷⁸ Although the poem expressed a general dissatisfaction with official life, it also reflected momentary chagrin because the new magistrate was less inclined than was his predecessor to encourage Su Shi.⁷⁹

When duties as an inspecting official brought him near the border area of Shu, he stopped at a monastery to rest and to express his desires:

ON THE TWENTY-SEVENTH DAY, ARRIVING AT XIEGU FROM
YANGPING, I LODGE AT THE PANLONG MONASTERY ON SOUTH
MOUNTAIN⁸⁰

In front of the gates merchants carry hot peppers
and tea,
Behind the mountains only a few feet, the land
joins to Ba and Shu.⁸¹

78. The fisherman and the woodcutter are the traditional images for the natural recluse. See Bauer, "The Hidden Hero," p. 184, note 10.

79. See Wang Wengao's explanation in SSSJ, 1/4/168.

80. SSSJ, 1/4/175-76. "二十七日,自陽平至斜谷
宿於南山中蟠龍寺."

When will I return to plow the fields above the
river?
Throughout the night my heart races south like
the flying pigeon.

Presentation of self as a man from Shu who was accustomed to a rustic and simple life was a characteristic feature of Su Shi's writing. Not only did he speak of plans to return there in retirement, but he also at times questioned why he had ever left his native place. Late in life, as a mature official assuming one of his last appointments, Su Shi indulged in reverie as he viewed Chao Buzhi's painting of a boy herding oxen.⁸²

COLOPHON FOR CHAO'S PAINTING OF THE HERDSMAN⁸³

In the past I lived among the fields,
I knew only about cattle and sheep.
In calm rivers, the water buffalo's back was
steady,
It was like steering a hundred peck boat.
As the boat sailed, with no one around, the shore
moved of itself,
I lay on the buffalo reading but he wasn't aware.
Before me were a hundred head of sheep,
Attending to my whip which sounded like a war
drum.
I never used the whip in a reckless way,
But when I saw the stragglers, I cracked it.
In marshes the grasses were tall,
But not the best for oxen and sheep.

81. Ba 巴 and Shu 蜀 were the traditional names for the area included in present day Sichuan.

82. Chao Buzhi was the first of Su Shi's four major disciples. The history of their relationship is sketched in SSSJ, 6/35/1868-1870. For Chao's biography see Song shi 444.

83. SSSJ, 6/36/1966-67. "書晁說之考牧圖後."

I sought the mountains and crossed over the
 gullies,
 Running and jumping, my muscles and bones became
 strong.
 Now wearing fog cape and rain hat within a
 luxuriant woods,
 In my old age I can only view the painting.
 Good advice passes like wind blowing by the
 horse's ears,
 Only now I regret not becoming an old owner of
 many cattle.

Identifying himself with the herd boy, Su Shi confirmed the joys of a life of rusticity. To say that he knew of nothing but sheep and cattle was to exaggerate the conditions of his youth. His life was devoted to learning after his father, following unsuccessful efforts to become an official, had returned to Shu. The course Su Xun had set for his sons after assuming responsibility for their education in 1048 was first to take them from Meishan to Chengdu where they would sit for provincial examinations.⁸⁴ Although far from the capital district which produced many scholar-officials, they were fortunate to be from Meishan, the center of the new printing industry in the Southwest.⁸⁵ Access to the

84. For a discussion of Su Xun's life and works, see Zeng Zaozhuang, Su Xun ping zhuan 蘇洵評傳 (Sichuan: Renmin chubanshe, 1983). See also Jin Guoyong 金國庸, Su Xun 蘇洵 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1984). Reasons for his failure are analyzed in George Hatch, "The Thought of Su Hsun (1009--1066): An Essay In The Social Meaning of Intellectual Pluralism in the Northern Sung" (Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Washington, 1972).

classical texts, Su Xun's exacting instruction, and the brilliance of the young men combined to prepare them for success in the jinshi examination of 1057. Three years later, after fulfilling the mourning observance for Lady Cheng, Su Xun took the entire family with him to the capital. Family property was left in the care of relatives. It was obvious that Su Xun had little intention of returning to Shu.⁸⁶ However, several poems composed by Su Shi for the collection of poetry recording the trip back to the capital contain hints that he felt some ambivalence about the decision to leave Shu and enter into service:

MOORING OVERNIGHT AT NIUKOU⁸⁷

At sunset the red mist rose,
 We had moored the boats to spend the night at
 Niukou.
 Here the local folk come together by chance,
 Several in a group loitering near the old willow
 tree.
 They bear firewood as they come from the deep
 valleys,
 Seeing the travelers they are delighted for a
 sale.
 We cook the vegetables for our nightly fare,

85. See Wu Tianshi, "Song dai Sichuan cang shu kaoshu 宋代四川藏書考述" in Sichuan wenwu 四川文物 (1983.3), pp. 62-70 for an account of the importance of the printing center at the Meishan for the advance of learning in Shu.

86. A formal letter to Han Wei reveals Su Xun's plans. See Jiayou ji 嘉祐集 12.1a-2b. "

87. SSSJ, 1/1/9-10. The poem reflects the contrast between his appreciation of the rustic life and the sense of purpose and responsibility in the life he has chosen.

How could they have meat and wine to eat?
 The north wind blows on the thatched huts,
 We see stars through the dilapidated wall.
 The young people babble together,
 It is sufficient for their long-lasting delight.
 At first there is nothing notable in this life,
 Unfortunately, one gets tempted by the world's
 allurements.
 Wealth and honor attract men to press forward,
 Poverty and lowliness alone are hard to accept.
 Who could know that men in remote mountains,
 Enjoy their companionship with the mountain deer.
 Living here in these backward wilds,
 They see life as meaningful, not as crude.
 But today, what kind of person am I?
 Hustling, I force myself to go chasing about the
 world.⁸⁸

The juxtaposition of fame and fortune with rusticity and simplicity introduced a motif that was to appear in later works. In an inscription left at the Xiandu Taoist temple, Su Shi broached the question of reclusion. Familiarity with the ideas in Zhuangzi, which he had enjoyed reading as a young man, combined with an understanding of the importance of Zhang Daoling's 張道陵 role in the development of Taoism in the South to reveal respect for reclusion.⁸⁹ Su Shi's preference for life in a natural setting, as well as his capacity to adjust to the rustic and simple, had been nurtured during

88. Literally, the line reads, "Hustling and bustling, I force myself to go quickly." It is understood that he is attracted by fame and wealth.

89. SSSJ, 1/1/18-19. "留題仙都觀." Shui jing zhu 水經注, p. 18 identifies Xiandu guan as located on Pingdu Mountain where Zhang achieved immortality.

his youth in Shu. It remained a factor in the attraction his native place held for him.

However, the primary reason for wanting to return to Shu was the desire to be reunited with his brother. While Su Shi was serving in Fengxiang from late 1061 until 1064, Su Che stayed with their father at the capital, where Su Xun had finally gained a low-level position.⁹⁰ Su Che had not yet been assigned a post, in part because of Wang Anshi's criticism of his examination papers.⁹¹ When an assignment to Shangzhou was offered, he did not accept it, but remained in the capital studying with his father.⁹² The situation prompted Su Shi to consider once again the possibility of retirement. However, he was clearly assuming the pose of one still lacking the achievements which would allow him to retire while enjoying the esteem of others. Because the Su brothers had been identified as two of the country's most promising young officials, it was assumed that their achievement would be great. Su Shi tried to avoid the embarrassment of failing to meet those expectations.

90. Zeng, Su Xun ping zhuan, p. 93.

91. Zeng Zaozhuang, Su Che nianpu, pp. 38-42.

92. For Su Shi's response to Su Che's decision, see SSSJ, 1/4/155, Poem #1. "While Ill I Hear That Su Che Received His appointment But Did Not Go To Shangzhou."

ON THE TWENTIETH OF THE NINTH MONTH THERE IS LIGHT SNOW.
I THINK OF MY BROTHER ZIYOU⁹³ Poem #2

Together on the river boat, our poems filled the
 chests,
West of Zheng where we parted tears fell on our
 lapels.⁹⁴
Service not yet fulfilled, I feel shame before my
 books and sword,
Of course I want to retire, but fear the reproof
 of friends.
In official quarters I passed the autumn,
 startled to see the year drawing to a close.
I see snow atop the monastery tower, but with
 whom can I climb to the height?
I hear you are reading the Book of Changes
 beneath the eastern window,
When men in carts and carriages knock at the
 gate, you surely won't answer.

Where Su Che stayed in semi-retirement with his
father at the capital, they enjoyed an imitation mountain
sculpture which they had brought with them from Shu.
Matching the rhymes of his brother's poem on the wooden
mountain, Su Shi spoke of how they had used oxen to drag
the tree to the boat, then he imagined how his father and
brother would enjoy viewing the scene. "From a distance
I think of the two of you cooling off in the clear night;
Before the window the faint moon shines on the vast
waters."⁹⁵

93. SSSJ, 1/4/154-155. "九月二十日微雪,懷子由弟."
Poem #2

94. SSSJ, 1/4/154. This line refers to their
initial parting at Zhengzhou 鄭州 in 1061. See SSSJ,
pp. 95-96.

At the conclusion of his three-year term in Fengxiang, Su Shi returned to the capital where he served as supervisor of the Petitioner's Drum Bureau.⁹⁶ His unexpected return to Shu occurred after Su Xun died in the fourth month of 1066 at the capital.⁹⁷ Escorting their father's casket back to Meishan for burial, the brothers observed the twenty-seven month mourning period in Shu.⁹⁸

Even though the brothers returned to the capital together in 1069, their opposition to the reform policies led to their eventual departure from the court. On that occasion, also, Su Shi lamented the enforced parting from his brother:

ON JUST PARTING FROM ZIYOU IN YINGZHOU⁹⁹ Poem #2

When parting for a short distance people show no
emotion,
But at distant partings tears fall on the breast.
But if we can't see each other from a foot away,
It is the same as being a thousand miles apart.

95. SSSJ, 1/5/219. 和子由木山引水 . " Poem #1. Su Shi was influenced by his father's interest in miniature scenery.

96. Wang Baozhen, Su Shi nianpu, p. 62.

97. Zeng Zaozhuang, Su Xun pingzhuan, p. 245. The death of Su Xun occurred in 1066.4.

98. Wang Baozhen, Nianpu, pp. 63-64. Su Shi also transported the coffin of his wife, Wang Fu 王弗, who had died in the capital in 1065.5.

99. SSSJ, 1/6/278. " 颍州初别子由 ." Poem #2.

Yet if in this life there were no partings,
 How would we know the depth of affection?
 When I first came to Chenzhou,
 They tugged at my clothing and I embraced your
 sons.
 Then I knew there would be this regret,
 But you detained me to spend autumn days.
 Now autumn too has passed away,
 The pain of parting has no end.
 You ask me what year I will return?
 I answer when the year is at the East.¹⁰⁰
 Partings and reunions revolve and rotate,
 Joy and sorrow come and go.
 Saying this, I heave a great sigh,
 My life is like the rolling tumbleweed.
 Many worries turn me prematurely grey,
 Now that I won't be able to see the Old Six
 Ones.¹⁰¹

Despite the effort to console Ziyu by reference to the
 depth of love revealed in partings, Su Shi's primary
 emotion is one of regret that official life has brought
 numerous farewells and few reunions. Having journeyed to
 visit Ouyang Xiu, then retired in Yingzhou, Su Shi was
 struck that his mentor had aged. Seeing the white hair
 and temples of Ouyang, he reflected that worries and
 frustrations inherent in life as an official hasten old
 age and death.

Throughout his years in official service, Su Shi
 frequently sent off friends and relatives who were
 returning to Shu or officials who were going there to

100. Official appointments were generally for a
 three year period; the year at the east would be in 1074.

101. The reference is to Ouyang Xiu, who took the
 style of "Old Six Ones 六一老人."

govern. Affection for his native place is evident in a poem written during his tenure at Yingzhou.

SEEING THE MILITARY OFFICIAL ZHU ZHAOFENG OFF TO SHU¹⁰²

Clouds at Qingcheng are lovely,
 The moon at Emei enchanting.
 It follows me to the northwest,
 Shining on me a never extinguished light.
 Here where I am in the dusty world,
 White clouds call me to return.
 As I roam on the rivers and lakes,
 The bright moon dampens my clothing.
 Emei at the end of the earth,
 The clouds and moon at my side.
 They say that the men among the mountains,
 Can look at me without any barrier.
 In dream I seek the road to the southwest,
 Silently counting post stations along the way.
 I seem to hear the waters of the Jialing River,
 Leaping and dashing, they move my pillow and
 screen.
 I've no gift now for your parting,
 In the clear river I water your horse.
 The road winds through a thick bamboo grove,
 Elders pay respect to you astride your horse.
 No need to be fearful and to run away.
 The official is my colleague and friend.
 Listening to judicial cases the way family
 members discuss matters,
 They will speak of things in detail for you to
 make a judgment.
 Should you meet my friends among the mountains,
 They may ask you when I'll be returning.
 Tell them that my step is still light,
 And I can still walk across the stones in the
 stream.

In speaking of the dominant landscape in the area of his Meishan home, namely Qingcheng Mountain 青城山, Mount Emei 峨眉山, and the Jialing River 嘉陵江, Su

102. SSSJ, 6/34/1844-1845. "送運判朱朝奉入蜀."

Shi suggests that landscape is calling him to return. The moon belongs to Mount Emei, but has followed him in his travels. He assumes that people dwelling on the mountains will inquire about his return.

The desire to return to Shu took the form of specific plans after Su Shi's request to settle temporarily in Yingzhou had been rejected. Learning that he was to be transferred, Su Shi wrote to tell his brother that he wanted to journey toward his new post then continue moving until he reached their home in Shu.¹⁰³

This year I should go to Guangling (Yangzhou), part temporarily from Ziyou, pass the month in Guangling and then go directly to the south Commandery. From there I should go to Zizhou and then take the water route back to our old home.¹⁰⁴ I will take all of our family books with me, winding about to reach my post. There I will plant trees in Meishan and await Ziyou to come back so that we can grow old together. I don't know whether or not this dream can be fulfilled. I feel sad coming to speak of all of this.¹⁰⁵

But because Su Shi did not make the definitive plans to retire, he was called back to the court again. Then after another brief period of service in the provinces he

103. See Li Yibing, Su Dongpo xin zhuan, p. 737 for the passage and a discussion of it.

104. Zizhou 梓州 was designated a part of the Xichuan 西川 Commandery during the Song. It is located in present day Sichuan.

105. See Wang Baozhen, Nianpu, p. 154. Su Shi was transferred to Yangzhou in the first month of 1092.

was sent into exile in Huizhou and then to Danzhou. Upon return from exile, he reminded Ziyou of their promise to return to Shu. However, political conditions in their native land prevented serious consideration of the plan.

Perhaps the most poignant of Su Shi's expressions of the desire to retire are the references to a return to Shu. While his plans and expectations differ in concrete detail, the hope of spending the final years of his life together with his brother in their native place is consistent, though unfulfilled.

Temporary Retreat to the Provinces

Another idea regarding retreat or reclusion prominent in Su Shi's writings is the notion of a temporary retreat to the provinces. He saw it primarily as an opportunity to bide his time, continuing to serve, but doing so with a greater degree of autonomy and flexibility than was possible at the court.

By the time of the Northern Song, the provincial appointment had become a form of temporary retreat. Those who encountered opposition or difficulties in service at the court or in the capital often requested to be sent a suitable distance away. Many of the officials who opposed Wang Anshi's New Policies in the late 1060's had taken this course of action. Rather than incur the animosity of the powerful members surrounding Wang, the

officials chose to request or accept provincial appointments.

Knowing that permanent retreat to his native land was not feasible, Su Shi joined the efforts of fellow officials to provide effective leadership at the capital. As those opposing the New Policies lost ground, Su Shi followed the example of many others and made a request to leave the court for a provincial post. In typical Confucian fashion, the provincial appointees anticipated a recall by a just ruler who would use their services. Nonetheless, in the provinces, officials could rule effectively, at times with limited interference from the court. Furthermore, they could find in the settings outside the capital quiet and beautiful landscapes which provided enjoyment. In some instances there was sufficient leisure to engage in activities of self-cultivation. Retreat to the provinces was also construed as a form of protest; by not contributing to the advance of the reforms, the official was voicing his opposition to them.

Reasons for Su Shi's request for an appointment in the provinces related primarily to the changed political climate. Upon return to the capital in the second month of 1069, the Su brothers had been given appointments. The conspicuous changes occurring in their three year absence were the result of the initiation of the reforms

Wang Anshi had proposed to the Emperor Shenzong. Although upon return the Su brothers did not immediately engage in opposition to the reforms, many of their colleagues and patrons had already expressed opposition and had been forced to retire. Others had chosen to go to Luoyang where opponents gathered to wait and watch the turn of events. Sima Guang was there working on his history project, and the Cheng brothers were teaching philosophy to disciples. Both Su Shi's mentor Ouyang Xiu and the family friend Zhang Fangping had gone to the provinces. Ouyang had retired to Yingzhou; Zhang Fangping had taken a position as a professor in Nandu. Su Shi regretted the departure of the senior officials, for he was one of few left to oppose the reforms.

During this period of upheaval in the capital Su Shi's poetry consisted almost exclusively of poems of parting, written to send off colleagues who were leaving their posts. Sensing that his opposition would be to no avail, he eventually expressed his desire to leave.

106. For an account of the various activities of the demoted officials, see Michael Freeman, "Lo-yang and the Opposition to Wang An-shih."

SEEING OFF LU XIDAO TO HIS POST IN HEZHOU¹⁰⁷

Last year I sent you off to be prefect of
 Xieliang,
 This year I send you off as prefect of Liyang.
 Year after year seeing people off to serve as
 prefect,
 While I sit collecting dust as it piles on my
 chest. ...
 I was born to dwell among rivers and seas,
 But I am ashamed that, hesitating, I've not yet
 gone.
 I've nothing to give to you, can only heave a
 sigh,
 The river is lovely, as it flows brimful on and
 on.

Because Su Che was working closely with the new policy reformers, his opposition to the reforms was keenly felt; he was the first of the brothers to be forced out, to request a post in the provinces. Su Shi had seen him off just outside the capital. After receiving his brother's poem written from the post in Chenzhou, Su Shi returned to the place of parting and wrote a matching poem that expressed his desire to leave the capital and to join his brother.

MATCHING RHYMES OF ZIYOU TWO POEMS ON FIRST ARRIVING IN CHENZHOU¹⁰⁸ Poem #2

Often would I close my door to seek dreams,
 No one knows my sorrows.

107. SSSJ, 1/6/248. "送吕希道知和州."
 ."

108. SSSJ, 1/6/225. "次韵子由初到陈州".
 Poem #2.

Coming again to the place of parting,
Tears flowing from my eyes are sent south.

Su Shi's formal request for a provincial post was the inevitable outcome of a series of events. As his opposition to the reforms intensified taking the form of memorials and questioning of the procedures being followed, so the attention given to him by Wang's reformers increased. By the end of 1070, Su Shi was one of the few remaining opposing voices in the capital. Finally, as charges were brought against him for illegal transport during the journey back to Shu, he realized that he should himself request service in the provinces.¹⁰⁹

Once Su Shi reached the provinces, his poetry began to reflect the ambivalence of his attitude toward service. The theme of return is apparent in many of the works written during the time Su Shi spent in the provinces before he was brought to trial and exiled. From 1071 until 1079 he served in three posts: Hangzhou, Mizhou and Huzhou. During that time, he composed many poems of social criticism which attacked the policies of the court. However, as he matured in his role as magistrate, he took responsibility for those under his charge. His efforts in the area of flood control, famine

¹⁰⁹. Events leading to his departure to Hangzhou are discussed in Michael Fuller, "The Poetry of Su Shi," pp. 181-183; 192-197.

relief, and construction projects gained him the esteem of fellow governors.¹¹⁰ Presentation of self as one unwilling to serve was more a form of protest than a factual portrayal of his activities in the provinces.

He frequently used the theme of return in his poetry. Initially, he used the term gui to ask when he might be returning to the Capital, thereby indicating his conviction that his views on policy were superior to those in current use. But eventually, the word came to express Su Shi's pleasure that he had found a retreat in the provinces distant from the court. In the landscapes of the eastern area of the country, he found beautiful scenery and places to retire from the onerous tasks of official life. With Buddhist monks and Taoist adepts, he came to feel that he had found a way to return to sources of meaning.

A review of poems written during these years shows Su Shi's deepening understanding of the potential significance of retreat in the provinces. Life as a provincial official, although onerous because of the policies he was required to enforce, was an opportunity for increasing autonomy and self-cultivation.

110. An account of his efforts and accomplishments is given in Zeng Zaozhuang, Su Shi ping zhuan, pp. 88-128.

At the outset, while traveling to his new post in Hangzhou, Su Shi made a discovery. Previously, when speaking of retirement, he had described the landscape of Shu, in particular the Min and Emei mountains. But the beauty and pleasures of the Hangzhou area prompted him to describe the scenes and to propose that if he could always enjoy such lakes and hills, he would no longer find it necessary to return to his native Shu. As he toured the Golden Mountain Monastery, he reconsidered his early promise to return home. Admitting that the River God would reprove him for his roving, he apologized by showing how like the flowing water his own life had become.¹¹¹

AN EXCURSION AT GOLD MOUNTAIN MONASTERY¹¹²

My home is where the waters of the Yangtze first
 issue from the source,
 In my official travels, I've been sent directly
 where waters join the sea. ...
 With rivers and mountains like these, I haven't
 returned to the mountain,
 The river god reproves me for my roving.
 Apologizing, I say I cannot help it,
 Like the waters, I have my fields but cannot
 return to them.

During the initial days in office in Hangzhou, his tendency was to ascribe all of his problems to the single

111. Su Shi's conception of water as a model for human behavior is discussed in Andrew March, "Landscape in the Thought of Su Shih" (Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Washington, 1964).

112. SSSJ, 2/7/307-308. "游金山寺".

fact that he had become an official. Thus, he gave vent to his frustrations by saying that it had been a mistake to enter into officialdom.

IN RESPONSE TO LI QI¹¹³

Like a beast in the marsh or a fish in the lake,
As soon as I crossed the threshold, there was no
going back.
I mistakenly followed the bow and banner, then
fell in the dirt,
Sitting helplessly, I let the official crack the
whip while those encircling moan.
Implicated just for taking salt, their crimes are
passed on to children,
For a hundred days of worry, I have only one day
of pleasure.

Su Shi's resentment against a court he thought was imposing its policies to the detriment of the people found expression in poetry. He regretted his role as an official required to implement the policies. It was precisely poems expressing these sentiments that were brought forward during his trial as evidence that he did not intend to carry out the duties of an official, but rather to retire in the provinces. The theme of a poem describing the burdens of life as magistrate is found in the contrast drawn with a life of reclusion.

¹¹³. SSSJ, 2/7/319. "李杞寺丞見和前篇,復
用元韻答之."

SUPERVISING THE DIGGING OF THE TANG VILLAGE SALT
TRANSPORT CANAL IN THE RAIN¹¹⁴

I live in the official quarters, but don't handle
business,
In leisure, I imitate the ways of Zhangjing.¹¹⁵
Why don't I just go into retirement?
I'm hanging around, ashamed I'm no Yuanming.
Just because of this salt business, everyone has
to rush,
Who can help the farmers with planting of crops?
Early in the morning we beat drums to get them
moving,
A thousand fingers putting together the dikes.
Heavenly rains help the official,
Wetting his clothes and the tassels of office.
People are like ducks and pigs,
Tossing mud and frightening one another .
I dismount on the deserted dike,
All around, however, are the flooding waters.
Impossible to go along the narrow road,
We must contend with the cattle and sheep.
Although returning to the farm is lowly and
insulting,
At least I wouldn't lose my way in the mud.
I send this poem to my old mountain friend,
Saying don't look down on your bowl of gruel.

Explicit complaints were isolated by the court as
examples of Su Shi's unwillingness to support official
policy. Reference to the desire to retire as had Tao
Yuanming, was taken as criticism of the court and its
policies. Association with Sima Xiangru 司馬相如, the
Han Dynasty official who found officialdom burdensome,
suggested that Su Shi resented being required to enforce

114. SSSJ, 2/8/388-389. "湯村開運鹽河雨中督役."

115. See Shiji 117 for Sima Xiangru's biography.

policies which burdened not only the people but the magistrate himself.

As he faced the daily tasks of the official, Su Shi came to envy those who had chosen retirement from the court or a life of total reclusion. When duties of daily life pressed upon him and saddened him, a retreat into the landscape provided a momentary respite.¹¹⁶ He expressed gratitude to a fellow official for an invitation to take an excursion on West Lake.

Don't you see the itinerant official from
Hangzhou,
In the morning cross-examining the prisoners,
In the afternoon he settling the cases,
Without your invitation how would he have a
moment off?¹¹⁷

The issue of service and retirement was given an airing in a poem he wrote to fellow officials after an outing to Jing Mountain. Preference for the reclusive life is shown in the allusions to men of the past who chose retirement:¹¹⁸

116. See Yang Mu [C.H. Wang], Yi shou shi de wancheng 一首詩的完成 (Taipei: Hongfan, 1989), pp. 125-127. Excursions in Hangzhou provided inspiration for fine poetry as well.

117. SSSJ, 2/8/337-339. "和蔡準郎中見邀遊西湖三首" Poem #1.

118. SSSJ, 2/10/488-489, "與周長官李秀才遊徑山二君先以詩見寄, 次其韻二首" Poem #2.

The dragon is also attached to his old home,
 For a hundred years he still comes and goes.¹¹⁹
 And coming to this time of the hailstorm at
 night,
 In temple halls the wind circles around the mist.
 But I have abandoned my old country,
 On the great river have forgotten the northern
 ford.
 I prefer to be here at the foot of this mountain,
 To build a house, peacefully delaying old age.
 Yet I fear I will be too secluded and lonely,
 At seasons end the frost will seep into my shoes.
 As a traveling companion I now have Master Li,
 His uncertain steps following along haltingly.
 Kongming was not attached to his own ways,
 Approaching old age, he responded to the three
 requests.
 Were I to retire, I would close my door ever
 tightly,
 Then who would walk the path to my gate?

There is a tone of audacity in Su Shi's comparison
 of himself with Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮 (181--234),
 particularly in the suggestion that he would remain firm
 in his resolve were he to make the decision to go into
 reclusion.¹²⁰ In the first poem of the series, Su Shi
 contrasts his vacillation with Tao Yuanming's
 determination:

119. SSSJ, 2/10/488-489. Wang Wen'gao says that
 the images refer to Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮, Kongming 孔明,
 mentioned later in the poem, but Ji Yun sees the image as
 referring to Su Shi himself. See Ji Yun, Su Wen Gong
shi ji.

120. See Zhuge Liang's "Chu shi biao 出師表 in
Wen xuan, 37.516-517. He responds to the request to come
 out of reclusion and to assist Liu Bei.

... I sigh that I am like everyone else in the
 world,
 No different from those ridiculing the hundred
 pace retreaters.
 Achievement and fame are nothing but a broken
 crock,
 Once abandoned not worth looking at again.
 I depend even more on Tao Yuanming,
 And go to inquire about the road of the
 sojourner.¹²¹

As time passed in Hangzhou he came to prefer
 association with men who had retired, saying that
 official life brought trouble.

RETURNING FROM JING MOUNTAIN I RECEIVE LU CHATUI'S POEM
 AND USE HIS RHYMES TO CALL HIM TO STAY AT WEST LAKE"¹²²

For several days, I've set aside hair clasp and
 tablet,
 My bare feet have been given temporary freedom.
 When I return I won't go into the official
 quarters,
 But will stay in the dwelling above the lake.
 I've long forgotten favoritism and insult.
 How could I ever fear the official censure.

His preference for association with monks and the
 solitude of the monasteries dates from this period.
 Tradition held that Hangzhou had over three hundred
 monasteries; Su Shi said he would visit each of them.¹²³

121. SSSJ, 2/10/488. 與周長官, 李秀才遊徑山 "Poem #1.

122. SSSJ, 2/7/350-351. "自徑山回得呂推察詩
 "用其韻招之, 宿湖上 ." [Final 12 lines].

123. Chikusa Masaaki 竺沙雅章, "So Shoku to
 Bukkyō 蘇軾と佛教 " in Tōhō gakuho no. 36 (October
 1964), p. 472.

On an outing to the Crane Forest Temple and the Summoning the Recluse Temple, he wrote of the restorative power of temporary reclusion.

The rains are just clearing in the plain outside
the city,
The spring scenes are even more appealing.
All around the old temple stand tall bamboo,
And in the deep groves one hears the cuckoo.
Awakening from sleep I see willow flowers
falling,
My eyes are dazzled by flaming cherry trees on
the mountain.
At the western casement there is a sick visitor,
Sitting erect watching the mist of incense.

POEM #2

I sing as I walk along the White Cloud Peak,
And chant as I sit in the tall bamboo grove.
Flowers fall naturally touched by the light
breeze,
The mountain half shaded where the sunlight is
faint.
Grasses along the ravine, who else knows of them?
The fragrance of incense is difficult to trace.
Occasionally I see someone from the city,
Dwelling in solitude, I want even deeper
seclusion.

Reclusion in the formal sense did not seem possible to him during his early Hangzhou days, thus he was satisfied with temporary retirement. Furthermore, enamored of the natural beauty in Hangzhou, he saw it not only as a temporary home, but also as a possible alternative to his proposed return.

ON THE TWENTY-SEVENTH OF THE SIXTH MONTH AT THE LAKEVIEW
PAVILION, WRITING WHILE DRUNK.¹²⁴ Poem #5

Since I'm not yet a minor recluse, I'll settle
for a middle one.¹²⁵
To have lasting free time is better than
temporary leisure.
I never really had a home, how could I settle
down?
My native place lacks beautiful lakes and hills
like these.

The combination of conditions in the provinces provided Su Shi the appropriate independence, even autonomy to develop his sense of purpose and self. He found in the landscape and the religious ambience inspiration for his ideal of self-cultivation. At the same time, life in the provinces was a temporary escape from the problems at the court. The taste of retirement left a lingering appeal.

Retirement from Office: Retreat to An Estate

While forms of temporary retirement could be adopted by the Chinese official, formal retirement from office was a matter which required focused consideration. Response to a formal request for retirement was granted to Su Shi once during his time of service to the court.

124. SSSJ, 2/7/339. 六月二十七日, 望湖樓醉書
五絕 . " Poem #5

125. See Li Chi, "Recluse in Chinese Literature," p. 243 for the distinction of various forms of reclusion.

His most opportune moment for considering retirement followed the reprieve which brought to an end his exile in Huangzhou. Poetry written during the period in which he considered this retreat from life as an official of the court revealed how the tensions between service and retirement had intensified because of his exile.

A degree of equilibrium, if not true stability, had begun to characterize Su Shi's existence late in his Huangzhou exile. His sense of isolation had lessened with the extended visit of his friend, the monk Canliaozi, who came in the spring of 1083, and with the companionship of the old Taoist, Zhao Gu. Although Su Shi was living a life of involuntary retirement, their presence added a dimension of voluntariness to his life. His activities had much in common with those who had willingly rejected official service.

Thus the pardon which Shenzong granted Su Shi, ironically, initiated a series of experiences almost as traumatic as the exile itself. In the first month of 1084, Su Shi received word that he had been assigned, with no change in rank, to Ruzhou.¹²⁶ The period following the reception of the mandate was perhaps the only true opportunity Su Shi ever had for retirement from service. It seems that he himself sensed the uniqueness

126. Present day Henan, Linru City.

of the opportunity and tried to make it a reality. Initially, he hesitated in his response, thinking it better to request to remain in Huangzhou. He wrote to a friend, saying:

Recently I received the emperor's favor reassigning me to Ruzhou. Then I thought I would beg to remain living in Huangzhou. But as I carefully considered the greatness of my offense, the lightness of my punishment, and the graciousness of the emperor's kindness, I knew I had to leave for Ruzhou.¹²⁷

Having made the decision to leave Huangzhou, Su Shi began the journey to Ruzhou, which was located about 500 li southwest of the capital. He took the water route down the Yangtze, and began a period of wandering that was to last for more than a year. Plagued by the question of whether or not to seek retirement, he journeyed through the coastal provinces looking for a place to settle his family. Friends encouraged him to stay, to dwell near them, even though he was ostensibly an official enroute to his post. His responses during the period of wandering revealed deep tensions in his attitudes regarding service and withdrawal.

In the fourth month of 1084, as Su Shi departed Huangzhou with his family, he took a brief excursion to Lu Mountain then went directly to his brother's post in

127. SSWJ, 4/54/1588. "與王元直二首." The letter was written from Huangzhou sometime after 1084.1.

Yunzhou. Su Che was still toiling at his salt and wine tax office; Su Shi tried to encourage him to think of the future.¹²⁸

DEPARTING FROM ZIYOU AND FROM CHI¹²⁹ Poem #3

If we two old fellows retired it wouldn't be
difficult,
It matters only to have good sons carry on the
family fame.
I recall when your father was at your age,
As soon as he took up a brush, three thousand
words appeared.
When other people heard this, they all laughed,
Wanting to be cautious and not have sons like us.
The worthless ones have all been recommended to
the court,
While the talented are used for pulling salt
carts for 1000 li.¹³⁰

The poem is an ostensible form of encouragement. By praising Su Che and his eldest son Chi, Su Shi hoped to hearten his younger brother. At the same time, the tone of sarcasm, appearing again in Su Shi's writings, indicates that he thinks members of the Su family will have little opportunity to gain high positions. Under

128. Su Shi arrived in time to celebrate the Duanwu festival; because Su Che was busy in the offices, he took the three sons for an excursion. See SSSJ, 4/23/1224-1225.

129. SSSJ, 4/23/1225-1227. "别子由三首兼别遲." Poem #3

130. Su Che was in charge of the salt and wine monopoly in Chenzhou during Su Shi's exile to Huangzhou. During that time, his sons probably assisted him in some manner. Su Shi is taking poetic license in the final line.

such circumstances, he suggests, it is better to retire and to enjoy a leisurely life.

POEM #2

In the past our father desired to live in
 Luoyang,¹³¹
 Today I also have passed the foothills of Song
 Mountain.
 How could I dare divine for a house south of the
 river,
 Or try to buy land with tall bamboo at Yichuan?
 I've also heard that Hou Mountain has a wonderful
 spring,
 It runs along the village, passes through the
 woods and flows like cold jade.
 I dream of a thatched cottage opening to
 reflecting water,
 Where we two old fellows face each other as lofty
 as wild geese.¹³²

As a suitable place was sought for retirement, the Su brothers often recalled Su Xun's desire to retire near the Capital. The appeal of retirement had probably been strengthened because Su Shi had just joined in an excursion to Lu Mountain with Canliaozi who had recently made the decision to go into reclusion on the mountain. For several months while Canliaozi was a guest in the Snow Hall in Huangzhou they had discussed Buddhism and poetry; on the mountain, the realities expressed in

131. Su Xun had not made plans to return to Shu; instead he wished to retire in the area south of Luoyang. The Cha commentary quotes a passage that points to the irony of Su Xun's desire to leave Shu and that of his sons to return there. See SSSJ, 4/23/1226.

132. SSSJ, 4/23/1225-1227 "别子由三首兼别遁." Poem #2

Buddhism were immediately impressed upon Su Shi.¹³³

Whether the poem which Su Shi wrote to dedicate to the famous Buddhist monk Changzong 常宗 [1025--1091], then living at the Donglin Monastery on Mount Lu, is sufficient testimony to Su Shi's enlightenment is a matter of opinion. Nonetheless, it is apparent that Su Shi's verses during the excursion to Mt. Lu show the influence of Buddhism on his thought and the expression of his admiration for religiously oriented reclusion.¹³⁴

Even the meeting with Wang Anshi, retired and in semi-reclusion on Ban Mountain in Nanjing, clarified for Su Shi the attraction of withdrawal from service. Since his second retirement from the First Privy Councilor position in 1076, Wang had devoted himself to the study and practice of Buddhism, to the writing of commentaries on the histories, and to the perfection of his poetry.¹³⁵ There were obvious parallels between the actions of Wang in his voluntary retirement and Su Shi during his exile. Both had deepened their understanding of Buddhism, and Su

133. SSSJ, 4/23/1218-1219. "贈東林總長老."

134. See Beata Grant. "Buddhism and Taoism in the Poetry of Su Shi," pp. 115-119 for a discussion of the poem and the controversy over Su Shi's understanding of Buddhism.

135. Jonathan Pease, "From the Wellsweep to the Shallow Skiff: Life and Poetry of Wang Anshi," See particularly, "Retirement at Jiangning: 1076--1086," pp. 163-231.

Shi, despite his vow to abandon poetry, had been composing. Anecdotes about their meeting abound; most say that the two discussed religious and literary topics, but some suggest that tensions over the promotion of the New Policies had not been totally forgotten.¹³⁶ Wang encouraged Su Shi to retire in the Nanjing area; Su Shi responded with appropriate courtesy, and may well have seriously considered retiring there. In one of four poems written in response to the rhymes of Wang Anshi, he demurred.

MATCHING THE RHYMES OF DUKE JING¹³⁷, POEM #3

Far in the distance I ride a donkey through
untilled slopes,
Imagining what you looked like in days before
your illness.
Now you urge me to seek a small plot for my home,
I've already delayed ten years in following
you.¹³⁸

In addition to Wang Anshi, the Buddhist monk Foyin 佛印 also encouraged Su Shi to buy land in the Jinling area. Because the area reminded him of some places in

136. Pease, "From the Wellspring to the Shallow Skiff," p. 196; p. 63; Zeng Zaozhuang, Su Shi ping zhuan, p. 159.

137. SSSJ, 4/24/1251-1253. "次荆公韻四絕." Poem #3

138. For Wang Anshi's poem, see Pease, "From the Wellspring to the Shallow Skiff," p. 558.

Huangzhou, Su Shi was inclined to consider it. By then, he was also feeling quite confused about long-term plans.

I CAN DIVINE FOR MY HOME AMIDST THE PINES ON SUAN MOUNTAIN; I WANT TO BUY THE LAND; BECAUSE IT BELONGS TO JIN MOUNTAIN, I WRITE THIS POEM AND SEND IT TO ELDER YUAN ON JIN MOUNTAIN¹³⁹

... You ask me to what place I may return in this life,
I laugh and point to a hundred year old Fuxiu
Fortunately Suan Mountain has a fallow plot,
To summon this wanderer who has no home.

However, when Su Shi seriously considered the possibility of asking the emperor to allow him to retire, he turned to a friend and fellow-official for advice. Teng Yuanfa, son-in-law of Fan Zhongyan, had received assistance from Su Shi in writing a memorial to request Shenzong's reconsideration of his demotion, and had been recently assigned to Huzhou.¹⁴⁰ Now it was Su Shi who asked for his advice in requesting that the emperor allow him to retire.¹⁴¹

From the time I heard that you had been assigned to Wuxing, I have hoped each day that I would see you along the road. But I am in

139. SSSJ, 4/24/1277-1278. "蒜山松林中可卜居,余欲僦其地,地属金山,故作此诗与金山元長老."

140. Li Yibing, Su Dongpo xin zhuan, p. 435. Li comments on the assistance offered by Teng Yuanfa. Lin Yutang, The Gay Genius, p. 253 says that Teng persuaded Su Shi to purchase the land.

141. Li Yibing, Su Dongpo xin zhuan, pp. 435-437.

straits because at one point my family became ill and because of a delay in seeking the doctor's advice we lost an infant. Moreover, now pressured by age, my plan to retire seems blurred. Up to now I have had no success in finding land and a place to live. On the fourteenth, I should decide to leave this place, but I dare not stay in Zhenzhou for I fear that the magistrate will force me to remain there. I will be able to remain for a day only; is it possible for you to stay for a while so that I will be able to see you? If I reach Yangzhou and hear you are still there, I will take a boat and go to see you.

After receiving Teng's advice as to how to make the request, Su Shi submitted a memorial to the emperor, requesting permission to retire in Changzhou. The reasons he advanced were similar to those in the letter written to Teng; he respectfully added that he was in financial straits.

However, for some time I have been without funds; food and clothing are insufficient. My family burden has been quite heavy, and traveling by boat was my only possible means. From the time I left Huangzhou, I have been wandering about experiencing many unexpected difficulties. Family members have been ill, and I have lost a son. Today, even though I have reached Sizhou, I have already used up my resources. It is still quite far to Ruzhou and difficult to get there traveling by land. Without a place to live and land to till for food, with more than twenty mouths to feed, I don't know where to turn. My needs for food and clothing are as immediate as tomorrow. Rather than be in shame asking help from the people, should I not cast myself on you? I have some fallow land in Yixing, Changzhou, which is just enough to provide for our family's minimal supplies. I wish to turn to you and your

benevolence to ask if you will allow me to reside in Changzhou.¹⁴²

While Su Shi's petition was being taken before the emperor, word had spread that he wanted to retire. Some colleagues who did not want to see him leave said that he still had a contribution to make. But Su was insistent, and sent his request. Then in the second month of 1085, he was granted permission to retire.¹⁴³

On the journey to Yixing 宜興 in Changzhou to begin his retirement, Su Shi wrote poems expressing his gratitude and his hopes. Three poems recorded his satisfaction in having found a place to purchase land and settle.¹⁴⁴

142. SSWJ, 2/23/657-658. "乞常州居住表 ."

143. Wang Baozhen, Nianpu, p. 163.

144. Unfortunately, the third poem of the series was used against Su Shi as evidence that he rejoiced in the Emperor's death. See Xu tong jian, 8th month of Yuanfeng 8 (1085). Su Shi in Nanjing heard that he had been given permission to reside in Changzhou, then he went south to Yangzhou. In the fifth month outside the gates of the Zhuxi Monastery, he heard ten elders speaking that a fine young man had taken the throne. Poem #3 reads: "In this life I realize there will be nothing; yet this year I have met up with a great harvest. Coming back from the mountain monastery, I heard the good news, Wild flowers and chirping birds are all delighted." Li Yibing, Su Dongpo xin zhuan, pp. 450-451 gives details on Su Shi's desire to dwell in Changzhou.

RETURNING TO YIXING, LEAVING AN INSCRIPTION AT THE ZHUXI
TEMPLE¹⁴⁵ Poem #1

For ten years my dream of retirement has been
entrusted to the west wind,
This time when I go I'll truly be a farmer with
land.
What I will now do is seek the Ridge of Shu with
new well water,
I want to bring the taste of home east of the
Great River.

Once the land was purchased, Su Shi began to enjoy a
leisurely life and to appreciate the scenery in the lake
district. On an outing with the official who had served
in Huangzhou during Su's banishment there, Su Shi
described the scenes with an appreciative eye and at the
same time, recalled his time in Huangzhou.

TAKING AN EXCURSION WITH MENG ZHENG AT THE MONK'S
DWELLING IN CHANGZHOU¹⁴⁶ #1

As years pass I have come to feel the evanescence
of life,
Again I've come to the Wu area in aimless
wandering.¹⁴⁷
Suddenly I meet the official Meng of Dongping,
As well in dream we face each other talking of
Huangzhou.¹⁴⁸

145. SSSJ, 4/25/1346. "歸宜興, 留題竹西寺 ." Poem #1

146. SSSJ, 4/25/1349-1350. "與孟震同遊常州
僧舍." Poem #2.

147. Changzhou was part of the ancient area of Wu.

148. Meng served as an official during Su Shi's
banishment to Huangzhou; the two had taken excursions
together.

Because his preference for many years had been for the Jiangnan area with its waterways, scenery and climate, Su Shi was at last "at home."¹⁴⁹ Ease and joy combined to create a mood which expressed the essence of retirement for him.

TO THE TUNE OF "PUSAMAN"

My lands purchased at Yangxian, I can grow old
there,
All along I cared not about mountains and
streams.
I come and go in an empty boat,
Roaming with the creator.
There are books, but I'm too lazy to read them,
I just sing slowly, "Return."
My energy is sufficient for poetry,
If only there are wind and rain.¹⁵⁰

The themes of retirement, particularly the emphasis on the influence of the landscape environment for relaxation, give the poem a calm and easy style. The poet implies that the landscape is not only a place where one retires. It could provide the stimulus for the creation of poetry. Su Shi thought, as did many poets,

149. Li Yibing, Su Dongpo xin zhuan, pp. 451-452. Details that Su Shi had heard about the area from a classmate during the first exams at the capital and had promised to go one day. In 1073 while on a tour of duty, he had been delighted by the landscape.

150. DPYFO 2." 38/b. "Pusaman 菩薩蠻" was probably composed in 1085 in Yixing.

that the landscape itself assisted the poet by giving him the materials for composition. Retirement at an estate provided leisure and a stimulus for creativity. But fundamentally, it was removal from the court and its problems that allowed Su Shi the freedom to find himself, if only for a moment.

Retreat Within the Court

The idea of retreat within the court was not alien to the Confucian official. It had served as a rationalization for those who felt that there was no need for physical withdrawal when a distancing in spirit allowed one to remain at court. Likewise for ministers who felt that departure from the court would not be viewed favorably, it was prudent to remain within the court and to protect one's life.¹⁵¹

When Su Shi spoke of withdrawal and retreat, he referred not only to psychological withdrawal within the court, but also to ways of serving at the court while finding momentary respite from the demands of official life. In addition to general attitudes Su Shi held regarding his experience in the capital, he had specific ideas about how a man could cultivate himself while remaining active at the court.

¹⁵¹. See Wolfgang Bauer, "The Hidden Hero," pp. 166 ff.

The periods Su Shi spent at the court or in the city of Bianjing were never of an extended duration. Furthermore a contrast should be made between times prior to and after his Huangzhou exile. During times at the capital prior to his first exile, Su Shi was usually engaged in preparation for an examination. After arriving in the capital in 1056, the brothers prepared for and passed the jìnshì examination, returning to Shu just after the examination to observe the mourning period for their mother. Later, they spent a year and a half in Kaifeng, from 1060.2 to 1061.9, primarily preparing for the decree examination. After completing his appointment in Fengxiang, Su Shi spent another year and a half in the capital, taking a special examination and being appointed to the Institute of History in 1065. Upon returning to Kaifeng in 1069.2 after observing the mourning period for his father, he stayed for almost two and one half years. From 1071, when he requested a provincial appointment, until 1085 when he was summoned back to the court to join the Yuanyou partisans under Sima Guang's leadership, Su Shi was away from the court. Then for almost four years he served at the court, requesting a provincial appointment in 1089. From that time on, Su Shi spent only three months in 1091 and a nine month period in 1092 at the court. Once sent south in exile the following year, he never returned.

Prior to his first exile, Su Shi found the environment of the capital and the court congenial to his interests. He was in contact with the most important ministers of the era and was sponsored by several of them. Following the reprieve which allowed him to leave his Huangzhou exile and the summons back to court, Su Shi's situation changed dramatically. His responsibilities at court were expanded and his prestige increased. He was sought by younger officials who admired his genius.

Officials schooled in the Confucian tradition generally considered government service the only true means of self-fulfillment. Nonetheless, some officials had come to question how one could be consumed by the duties of governance and still have adequate time to engage in self-cultivation. For that reason, life on an estate near the court which made occasional retreat possible was seen as an alternative to retirement. An official might live in the suburbs in order to separate himself from the bustle of court activity. Periods away from the court could give the official the feeling that he was in retirement. For instance, Shen Yue 沈約 (441--513) who held important posts under three successive dynasties, sought to maintain his position at court while searching for ways to express his Buddhist

and Taoist longings for reclusion.¹⁵² During the Tang, Wang Wei often arranged to retire to his estate to engage in Buddhist study and self-cultivation while still maintaining his position at the court.¹⁵³

A contemporary of Su Shi, the former prime-minister Han Qi 韓琦 (1008--1075), found in his retreat from court a way of leaving his duties temporarily. When Han asked Su Shi to write a record for a Hall at his estate, Su wrote the inscription in which he compared Han's approach to the question of retirement with that of Bai Juyi:

INSCRIPTION FOR THE DUKE OF WEI HAN QI'S HALL NAMED AFTER THE DRUNKEN BAI JUYI¹⁵⁴

The Duke of Wei built a hall over a pond on his private estate calling it the "Hall Named After the Drunken Bai Juyi." He used Bai Letian's poem on the pond as the song for his hall. When people in the world heard of this they questioned why he had done so, thinking that the Duke of Wei could already be compared favorably with Yin and Zhou and yet he admired Letian.¹⁵⁵ But when I

152. The conflicts in Shen Yue's life and the manner in which he retreated while holding a position of power at the court are masterfully explored by Richard B. Mather. See The Poet Shen Yüeh (441-513): The Reticent Marquis (Princeton, 1988).

153. For Wang Wei's decision to live apart from the court, see Marsha Wagner, Wang Wei, pp. 87-89.

154. DPWJSL, vol 2, pp. 821-824.

155. The comparison is with Yi Yin 伊尹 of the Shang and the Duke of Zhou 周公, both known for their good advisement of the ruler.

heard of it, I laughed and said, 'How could he be admiring of Letian only?'

As he continues with his inscription, Su Shi presents his views on the relative merits of service and retirement. In addition to stating the principle that men usually seek that which they do not possess, he explains that Han Qi has achieved all that he could desire as an official. Because he possesses the merit of having served three emperors and of having been urged to forego retirement for the sake of the country, he has no need of additional public service or acclaim. On the contrary, Bai Juyi enjoyed the pleasure of more than fifteen years of retirement in the presence of friends and female companions. Wine, poetry and excursions in the landscape filled his days of retirement. Han Qi, however, lacked the opportunity for sustained relaxation, gaining only periodic respite from his duties at the court. Nonetheless, according to Su, both possessed the merit of leaving a literary legacy and of contributing to the court in loyal service.

An attitude regarding the possibility of reclusion at the court had been expressed during the Han by Dongfang Shuo, minister to Han Wudi 漢武帝 (r.140--87 B.C.) who proposed, without his typical jesting, that an official could hide himself away at the court in times of

menace and danger. There was no need to leave to live a life of reclusion. Even though Dongfang Shuo's stance had been criticized as a compromising one, his approach was not without influence on later ministers.¹⁵⁶

However, because most ministers lacked the cleverness of Dong Fangshuo, they preferred the traditionally accepted reference to the Book of Changes as justification for their activities.¹⁵⁷ In the Changes there was support for the view that one could retire like the dragon who remained in hiding awaiting a proper time to emerge. Similarly, the official could remove himself temporarily while awaiting the propitious time when a ruler would summon him for timely service.

While Su Shi did not refer to the Book of Changes in support of his own actions, he was able to apply the principle to his brother's situation. In 1061 Su Shi was given an appointment to Fengxiang while his brother awaited assignment in the capital. In part because of Wang Anshi's contention that Su Che's essays in the decree examination of that year were extreme in their criticism of the emperor's policies, Su Che had not yet been assigned an official post.¹⁵⁸ When an appointment

156. See Li Chi, "Recluse," pp. 241-43.

157. For a study of various strands of eremitism in China, see Wolfgang Bauer, "The Hidden Hero," pp. 157-198.

158. Zeng Zaozhuang, Su Che, Nianpu, pp. 35-37.

to Shangzhou was given, Su Che refused it because he did not think it suitable for an aspiring official with his qualifications. Instead he decided to remain in the capital with his father, who was then writing his commentary on the Book of Changes. During the time of waiting, and even after Su Che's decision to remain in Bianjing, Su Shi wrote poetry praising his brother, referring to him as a recluse in the capital:

WHILE ILL I HEAR THAT ZIYOU RECEIVED HIS APPOINTMENT TO
SHANGZHOU BUT WAS PERMITTED TO DECLINE IT¹⁵⁹ Poem #1

While ill I have learned that you are exempted
from serving in Shangzhou,
Like the traveling wild goose, when will you
return to the flock?
Parted by this long distance, I don't value my
official position,
Now thinking of returning, I feel that the time
is long.
To have the leisure to write books is surely a
fine plan,
As a traveling official with no merit, I've
nothing but departure from my homeland.
Only in the imperial capital is the best
reclusion sustained,
There among thousands of people, a single man is
hidden.

The basic contrast is between the official whose active life demands movement from post to post and the hidden figure who can live among the officials at the court without being noticed. Su Shi believed that lofty

159. SSSJ, 1/4/155-158. "病中聞子由得告不赴
商州三首" Poem #1

behavior was possible anywhere, even in the capital, as he insists in the final poem of his series:

POEM #3¹⁶⁰

Who understands your intention in refusing the
position and remaining at home?
In an era of goodness, how could you be resentful of
a low post?
The myriad affairs are drawing out, we must lift
a glass of wine,
The years pass and vanish turning our hair frosty
white.
Your plan has offended those people and they thus
dislike you,
But in the Changes you can forget your worries
with a teacher in the family.
Besides him, who is the friend who truly knows
your heart?
How illusory the way our spirits meet each other
in dreams.

Within the tradition of the Changes, which was their father's chosen work for study, a position of semi-retreat could be substantiated. The attraction the book held for Su Xun had been bequeathed to his sons. Furthermore, before his death, he had directed them to complete the commentary he had begun.¹⁶¹ Working primarily during times of exile, Su Shi finished the

160. SSSJ, 1/4/155-158. "病中聞子由得告不赴商州三首". Poem #3

161. For a summary of facts related to the completion of the commentary, see Zeng Zaozhuang, "Cong Piling Yi zhuan kan Su Shi de shijieguan 從毗陵易傳看蘇軾的世界觀", in Sichuan Daxue xuebao congkan, no 6. (1980), pp. 59-66. Also see, George Hatch, "Su-shih I-chuan" in A Sung Bibliography, pp. 4-9.

work. From his analysis of hexagrams that could be used to determine appropriate times of advance and retreat, it can be said that Su Shi accepted the view that a minister should serve an enlightened ruler.¹⁶² Retreat had some positive connotations as a time of waiting.

The conception of the loyal official responding to the summons of the righteous ruler must underlie Su Shi's acceptance of a call to serve at the court in 1085. He had enjoyed voluntary retirement in Yixing, Changzhou for only a short time. His provincial appointment had just begun when he was summoned.¹⁶³ It was apparently a combination of ambition, pride and a sense of duty that prompted Su Shi to accept the position at the court. The continued support of the Empress Dowager, Xuanren, who was the power behind the throne until 1093, was a compelling reason for Su Shi's willingness to serve.

Opposition to Su Shi's attempt to retire was also expressed by fellow officials. When Su Shi was called back to the court, Hu Wanfu wrote to welcome him back. Hu compared him to the Han official Jia Yi who had

162. Su Su shi Yi zhuan 蘇軾易傳 (Taipei: Guangwen shuju, 1974). For example, see Su Shi's commentary on the hexagram dun 遁 "Retreat." He emphasizes that retreat can indeed result in favorable circumstances. See, juan 4, 7a-10a.

163. He was assigned to Dengzhou in present day Penglai in Shandong Province. Only five days after reaching Dengzhou on 1085.10.15, he was summoned back to join Sima Guang.

returned from his exile in Changsha to become tutor at the court.¹⁶⁴ Comparison was made also with Xie An (320-385), the Taoist recluse called out of retirement to serve as minister in the Jin court.

At age fifty Master Su has graying temples,¹⁶⁵
 In grey shirt and dark robe he enters the Han
 gate.
 Jia Yi returned from exile, still tutor to the
 prince,
 Xie An growing old turning away from East
 Mountain.
 Among rocks and streams of Huanggang and beyond
 the worldly plane,
 The ox and sheep in Yangxian are illuminated in
 the setting sun.¹⁶⁶
 We know you have a bamboo grove, and in high
 spirits enjoy it,
 Although you want to retire, who is willing to
 give you leisure?

In the process of consideration before he returned to the court, Su Shi compared himself with Han Yu who had been summoned back after a period of exile. First of all Su Shi alluded to Han Yu's opportunity to view scenes at Yueyang with his own sighting of the mirage of a city on the sea.¹⁶⁷ Furthermore, he compared himself specifically to Han Yu, who had been summoned back from

164. SSSJ, 5/26/1402-1403. The poem by Hu Wanfu, his colleague is given in notes on p. 1403.

165. SSSJ, 5/26/1402-1403.

166. Huanggang is Huangzhou; Yangxian is Changzhou.

167. SSSJ, 5/26/1389. See Wang Wen'gao's notes for the allusions to Han Yu and his poem.

his exile in the south. Later, in his inscription for the temple built in Chaozhou to honor Han Yu, Su Shi would say that fate determines what man encounters, but here Su Shi attributes his own difficulties to the actions of men. It is heaven who allowed him to see the mirage and heaven who brings him back to the court:

. . .In the human realm one may gain through
force,
But in the other world where nothing exists, none
is first.
Freely I have been summoned and I did not refuse,
Truly I have been tried by man, not impoverished
by heaven.
When the Prefect of Chaoyang returned from his
southern exile,
He was happy to see the stone pavilion with fiery
objects piled.
He said his upright virtue moved the mountain
spirits,
How could he know the creator would pity the aged
fellow?¹⁶⁸

But once returned to the court, problems arising from conflicting philosophies as well as from factional and regional differences were reflected in Su Shi's writings.

Nonetheless, the three years of life at the capital were not totally consumed by factional disputes. The Song capital at Bianjing, was a highly urbane and cosmopolitan city. Officials serving there engaged in the literate arts. Su Shi, in particular, contributed to

168. SSSJ, 5/26/ 1387-1389, L. 6ff.
"登州海市".

the activities of circles which took painting, calligraphy and poetry as topics for cultured exchange. Furthermore, he developed firm friendships with the young scholars who came to be known as the Four Disciples of Su Shi: Huang Tingjian, (1045--1105), Chao Buzhi (1053--1110), Zhang Lei (1052--1112), and Qin Guan (1049--1100).¹⁶⁹ At this time his fellow exiles, Wang Dingguo and Wang Jinqing, had both returned from their places of banishment to the capital. Their combined achievements in literary and painting theory, calligraphic theory, and calligraphic style were a contribution to the defining of an aesthetic standard.¹⁷⁰ Su Shi's influential analysis of spontaneity in creation in comments about his cousin Wen Yuke's painted bamboo also date from this period. Remarks on the relationship between poetry and painting were expressed in numerous colophons.¹⁷¹ Su Shi's comparison of Wang Wei's poetry with painting emphasized a growing awareness of the nature of the sister arts.¹⁷²

169. For a discussion of the relationship of the four men to Su Shi, see Zhou Yigan 周義敢, Su Men Si Xueshi 蘇門四學士 (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1983).

170. Extensive analysis of the influence of the scholars on Chinese culture is found in Peter Bol, Culture and the Way in Eleventh Century China, (Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton, 1982).

171. See Wang Shuizhao, Su Shi, pp. 89-90.

172. His contribution to the determination of the literati tradition in art is analyzed in Susan Bush, The Chinese Literati on Paintint: Su Shih (1037--1101 to

Encouraging artists and critics to look beyond the form to the deeper significance of an artistic work, Su Shi developed important principles of criticism during the several years in Kaifeng.

Not only did he enjoy the expression of art and the appreciation of the art of others, he used it as a form of escape and consolation. Colophons on landscape paintings reveal how he entered into the spirit of the painting, looked to the landscape painted there and thought of retiring to the secluded place depicted on the scroll.

COLOPHON FOR THE PAINTING 'MISTY RIVER AND LAYERED HILLS' IN WANG DINGGUO'S COLLECTION¹⁷³

Above the river, causing melancholy, thousand-
fold hills,
Floating in space the green layers resemble
clouds and mist.
Are they mountains or clouds? So distant no one
knows,
Till mists clear and clouds scatter while the
hills remain.
Then I see, in gorge cliffs, black-green clefts,
Where a hundred waterfalls leap from the sky,
Treading woods, tangling rocks, lost and seen
again,
Falling to the mouth of a valley and turning to
swift streams.
Where the river broadens, mountains part,
foothill forests end,
A small bridge, a country store set against the
slope:

Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555--1636), (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983).

173. SSSJ, 5/30/1607-1608. "書王定國所藏
烟江疊嶂圖."

Travelers pass now and then beyond the towering
 trees,
 Fisherman's boat is like a speck where the river
 swallows the sky.
 Tell me, where did you get this painting,
 With dots and strokes detailed clearly and
 beautifully?
 I didn't know the human realm had places such as
 this,
 I want to go there and buy a small plot of land.
 Haven't you seen Wuchang and Fankou's secluded
 places?
 The Gentleman of the Eastern Slope lived there
 for five years.
 Spring winds ruffled the river and the sky was
 vast,
 When evening clouds rolled back the rain
 mountains were lovely.
 From scarlet maples, crows flapped down to sleep
 near the river,
 From tall pines snow fell startling me from
 drunken sleep.
 Peach blossoms and flowing streams are in the
 mundane world,
 How could Wuling be a place for immortals only?
 Rivers and mountains are clean and empty, I in
 worldly dust,
 Although there's a road to take, I have no chance
 to seek it.
 I return your painting and heave three sighs,
 Old friends from the mountains should summon me
 with poems of return.¹⁷⁴

The first section of the poem describes the painting
 and praises the painter for the effective depiction of
 the landscape. The poetic rendering of the landscape
 painting flows like the movement of the eye wandering
 through a landscape scroll on a vicarious journey through
 mountain and stream. From the vast expanse of distant

174. SSSJ, 5/30/1609-1611. The poem was written
 on the occasion of Wang Jingqing's departure from the
 capital.

rows of mountains to the small ridge and shop set against a mountain slope, one who views the painting can willfully arrange the scene. But the poet provides a sequence of movement down the line of his poem and through the landscape, connecting the visual images and moving to an interpretation of them. In the second section of the poem, the poet introduces a comparison with the landscapes he has seen. With four deft lines he summarizes the seasonal changes at his dwelling in the Huangzhou exile, then alludes to the idyllic land of Tao Qian's Peach Blossom Source. Ironically, the paradise is compared to hidden spots near his place of exile in Wuchang 武昌 and Fankou 樊口 along the Yangtze River. In memory and in anticipation, Su Shi is able to enjoy the sense of reclusion by viewing the landscape painting.

Without directly describing a painting, Su Shi could use the experience of looking at a painting to develop a related theme. Viewing a painting of a mountain by Wang Jingqing, he reflected on men who had found reclusion in the mountains:

COLOPHON FOR WANG JINQING'S PAINTING 'ZHUOSE SHAN' IN
WANG DINGGUO'S COLLECTION¹⁷⁵

The white haired four old men,
Did they not once dwell on Shang Mountain?¹⁷⁶

175. SSSJ, 5/31/1638-1639.

I rely on the images on your paper,
 To reflect the mountains in my breast.
 And what can be found on that mountain?
 Trees are aged and the land and rocks coarse.
 Now depending on the rays of sun above,
 The valleys are profusely multicolored.
 My heart is empty with no attachments,
 How could my colophon be something to relate.
 You can see the water in the ancient well,
 Myriad images coming and going of their own
 accord.

The painting evokes in Su Shi the thought of ancient lofty men. He speaks of the Four Hoary Heads 四皓 who rejected position and fame, preferring to dwell in the mountains despite efforts to bring them to the court. Presenting himself as one not attached to any thing, Su Shi says that his heart is as clear as the water in the ancient well. He thus allows all things the freedom to move through his mind. The tone and diction of the poem reveal an attraction for reclusion in the mountains.

In the second of the poems, Su Shi aligns himself with Wang Dingguo and with Wang Jingqing as men who learned to detach themselves from things because of their experience of exile. As he views the painting, he places the three of them in a symbolic place remote from court and culture--the mountains.¹⁷⁷

176. The Four Hoary Heads were recluses who refused to serve the Qin and also the Han. When summoned they remained in the mountains, coming forward only to criticize Han Gaozu's decision for selection of the crown prince. See Shi ji 55.2033-46.

177. The importance of the mountain in the development of Chinese painting and poetry is explored in

POEM #2¹⁷⁸

You returned to the north of the southern ridges
 and encountered snow for the first time.
 I also spent five springs south of the river.
 Let's send a message to our romantic, elegant
 Wang Wuzi,
 We three are men who have known the mountains.

Without explaining why they were men who came to dwell in the mountains, Su Shi tells of their remoteness from the court. Of course, the banishment of Wang Dingguo to Binzhou for three years and of Wang Jingqing to Yunzhou for the same number because of their complicity with Su Shi aligns them with him in spirit. He learned of withdrawal in his exile, and is thus a man of the mountains. A viewing of the painting becomes an opportunity not only for a vicarious experience of withdrawal, but also for calling the self to a recollection of the mountain experience.

While at court, Su Shi frequently wrote poems to send his friends off to their retirement. Furthermore, as in earlier periods, he used the occasions of the departure of a fellow official to express his own desire to leave the court.

Paul Demieville "La Montagne dans L'art Litteraire Chinois," France/Asie 20 (1965), pp. 7-32.

178. SSSJ, 5/311/1638-1639. "書王定國所藏王晉卿畫着色山二首." Poem #2.

Escape to the Provinces to Preserve Self

Use of the traditional poses of the literati vis a vis the court reveal that Su Shi's relationship to the court was never one without inherent tensions. However, it was only in the late period when factional disputes intensified that use of highly emotional language revealed his aversion to life at the court.

One factor prompting Su Shi's desire to leave the court and to return to the provinces was fear. He was afraid that those attacking him at court would bring him physical harm. He sought more than a temporary return to the provinces; he was determined to preserve his life by avoiding the attacks of the opposing groups.

At the court, problems arising from conflicting philosophies as well as from factional and regional differences, were reflected in Su Shi's writings. Because of the tension which existed between Su Shi and Cheng Yi on a personal level, their political actions caused increased conflict.¹⁷⁹ The followers of Cheng Yi, attacked him with such surprising persistence and intensity that Su Shi felt he was being persecuted.

179. Various anecdotes record the clash between Su Shi and Cheng Yi, both of whom served as tutor to the crown prince. See, for example, Hatch, Sung Biographies, p. 959, quoting Zhu Xi. Hoyt Tillman comments on the reasons for the antipathy, specifying Cheng Yi's denunciation of the Sus' eclecticism as being destructive of the Tao. See Utilitarian Confucianism, pp. 45-46.

Eventually, Su Shi felt compelled to escape by seeking assignment to the provinces. In the memorials "Request to Serve in the Provinces in Order to Avoid Jia Yi," he complained that disaster was imminent.¹⁸⁰

When the attacks of the opposition were too strong for Su Shi to find any solace in friends, in art or in his own philosophical musing, he insisted that he be allowed to leave the court. He wrote a review of his life; first as a poem to his brother and later as a memorial to the emperor, attempting to explain why it was necessary to leave.

POEM RECALLING THE PAST WITH PREFACE¹⁸¹

During the Jiayou period, Ziyou and I both took the decree examination and temporarily stayed at the Huaiyuan post station. That year I was twenty-six and Ziyou only twenty-three. One day as the autumn wind arose it rained and the night seemed prolonged; for the first time I had a morose feeling about separation and union. Since then we both received official appointments to various places and for most of the time were not able to see each other. Every time during the period between summer and autumn, when the wind blew bringing rain and leaves fell and grass decayed, I was always afflicted with the same feelings of melancholy. All this has lasted thirty years to this time.

During the Yuanfeng period, I was banished to Huangzhou while Ziyou was exiled to Yunzhou.

180. SSWJ, 3/33/934-935. "乞外補迴避
賈易劉子." Two memorials were sent, dated
respectively 7.28.1091 and 8.4.1091.

181. SSSJ, 6/33/1775-1778. "感舊詩并敘."
With Preface.

Once we wrote a poem to record this matter. In the sixth year of Yuanyou [1091] I was called back to the court from Hangzhou and stayed with Ziyu at the Eastern Quarters. Several months later I again left, to take charge of the office in Yingzhou. At this time I was fifty six. I wrote a parting poem for Ziyu and then left.

Pillow on the bed pointing to the Speed
 Boulevard,
 At the Double Towers, the night is not yet
 bright.
 Carriage wheels startle me from my sleep,
 How can the traveler enjoy a long dream?
 It is the beginning of autumn, rustling in the
 wutong tree,
 Wind and rain alert those in sunken chambers.
 I move alone, shadow under a pale moon,
 Sad as I am, I begin to feel cold.
 My memory stretches over the years of official
 service,
 I recall the days of my exile in Huangzhou.
 In a single flash all before me - all thirty
 years,
 But the feelings are by no means forgotten.
 I knock on the door and call out, "Brother,"
 But he is still soundly sleeping in peace.
 Dark mountains will be reflected on my white
 hair,
 For the return, I have three months of
 provisions.
 I desire to leave Ruyin and go,¹⁸²
 Straight up to the River Tongchuan.¹⁸³
 I reflect on the things in the cold tray,
 The stone honey and the frosted persimmon.
 I am moved by the fact that you have encountered
 a brilliant liege,
 The cares and worries have already been
 experienced.
 When will our debt to the country finally be
 paid?
 My heart has long ago gone elsewhere.

182. Ruyin 汝陰 is another name for Yingzhou.

183. Tongchuan 潼川 is a river in Sichuan, his home.

There is personal anguish expressed in the poem to Ziyou. It is the conflict of one who feels bound by a principle, that of service to the country, and drawn to freedom, the opportunity to live in peace. An impassioned account of his life and the attacks he has suffered is presented in a request to be sent to the provinces. Su Shi reminds the emperor that he has already submitted three requests to serve in the coastal area.¹⁸⁴ His rationale is obviously not a criticism of the emperor but of those at the court. He states: "You have already pardoned me, but the slanderers will not pardon me. They have continued to send up memorials to attack me."¹⁸⁵ An explanation for Su Shi's continued service is found in the memorial; he stated that the rulers had all been kind to him and to his brother. He noted that he had been brought back to the court and given high posts, and that currently Su Che was serving as one of the prime ministers. But in Su Shi's view, the honors served only to increase the jealousy of the others. Su Shi concluded that because the emperor could not protect him from the attacks of petty officials, a disaster was impending. His pledge of loyalty is given

184. SSWJ, 3/33/911ff. Memorials requesting the provinces were sent in 1091.5.19; 1091.7.16.

185. SSWJ, 3/33/911-15, esp. 913.
 "杭州召還乞郡狀."

with insistence that he be allowed to leave the court for the provinces once again.

With Zhezong's approval, a return to the provinces gave Su Shi respite from the attacks at court. The beauty of the landscape and the calm of Yingzhou's West Lake restored his sensibilities. Immediately upon arrival, he began to conduct government business at the lakeside. Humor and self-deprecation replaced complaint and concern for self preservation.

BOATING ON THE RIVER YING¹⁸⁶

By temperament I love to be near the water,
To be able to obtain Yingzhou was truly
marvelous.
Of the ten days since I reached my post,
I've spent nine on the river's bank.
Clerks and the people laugh and tell each other,
The prefect is old and doltish.
However, the prefect is really not stupid,
But the flowing waters are beguiling in manner.
Winding around the commandery more than ten li,
It's not too fast, not slow either.
The upper reaches are straight and clear,
The lower ones winding and rippling.
The painted boats rest on a bright mirror,
I laugh and ask, "Who is that person?"
Then suddenly the whirling scales form,
And fragment my whiskers and brows.
I'm scattered into a hundred Dongpos,
Then in a moment my image is there again.
How could the water be teasing me?
Is it enjoying it with me too?
Sound, colors and smells,
Are the things which dazzle young ones.
In the same way, the enjoyment we have here,
Being in the water is something freeing of cares.
Zhao, Chen and the two Ouyangs,
All contemplating approaching the Buddha.

186. SSSJ, 6/35/1794-1795. "泛潁".

As we observe the marvels, each gets something,
And we each write a poem about boating on the
Ying.

Su Shi had expected to stay in Yingzhou for some years and was thus angered by the court's decision to appoint him to Yangzhou after he had spent only several months in office. He wrote of his regret in a complaint about the frequent transfers:

SETTING OFF IN EARLY MORNING ON THE HUAI RIVER¹⁸⁷

Pale moon, lowering clouds, and plaintive bugles
at dawn,
As the breeze blows across the water, green
ripples open wide.
I am bound to grow old facing rivers and lakes,
Silently counting in this life ten crossings of
the Huai.¹⁸⁸

Once again, having completed only a few months of service at his post, Su Shi was moved from his provincial position. The call to return to court came in the eighth month of 1092. Even though Su Shi wished to ask for another assignment, when he considered that Zhezong had just reached the age to assume the power of the throne, he felt responsible to assist.¹⁸⁹ At the court, Su Che

187. SSSJ, 6/35/1870-1871. "淮上早發".

188. SSSJ, 6/35/1870. As a symbol of his life as a sojourner, the crossings of the Huai River are counted. See a review of the occasions in Li Yibing, Su Dongpo xin zhuan, p. 746.

189. Song shi, 338.10815.

was then one of the prime ministers, and Su Shi was to be the Minister of War. Early in the ninth month Su Shi left Yangzhou for the journey.¹⁹⁰ On the way to the capital where he would be met by his brother, he wrote a poem expressing his regret that the emperor had summoned them.

CALLED BACK TO THE COURT, I REACH THE CAPITAL GATES AND
FIRST SEND THIS TO ZIYOU¹⁹¹

My old body on a tired horse dragging along the
river dike,
I have trod through shadows of yellow yews and
green ashes.
The rooster in the wilds crows at the moon, not
yet the third watch,
The traveler's dreams of going home temporarily
ended.
No set time to retire and grow old among rivers
and lakes,
I've not yet filled in the ditch and still the
court calls me back.

The image of the tired horse returning to the capital is clear indication that Su Shi did not want to return to the court. Although his talents were not necessarily required at court, he felt he was responsible for supporting his brother. Eventually they realized that one of them should leave; as a pair, they were perceived by the opposing faction as a threat. Su Che, as the younger should have deferred, but Su Shi preferred

190. Wang Baozhen, Nianpu, p. 197.

191. SSSJ, 6/36/1919-20. "召還至都門先寄子由."

to be in the provinces. It was not that he was necessarily unsuited for life at the capital, but the attacks from Jia Yi had not subsided.

While in the provinces Su Shi had enjoyed relative leisure, but had taken his duties of governance seriously. He believed he had helped to develop policies which would benefit the populace. However, on the trip to Yangzhou as he passed through three provinces, he witnessed the migration of hordes of people. Because the crops were ready for harvest he was perplexed. Only after asking did he learn that people were fleeing to avoid the government taxes. He forwarded a strongly worded memorial accusing the central government bureaucracy of directly harming the people, insisting that debts to the government be forgiven and the people allowed to harvest their crops. The frankness, strength and clarity of his words stands in contrast to the customary report he wrote upon arrival in the second month of 1092. In the official report he had spoken only of his illness and desire to retire.¹⁹²

During the several months Su Shi governed Yangzhou, he was assisted by Chao Buzhi, who had been one of the first to request to study with Su Shi.¹⁹³ In him Su Shi

192. SSWJ, 2/24/695. "楊州謝到任表二首,"

193. Chao Buzhi was the first disciple accepted by Su Shi. See Song shi, 444.13111-13112; biographical

found the poet-companion he had lacked among his friends in Yingzhou. Responding to the poem Chao sent as welcome to the place, Su Shi invited Chao to retire with him.

MATCHING THE SCHOLAR CHAO'S POEM OF WELCOME¹⁹⁴

Let's escape from the human realm and return to
Yingzhou,
If you join me we can truly grow old in the Huai
region.
In dream Qiuchi is a thousand foot craggy
peak,¹⁹⁵
And I am about to grasp the dark rosy curtain of
sky.
If you need to return home to plan with your
wife,
My original road home goes through the Southwest.
Lately I've been drinking without a companion,
Alone I've looked at the red peonies and poured
wine for myself.
Whenever I go to Pingshan Hall, I think of the
"Old Drunkard,"
There will probably be a day when you also recall
me.
Children along the roadside smile as we meet,
Singing in unison saying that the myriad affairs
will turn empty in a moment.
Fortunately I have such a graceful, worthy
assistant,
To venture ten miles together in the blowing
spring wind.

Su Shi assumed that with a worthy assistant administrator he would be able to live a life of semi-retirement; he also anticipated that Chao would be his

information is given in SSSJ, pp. 1868-1870. Also, see Zhou Yigan, Su men si xueshi, pp 64-83.

194. SSSJ, 6/35/1868-1870. "次韻晁咎學士相迎."

195. Qiuchi 仇池 is the name of a peak in the mountains of Shu; it is Su Shi's symbol of the idyllic place of retirement.

companion in drinking and composing poetry. This, too, was a time during which he strengthened his identification with Tao Yuanming. He found in Tao's drinking poems a stimulus for a sustained consideration of the question of withdrawal from service. The poems, twenty in all, were written after Tao had left his official position and returned to the country to live. Late in his retirement, he composed these poems, which defined a world of existence that was not truly stupor and yet not sobriety. As Su Shi reflected on his own predicament, he found resonances with Tao and wrote poems matching the rhymes, sending copies to Chao and to Ziyou. The primary motifs in the series are the importance of the state of mind achieved while drinking wine and the insights that come in living a leisurely, deliberate existence. The concept of return was expanded to include the idea of retirement from office, the joys of a life of retirement and the notion of a return to simplicity.

MATCHING TAO'S DRINKING POEMS and Preface¹⁹⁶

POEM # 1

I am not equal to Tao,
 The affairs of the world have entangled me.
 I ask how one manages to have a leave,
 I also can resemble Tao on occasion.
 That beautiful place is right here,
 I've a small plot with no thistles or thorns.

196. SSSJ, 6/35/1881-1891. "和陶飲酒" With Preface.

I can let my heart go along freely,
 What I can see I no longer doubt.
 I sometimes acquire the delight of wine,
 But often lift an empty glass.

POEM #5

The small boat is just like a light leaf,
 Below there are dark waves roaring.
 In my drunkenness I paddle the oars at night,
 I don't know how the pillows turned aslant.
 At dawn I inquire about the way to go,
 Having already passed thousands of mountain
 ranges.
 Alas? What am I doing now?
 I have often taken this road back and forth.
 I would like to plan early for my future,
 Why speak again of what has passed?

He had sent up five requests for appointment to the provinces, the first shortly after taking up his position in the Ministry of War.¹⁹⁷ His requests went unheeded despite his insistence that he was elderly and ill, and despite an admission that he had been attached to the emoluments of office.¹⁹⁸ He requested specifically that he be sent to Kuaiji 會稽, adding that he would go without retaining high official rank.¹⁹⁹ His requests became increasingly direct in an effort to persuade. In his "Request to Serve in Yuezhou", he set forth his reasons.²⁰⁰

197. SSWJ, 3/37/1041-42. "赴英州乞舟行狀".

198. SSWJ, 3/37/1042. "赴英州乞舟行狀".

199. SSWJ, 3/37/1042. "赴英州乞舟行狀".

Last year after I had received your favor in being called back to the court, I frequently made requests to be appointed to Yuezhou. The reason was that since I first assumed my duties as an official, I have governed three times in Zhejiang, thus know a bit about the general local customs and have found it easy to govern there. Furthermore, old age and ill health are increased each day, requiring me to retire to rest. For some years I have owned a poor piece of land in Yixing, Changzhou that has long been left unattended. I would like to take the opportunity to go there as an official in order to restore it a bit and thus make it a place for retirement. Although Yue commandery is a remote and backward place, it is suitable for me. Recently your majesty has given me the directive to govern Dingzhou. Although your favor is extraordinarily kind, because I have grown feeble quite early in life and weak in spirit, the work truly will prove impossible for me to undertake. Yet because I myself asked for a provincial appointment, and now that I have obtained the appointment, if I should decline to accept it, I would appear to be selective; with that concern, I have forced myself to receive your majesty's order. Today I think once again that though Dingzhou is an important commandery, there is no military alert whatsoever. The duties and powers I would wield would be great and the rewards abundant. If I may decline the Dingzhou appointment and beg for a Yuezhou appointment, I will not appear to be violating the moral principle of righteousness. Therefore, I humbly request of your great, benevolent self, that you bestow your special favor and change my appointment to Yuezhou for this time.

The request Su Shi made for a provincial post which would be suitable for him was not granted. He was sent to Dingzhou far to the north, and from there was soon demoted and sent into exile.

Amnesty and Return of the Exile

Despite Su Shi's conception of himself as a man in retirement, in the eyes of the court he was a political exile. His formal status could be changed only by imperial decree. When reprieve was granted, Su Shi could have immediately changed the way in which he thought and spoke of himself. If he presented himself exclusively in terms of an official who was prepared to return to service of the court, he would appear to have retained no sense of self as one who had chosen to withdraw. Motifs of return would bear the single connotation of reprieve or recall. However, other dimensions are present in Su Shi's poems on the return trip.

The demotion and banishment of an official was essentially a political act; amnesty for officials, even when the reprieve was included in a general amnesty, was also politically motivated. Even though Su Shi was distant from the court and deprived of current news, he heard of his imminent reprieve. He learned that the reason for the amnesty was the death of Zhezong in the first month of 1100 and the ascendancy of Shenzong's eleventh son 卞 佖 who would rule as Huizong.²⁰¹ As reprieves were granted, men began to move northward. By

201. Song shi 18.354; Song shi 19.357-59..

the second month Su Che had been promoted to Yongzhou; Qin Guan, in the fourth month was moved to Leizhou. A letter from Qin Guan in the fifth month assured Su Shi that he would be moved from Danzhou to Lianzhou.²⁰² However, before receiving word from friends, Su Shi had recorded a dream in which the former prime-minister Han Qi had foretold the reprieve:

DREAMING OF LORD HAN WEI²⁰³

At night when I ascended the Hejiang Tower, the night sky was as clear as water. Lord Han, riding a crane, came toward me saying, "An appointment has been announced for us to share an office. Therefore I have come to report it to you. Your return to the Central Plain will occur before long."

Apparently, Su Shi had been alert for omens. Upon learning that the Yellow River had been restored to its original northward course, he told his son that it was an omen for his return to the North. In a poem written to record the enactment of the policy he had supported, Su Shi also anticipated a return, saying, "I will be glad to pass through the Gate of Ghosts."²⁰⁴

When the reprieve was received in the fifth month of 1100, Su Shi referred to himself as the demoted official

202. For a detailed account, see Wang Wen'gao, "Zongan," p. 43. See also Wang Baozheng, Nianpu, p. 231.

203. SSWJ, 6/72/2306. "夢韓魏公 ."

204. SSSJ, 7/43/2341. "歸路猶欣過鬼門 ."
See Zeng Zaozhuang, Su Guo nianpu, p. 100.

released by the amnesty. Still, he described himself as one seeking retirement:

DANER MOUNTAIN²⁰⁵

Thunderbolts withdraw as the rain stops at dusk,
 Alone, I lean on the balustrade facing the
 mountain.
 Suspended from the edge of the clouds is a
 rainbow,
 Cold winds come rushing from the sea.
 The rustic elders sing of an abundant harvest,
 The summons will release the banished official to
 return.
 In remaining years, with enough to eat, I'll grow
 old on East Slope,
 A small place will be enough for me to forget all
 worldly affairs.

In both poetry and official reports, Su Shi acknowledged the benevolence which had restored his life. After reaching the Chengmai post station, though forced to wait for a ship to carry him across the sea, he could already envision his homeland as he gazed beyond the island's northern shore.

POEM #2²⁰⁶

I was about to spend the rest of my life in a
 Hainan village,
 When the gods sent Wuyang to summon back my soul.
 Distant the horizon where a wild duck swoops
 down,
 Where green mountains form a line, there is the
 Central Plain.

205. SSSJ, 7/43/ 2362. " 儋耳山 ."

206. SSSJ, 7/43/2364-65. " 澄邁驛通潮閣 ."
 Poem #2.

Alluding to the power of the shaman Wuyang 巫陽 who is ordered by the god to summon the soul of the dead, Su Shi attributed the restoration of his life to the Emperor's favor. The central plain referred to the China mainland and to the court which was located there. Su's poem, as Ji Yun notes, appears as the single sweep of an inspired brush.²⁰⁷ Contrasts in the poem are perfectly balanced: the Hainan village is paired with the emperor's place; the man waiting to cross the sea contrasted with the free flying goose touching the China mainland.

A similar tone of gratitude is apparent in the reports to the throne which Su Shi wrote in response to successive promotions granted by the emperor. At that time, the mother of Shenzong controlled affairs at court and influenced the nature of the reprieves granted. After receiving each decree, Su Shi sent responses, the most effusive being that written from Lianzhou just after he had crossed the sea.²⁰⁸ He described the perils and hardships of exile, apparently assuming that the more negative the account, the more gracious the emperor's favor would appear.

207. Ji Yun, Su Wenzhong Gong shi ji, 43.10a.

208. SSWJ, 2/24/716-17. "移廉州謝上表."

Those who pity me will sigh at the extremities [of the punishment]; those who are jealous of me will regret that it was too light. But, if one were to examine the geography of the remote seas, he would have to say that the environment was not fit for human habitation.²⁰⁹

General acknowledgment of his intransigence and stupidity also underscored the generosity of the throne in pardoning him. Likewise, Su Shi wrote a report after receiving his promotion to Yongzhou. He concluded by reiterating his unending desire to serve the court and also spoke of his hope to be buried in his homeland of Shu.²¹⁰

The decree that granted him freedom of residence was received by Su Shi just after he had departed from Guangzhou where he had been reunited with his family.²¹¹ Repeating the words of the decree that he would have a sinecure in the Chengdu Yuju 玉局 Taoist temple, he then stated:

For seven years demoted to a distant place; I had no hope of preserving my life. Now from thousands of miles I begin the trip back; where I go is all heaven's doing.²¹²

The concept of return, based fundamentally in the idea of returning to one's home was used extensively and

209. SSWJ, 2/24/716-17. "移廬州謝上表."

210. SSWJ, 2/24/718-19. "謝量移永州表."

211. Wang Baozheng, Nianpu, pp. 235-36.

212. SSWJ, 2/24/708. "提舉玉局觀謝表."

creatively in Su Shi's literature. Various connotations of the word allow the interweaving of several ideas related to return in a single poem. While in exile, Su Shi wrote of the desire to return to the North, to the capital and to his family. Using the term in its most basic meaning, he simply wanted to go home. But because of the political dimension of Su Shi's career, to return could only mean a reprieve, a general or special amnesty that would allow him to go back to the center of China's cultural sphere.

From the recluses, Su Shi borrowed the ideas of retreat and reclusion. From them he sought an ideal of returning to simplicity while rejecting mundane pursuits for political power, wealth and recognition. The frequent use of the themes of return in his literature is evidence of the attention accorded the issues. Both prior to exile and after, Su Shi determined in poetry a way of expressing his underlying preoccupation with the ideas of retirement and reclusion.

CHAPTER SIX

THE LITERATURE OF THE EXILED ONE

As one of the most prolific and influential of the Northern Song literati, Su Shi composed literature throughout his career. He continued to write during times of exile and thus left for posterity a significant corpus of works written in exile. At the time he was brought to trial and subsequently exiled to Huangzhou in 1079, he was already known as one of the most promising literary figures in the realm. By the time of his exile to Huizhou in 1094, he was acknowledged as one of the leading scholar-officials of the age. He was recognized not only for his creation of fine literary works, but also for his efforts to encourage other scholars to develop their creative capacities.¹ During times of banishment, he was removed from direct involvement in the literary circles clustered about the capital district. The isolation and adversity he encountered threatened to blunt his literary skills. However, he was challenged to compose distinctive accounts of his altered conditions and feelings.

A clarification of the reasons for Su Shi's continued literary activity in exile is followed by a

1. Zhou Yigan, Su men si xueshi, p. 4.

summary of the genres, styles and themes of his literature from exile. Assessments of the significance of his literary works includes comments regarding the various standards used in the appraisal and appreciation of his literature. Conclusions emphasize the significance of this relatively discrete body of literature that Su Shi composed during times of exile.

During the centuries following Su Shi's death, numerous literati have appraised his life and works. Given the great number and variety of his compositions, it is common for readers to select poems that correspond to a particular aesthetic taste. However, for those who expect the poetic values of the Tang poets, Su Shi's poetry appears excessively discursive and rational.² Characteristics of Song poetry in general often have been attributed to Su Shi in particular.³ Some critics have identified poems composed during his exile in Huangzhou as among the best in his corpus; few have similar admiration for his poetry from Huizhou. Comments

2. For a discussion of reasons Tang poetry has been preferred, see Zhu Jinghua and Wang Hong 王洪 "Shi ping Yan Yu de Dongpo lun 試評韓愈的東坡論", Wenxue yichan 文學遺產 3 (1986).

3. The dominant role Yoshikawa Kōjirō ascribes to Su Shi is evident in the selections made for his study of Song poetry. See Sō shi gaisetsu, esp. pp. 127-163. Several of the particular characteristics of Song poetry analyzed by Xu Fuguan are attributed to Su Shi's style. See "Song shi tezheng shi lun," Zhongguo wenhua fuxing yuekan, pp. 27-40.

regarding the poetry from Hainan are diverse in judgment. There are regrets that the adversities of life prevented Su Shi from composing works of vigor and power. At the same time, scholars have compared Su Shi to Du Fu, saying that poetry written in his later years bears a distinctive and appealing stamp. The most controversial feature of Su Shi's poetry from exile is the corpus of poems echoing the rhymes of Tao Yuanming's poetry. While the matching poems have been evaluated negatively as poetry unrepresentative of Su Shi because of restrictions unnecessarily imposed, they have also been compared favorably to Tao's original poems.⁴ However, in general, the poetry of Su Shi's later years has not been regarded as works that reveal a perfection of style and technique often expected from poets who have devoted themselves to the refinement of their craft.⁵

4. Zhu Jinghua, Su Shi xin lun, pp. 180-203. The essay "Lun Su Shi de he Tao shi ji qi pingjia wenti 論蘇軾的和陶詩及其評價問題" is a summary of classical and contemporary discussion of the question. For consideration of the larger issues of imitation in the Chinese literary tradition, see Stuart Sargent, "Can Latecomers Get there First? Sung Poets and T'ang Poetry," CLEAR 4.2. (July, 1982), pp. 165-198. See also Jonathan Chaves, "'Not the Way of Poetry': The Poetics of Experience in the Sung Dynasty," CLEAR 4.2. (July, 1982), pp. 199-213.

5. According to Jonathan Pease, Wang Anshi's poetry improved as he aged because of his commitment to the refinement of his technique. See "From the Wellsweep," p. 233. These comments are based on the general view of Chen Shidao 陳師道 (1053--1101). See Houshan jushi ji

Finally, the poetry Su Shi composed on the return from exile is seldom noted. And yet, these poems are the final contribution to his literary corpus. They provide the finishing stroke of meaning on a life work. These several poems give witness to the essential transformations of mind and heart that were completed during his final sojourn. It is precisely these works that reveal something of the persistence of the distinctive language and themes of Su Shi's poetry from exile.

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Adversity Activates Genius

A significant portion of Su Shi's literature was written during times that have traditionally been viewed as moments of distress. Furthermore, his poetry is placed within the context of a general tradition that recognizes the distinctive quality of literature composed during times of adversity. Articulation of the literary theory that duress can serve as a stimulus to literary creativity has varied in the Chinese tradition of literary criticism, but generally it has emphasized that negative experiences felt by the writer often result in positive contributions to the treasury of literature.

The view that "pain engenders poetry more than pleasure does" and that good poetry is, in the main, "an expression or discharge of the emotions of unhappiness, anxiety or frustration" is illuminated by Qian Zhongshu in his essay on "Poetry as a Vehicle of Grief."⁶ Referring to the contention of Sima Qian of the Han that personal frustration and agitation stimulate creative response, Qian states that of the four functions of poetry identified in the Analects, namely, to stimulate (ke yi xing 可以興); to observe (ke yi guan 可以觀), to interconnect (ke yi qun 可以群), to grieve (keyi yuan 可以怨), the fourth is singled out as the most important.⁷ In both his introduction to the Shiji and in his letter to Ren An, Sima Qian articulated the view that great works of literature were written by men of wisdom and ability when they faced adversity.⁸ From the

6. Qian Zhongshu 錢鍾書, "Poetry As A Vehicle of Grief" in Renditions 1984, pp. 21-40. Translated from "Shi keyi yuan 詩可以怨" Wenxue pinglun 文學評論 (1981.1), pp. 16-21.

7. Qian Zhongshu, "Poetry As A Vehicle of Grief," p. 23; Lunyu, 17.9. "Yanghuo 陽貨." The reference is to the four functions of poetry: to stimulate, to observe, to interconnect and to grieve. See D. C. Lau, trans. The Analects, p. 145. "An apt quotation from the Odes may serve to stimulate the imagination, to show one's breeding, to smooth over difficulties in a group and to give expression to complaints."

8. Sima Qian, "Postface 贊" in Shi ji 130. 3285-3322; "Bao Ren An shu 報任安書" in Han shu 62.2725-36. The letter is translated by James Hightower in Cyril

tradition, he cited Confucius, Qu Yuan, Zuo Qiuming 左丘明, Sunzi 荀子, Lü Buwei 呂不韋 and Han Feizi 韓非子. He believed that their significant literary works were written when they suffered from imprisonment, banishment or physical adversity; thus he proposed that distress and indignation served as the immediate cause of literary activity.⁹ Expounding on the idea that adversity can stimulate one to action, Sima Qian suggests that the genius who meets with adversity can express his deepest feelings and articulate his most firmly held convictions.

Developing a related idea, Steve Durrant says that Sima Qian, who had been punished with imprisonment and castration for his imputed attempt to mislead Emperor Wu of the Han, brought forth examples of emotional trauma in order to depict his own tragic moments "within a matrix of precedent and allusion."¹⁰

Confucius was in difficulty between Ch'en and Ts'ai, and so he wrote Spring and Autumn Annals. Ssu-ma Ch'ien makes much of this episode in Confucius' life, even though there is little evidence elsewhere that it had anything at all to do with his writing Spring and Autumn Annals. Nevertheless, Ssu-ma saw Confucius' difficulties as analogous to his own suffering, and, according

Birch, ed. Anthology of Chinese Literature (New York: Grove Press, 1965), pp. 95-102.

9. Sima Qian, "Bao Ren An shu," Han shu, 62.2735.

10. Steven Durrant, "The Autobiographical Writing of Ssu-ma Ch'ien," JAOS 106.1 (1986), p. 39.

to Ssu-ma's general theory of literary production, it is personal distress that activates genius.¹¹

On the basis of Sima Qian's explication, it appears that if the historicity of events is superseded by personal interpretation of events, value is given to the individual assimilation of the meaning of these events and their incorporation into a larger matrix of meaning.¹²

In a similar vein, Stephen Owen has contrasted the poetry that Tang officials wrote while at the court with that which they composed in exile. According to Owen, an intensity of personal expression is present in the exile poetry that is lacking in the court pieces.¹³ Exile poetry is seen to exert an influence beyond a mere shift in style and use of imagery. Literati who wrote of their experiences could at times move beyond the immediate cause and circumstance of their difficulty to speak to the significance of experiences:¹⁴

11. Durrant, "Autobiographical Writing of Ssu-ma Ch'ien," p. 38. The reference is from Han shu 62.2735.

12. One is not to assume on the basis of Sima Qian's account that the men cited were in fact so motivated to write. Nor does one assume that Confucius composed the Spring and Autumn Annals.

13. Steven Owen, The Poetry of the Early T'ang, pp. 351; 379. See in particular the discussion of Du Shenyang, Shen Quanqi and Song Zhiwen, pp. 325-380.

Presumably the audience of exile poetry was still that of the capital, but in this case the audience would expect the poet to write on subjects avoided in the capital: the poet's moral values, his doubts, the intensity of his suffering, his hatred of public service. From Wang Po and Lu Chaolin in their Szechwanese exiles to Sung Chih-wen and Shen Ch'uan-ch'i exiled to the far south, to Wang Wei's exile of the mid-720's, it was the poetry of exile more than of any other occasion that fostered the private poetic voice and grew into the great personal lyrics of the High T'ang. Exiles and non-exiles alike turned to the tradition of exile poetry to express their private intensities, and it was in this tradition that the greatest personal poetry in all Chinese literature was written--the later poetry of Tu Fu.¹⁵

Su Shi also assumed that expressions from the heart could be forged in times of difficulty and that adversity could exert a direct influence on the creative efforts of the poet. Responding to a poem by Zhang Fangping, he agreed that Du Fu's superiority as a poet was intimately related to the stimulus of adverse situations encountered during his lifetime.¹⁶

14. Stephen Owen, The Poetry of the Early T'ang, p. 362. "During his stay in Huanzhou, Shen Quanqi paid a visit to the nearby Shaolong Temple. The equanimity which Shen shows toward his fate in this poem is quite different than the intensity shown in his other exile poems. The poem is a consolation and shows that exile had done more for Shen's work than simply help him break free of conventional poetic restraints. The poems tries to make a unified statement, integrating landscape and emotion in a way that court poetry never could."

15. Stephen Owen, The Great Age of Chinese Poetry: The High T'ang, p. 6.

16. SSSJ, 1/6/265-269. "次韻張安道讀杜詩".
For the text of Zhang Fangping's poem, see SSSJ, p. 265.

AGAIN MATCHING ZHANG FANGPING'S POEM ON READING DU FU¹⁷

Who would have thought the distinguished man from
 Duling,
 Would achieve fame equal to the Banished
 Immortal.
 He swept the earth and gathered a thousand
 traces,
 In the contending standards we see two great
 ships.¹⁸
 For generations poets have been in difficult
 straits,
 Heaven's intent keeps them running from place to
 place.

Su Shi continues his poem by describing Du Fu as a man unrecognized in his times, not summoned to service by the emperor, but possessing uncommon loyalty and literary ability. The turmoil created in the empire by the An Lushan 安祿山 rebellion of 755 had resulted in Du Fu's separation from family and political associates. Under the regrettable circumstances, Du Fu was compelled to write not only of personal distress, but also of the hardships that the national tragedy had brought to the common people.¹⁹ Du Fu is not the only poet mentioned by

For a critique of the poem, see Wang Shuizhao, Su Shi xuan ji, pp. 29-32.

17. SSSJ, 1/6/265. "次韻張安道讀杜詩".

18. In the image of the two ship masts, there is a comparison that makes Du Fu the equal of Li Bai. See Wang Shuizhao, Su Shi shi xuan, p. 30.

19. For poetry written during the period of turmoil, see A. R. Davis, Tu Fu (New York: Twayne, 1971), pp. 45-66. See also William Hung, Tu Fu: China's Greatest Poet (New York: Russell and Russell, 1952.), pp. 90-118 for poetry written during early years of the rebellion.

Su Shi. In more than twenty passages, Su Shi points to a correlation between the stimulus of distress and literary achievement.²⁰ Simply stated, his theory is that "Excellent phrases come forth from cold and hunger; when one is in distress, his poetry is fine."²¹

Adversity Thwarts Creativity

Despite the acceptance of a tradition that ascribes a creative dimension to duress, adversity has also been viewed as a force that limits, curtails or otherwise thwarts literary expression. Men who had been prolific while at the court, once exiled, often feared reprisals if they continued to express their views in literary works. Personal trauma and physical deprivations combined to inhibit literary creativity and the capacity to act. Furthermore, the themes of poetry written during times of exile tended to be monotonous, reflective of the narrow focus of the exile and his restricted experience. In particular, the exiled one often spoke of being

20. See You Xinli 游信利, Su Dongpo de li shen yu lun wen zhi dao 蘇東坡的立身與論文之道 (Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, 19), pp. 73-78. In addition to passages that state the principle explicitly, other remarks on poetry imply the same.

21. SSSJ, 6/33/1750-51. "Again Matching Zhongshu's Excursion at West Lake in the Snow
"次韻仲殊雪中遊西湖." The poem was composed in 1091.

misunderstood or wronged, of deprivations suffered, and of the desire to return.

In the literary tradition of the West, the example of the most prolific and famous of Roman poets, Ovid, exiled by the Emperor Augustus to Tomis, a town situated on the Black Sea at the very edge of the Empire, provides a comparison.²² As scholars have noted, Ovid's works written in exile are vitiated by a monotony of subject.²³ Some critics have referred to Ovid's constant complaints, and to a sense of lack of dignity and fortitude. They attribute to him the language of a flatterer who thought only of his loneliness and his desire to return to Rome. However, the fact of composition itself has been deemed significant, as has the authenticity of the voice in exile:

Ovid was faced with the prospect of spending the rest of his life in an uncivilized town, surrounded by barbarian and alien peoples and having to endure a harsh and bleak climate. It is astonishing that he continued to write; but then his very despair drove him to compose, and that composition was an anodyne... the Tristia is personal poetry of a high order, despite the fact that the poet was addressing the emperor, the Roman world and posterity. Indeed the reality

22. R. J. Dickinson, "The Tristia: Poetry in Exile" in Ovid edited by J. W. Binns (London, 1973), p. 155.

23. L. P. Wilkinson, Ovid Recalled (Cambridge, 1955), pp. 359-361. The critic states that Ovid's poems lack the wit of earlier writings. Neither do they reveal a man capable of making careful observations regarding his surroundings.

and vividness of Ovid's portrayal of himself is one of the most important aspects of the whole body of exile poems.²⁴

In a similar manner, the personal hardships Su Shi faced in his second and third exiles were said to frustrate his creative abilities.²⁵ The literary quality of the poetry of the Lingnan period has been negatively evaluated by some critics who point to the lack of variety in theme and to a loss of his distinctive style.²⁶ However, the statement that Su Shi wrote few poems of literary merit at a particular period in his life should be analyzed in light of an appropriate standard of excellence.

One common criticism of the works Su Shi composed during exile is that they are not consistent with his own idea of freshness and creativity. By choosing to match the poems of Tao Yuanming's corpus, Su Shi is said to have placed undue restrictions upon himself. As Ji Yun states, Su Shi is best at expansiveness and is not effective when placed within limits. Restraints result in a loss of artistic quality in his works.²⁷ The Qing

24. R. J. Dickinson, "The Tristia," pp. 157-58.

25. Hatch, Sung Biographies, vol. 3, p. 953.

26. Xie Taofang, "Su shi fenqi pingyi
" in Lun Su Shi Lingnan shi ji qita, pp. 6-23, especially, p. 21.

27. Ji Yun, Su Wenzhong Gong shiji, juan 23.

literary critic Wang Shihan 汪師韓 did not include the matching poems in his anthology of Su Shi's poetry.²⁸

For some critics, the lack of a significant number of poems expressing social awareness lessens the appeal of poetry from the exile periods. Those critics prefer the works that reveal Su Shi as a poet possessing an uncommon command of historical precedent and the ability to articulate the social issues and concerns of his era.²⁹ In comparison with the pre-Huangzhou poems, those composed after his first exile possess a tone of social disengagement.

Furthermore, the lack of boldness and intensity of imagination used to describe the tropical brilliance of Hainan prompted Schafer to minimize the effectiveness of Su Shi's poetry written during that exile period. It has been argued that Su Shi's vision was not enlarged by the experiences of his later exiles and that, subsequently, literature written during those times was not characterized by new images and fresh themes.³⁰

28. Wang Shihan 汪師韓, Su Shi xuan ping qian shi 蘇詩選評箋釋. For a discussion of Wang Shihan's views, see Xie Taofang, "Su shi fenqi de pinyi," p. 22.

29. For an evaluation of Su Shi's poetry that uses this standard, see Xie Taofang, "Su shi fenqi pingyi," p. 23.

30. Schafer, Shore of Pearls, pp. 98-99. See especially p. 98: "But he did not explore the fringes of his little world. He was no bold pioneer of the tropical forest. Its gloom, its brilliance, its mysteries did not

SU SHI'S LITERARY ACTIVITY IN EXILE

While the value of his particular achievements is debatable, the significance of Su Shi's total literary corpus is indisputable. Preferences for poetic style have influenced the judgments made regarding the relative merits of given poems and have determined whether or not a particular style of poetry is appreciated. While granting subjective standards of appreciation, one can, nonetheless, summarize the nature of his accomplishments and determine the significance of the literature composed during exile.

Su Shi's collected works is the largest of any writer in the Northern Song. When the Qing scholar Wang Wen'gao prepared a chronologically arranged edition of Su Shi's shi poetry, he included almost 2700 poems.³¹ Collections of Su Shi's ci poetry contain over 300 poems written to correspond to the traditional lyrics.³² A recent edition of Su Shi's prose is arranged in seventy-

entice him, nor provide a store of images for his poetry."

31. Wang Wen'gao, Su wenzhong Gong shi bianzhu jicheng. 6 vols. Wang has culled poems from various sources.

32. As was customary, the ci poetry was not transmitted with formal collected works. For an introduction to his works, see George Hatch, A Sung Bibliography, pp. 459-61. A standard edition is by Long Yusheng, ed. Dongpo yuefu jian. Also see Cao Shuming, ed. Dongpo ci, rpt. (Hong Kong, Universal Book, 1968).

three juan, edited according to genre.³³ The size of the collection and the variety of genres included has prompted critics to arrange his works chronologically within periods, then to identify similarities and differences in content and style.³⁴ Frequently, in periodization schema, accounts of a given poet's achievement are aligned directly with his biography. The literary figure's life is often organized into three periods, namely, youth, maturity and old age. The biographer often assumes that a poet's achievement follows a linear development and that literary style conforms to a concomitant advance in age and skill.

Studies of Su Shi that combine an interest in biography and literary achievement generally assume that periodization is both necessary and useful. The number of works written during a given period and the content and style that dominate in a particular period are analyzed in order to determine possible changes in the poet's purposes and achievement. Su Shi's contemporaries, perhaps on the basis of Su Che's words, distinguished the literature written before and after the

33. Su Shi wen ji 蘇軾文集, 6 vols (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1986). This edition was edited by Kong Fanli and punctuated with an index by Liu Shangrong.

34. For essays discussing related issues, see the proceedings of the Third Biennial Conference on Su Shi: Lun Su Shi Lingnan shi ji gita.

Huangzhou exile.³⁵ The fact that collections of poetry made during Su Shi's lifetime were associated with geographic areas suggests that service in a specific area of the country was intimately bound to his experiences there and thus to the poetry composed.

The example of the Nanxing ji as a collection of poems written in the context of the journey back to the capital in 1059 is instructive. The Qi Liang changhe shi ji 岐梁唱和詩集 was a collection of the poetry which Su Shi, then in Fengxiang, and his brother, then in Liang, or Kaifeng, exchanged with each other. Poems written during Su Shi's period of service as a provincial governor from 1071-1079, particularly his Hangzhou poems, were collected in the Qiantang ji 錢塘集. During Su Shi's literary trial, Prince Wang Xian was accused of collecting and circulating those poems; many were brought forward as evidence against Su Shi.³⁶ Poems composed during Su Shi's Hainan exile were collected in the Haiwai ji 海外集. Several smaller anthologies also collected poems Su Shi wrote at particular places.³⁷

35. Su Che, Luancheng ji, "Grave Inscription," p. 1422.

36. For collections published before Su Shi's death, see Zeng Zaozhuang, "Su Shi zhushu sheng qian bianke qingkuang kaolue" 蘇軾著述生前編刻情況考畧" in Zhonghua wenshi lunji 中華文史論集 1984.4. pp. 193-207.

The existence of the various collections, some edited by Su Shi himself and some by his friends or admirers, is evidence of both the popularity and availability of his works.³⁸ Moreover, the discrete quality of the collections suggests that both he and others tended to relate literary production with particular periods and places. Wang Wen'gao, whose work provides the basis for most modern biographies of Su Shi, wrote a "zongan," or expanded chronological literary biography, in forty-five juan that quotes extensively from Su Shi's original writings. According to Wang, Su Shi's poetry may be divided into eight periods, these generally corresponding to periods of his political appointments.³⁹ In addition, Wang Wen'gao makes distinctions on the basis of differences he discerns in Su Shi's style of poetry.

Some recent anthologies distinguish periods in Su Shi's life, perhaps more as a convenience than as a principle of organization.⁴⁰ However, the organizing

37. For details on the content and dating of the collections, see Liu Shangrong 劉尚榮, "Dongpo wai ji za kao 東坡外集雜考" in Lun Su Shi Lingnan shi ji gita, pp. 337-353.

38. See SSSJ, 5/31/1647-48. Poetry exchanged on the occasion of Su Che's diplomatic mission to the Khitan's is evidence that Su Shi's works were available in the Liao kingdom.

39. The division is discussed by Wang Shuizhao in "Lun Su Shi chuanguo de fazhan jieduan," p. 259.

40. Wu Lushan 吳鵬山, et al. Su Shi shi xuan zhu (Tianjin, 1982). Wu and compilers distinguish three

principle is evident in both the biography of Hatch and the small anthology of Watson which follow the approach of the Kyōto school.⁴¹ Ogawa Tamaki and Chikusa Masaaki, scholars currently pre-eminent in the interpretation of Su Shi's thought and literature in Japan, look to a periodization that emphasizes literary influence as well as life experience.⁴² Their schema identifies the period of youth from 1037-1071, which ends with Su Shi's departure from the capital at the height of the New Policies reform led by Wang Anshi. The period of maturation extends from 1071-1085. It includes the years spent in the provinces and the time of his Huangzhou exile. It is characterized by Su Shi's literary and personal maturation. The third period, from 1085-1101, includes his years of political achievement as court official and provincial governor, as well as the exiles of his later years.

periods: the first ends before the Huangzhou exile and the second before the Huizhou exile; the third ends with his death.

41. Burton Watson, trans. Su Tung-p'o; George Hatch, Sung Biographies, vol. 3, pp. 900-968.

42. See Ogawa Tamaki 小川環樹, So Shoku 蘇軾 (Tokyo, 1962). Also, see Chikusa Masaaki, 竺沙雅章 So Tō ba 蘇東坡 (Tokyo: Ahasi Shimbun, 1967). Chikusa has also written about the influence of Buddhism on the poetry of Su Shi. See "So Shoku to bukkyō 蘇軾と佛教", Tōhō gakuho 36 (Kyōto, 1964): 457-488.

A chronological approach has also been used to discern the dominant influences of earlier poets on Su Shi. Accordingly, poetry from the early period is shown to show traces of Li Bai and Du Fu; an expansive and expressive style reveals his attempts to broaden his powers of observation. Stylistically, he is indebted to Han Yu; he enjoys startling the reader, and he follows the tendency to make poetry of prose.⁴³ Influences from Liu Yuxi 劉禹錫 (772--842) are discerned in the touches of satire, expressions of anger and unrestrained criticism. Even Su Shi's friends, Huang Tingjian and Chen Shidao chided him for his tendency to complain and criticize.⁴⁴ The poetry from this period deserves the designation of bold and unrestrained, the haofang style that is often associated with Su Shi.

The bold style, appealing to some, is considered evidence of a degree of immaturity by others. Understandably, the poetry during and after the Huangzhou exile is seen to possess a strength and maturity developed during times of reflection and in the context of intense personal challenges. Influences from Bai Juyi are evident, as are the increased traces of Tao

43. Wang Shuizhao, "Lun Su Shi chuanguo," p. 260-61.

44. Zeng Zaozhuang, "Su shi fenqi pingyi de pingyi," p. 25.

Yuanming's spirit and style. Finally, during the years of exile in the South, the dominant influence is clearly Tao Yuanming. A concomitant attraction to a pingdan 平淡, or limpid, clear and simple style is also apparent.⁴⁵

Although a traditional chronological approach that seeks to clarify a gradual maturing of artistry contributes to an understanding of the writer's progression, it does not adequately account for discontinuities in the author's works. A modified periodization schema proposed by contemporary scholar Wang Shuizhao is based upon the conception that chosen genres, styles and themes in Su Shi's writings were determined primarily by the contrasting experiences of life at the court, in the provinces and in exile.⁴⁶ During periods of service at the court, memorials, occasional poetry, and colophons constituted the majority of his works. His times of service in the provinces required that he write memorials to the throne, but he also wrote poetry, some of which was critical of court policy. Excursions and outings were occasions for prose compositions, short essays and landscape poetry. During

45. Tang Lingling, "Lun Su Shi de he Tao shi," pp. 166ff.

46. Wang Shuizhao, "Lun Su Shi chuanguozuo de fazhan jieduan," pp. 259-269.

periods of banishment, Su Shi was not allowed to write memorials, and his poetry seldom revealed his attitudes toward court policy and action. During times of exile that prevented a sustained, direct contact with the literati, poetry on personal themes, as well as commentaries on classical works constituted his literary achievement.

Although Wang Shuizhao's analysis does not take into account the full range of Su Shi's literary activity, the approach provides insights. In fact, Su Shi's movement from court to provinces and then to exile, back to court, again to the provinces and into exile once again determined in large part the kind of literature he wrote during his lifetime. Similarities in literature written during periods at court are evident. Likewise, literature written in the provinces is characterized by an emphasis on landscape and occasional pieces. Literature composed during times of exile is personal, drawing on everyday activities for content and tending toward reflection on themes related to philosophy and religion.

Despite the fact that Su Shi's writings were the major factor in the court's decision to exile him, he did not discontinue his writing. He continued to exchange poems and to compose in other genres, excluding, of course, memorials. Recognizing the negative influence of

his writings on his circumstances, he felt that he should have desisted from writing. Why, then, did he continue to compose? In a letter written to Liu Mian shortly before returning to the North, and to his death, Su Shi expressed his views:

ANSWER TO A LETTER FROM LIU MIAN⁴⁷

I have received your letter and the anthology of twenty juan of my writings that you have edited. Throughout my life I have been known in this era because of my writings and speech. Also because of this I have suffered at the hands of others. It would have been preferable to enjoy the peace of not having written than to have the changing fortunes of loss and gain. Because of this, I have often desired to burn my brush, discard my inkstone and to become a mute. However, I had become accustomed to writing and was never able to give it up. But I thought that all my works fell from my hand and were scattered on the wind like a disappearing bird. I did not know that you were quietly following behind me, picking them up and editing them, leaving nothing out. When I saw it, I was humiliated, 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. And because many are the emendations of the vulgar, they have made me feel unsettled.

Fortunately, the anthology presented by Liu Mian was a carefully selected work. Praise of Liu for his judicious collecting of the poems is consonant with Su Shi's

47. SSWJ, 4/49/1429-30. "答劉沔都曹書". See comments in Zeng Zaozhuang, San Su wenyi sixiang 三蘇文藝思想, (Sichuan: Wenyi chubanshe), pp. 137-140. Su Shi did not live to complete a careful editing of his collection as did his brother. Su Che prepared the Luancheng ji while in retirement in Yingchang after 1105 and before his death in 1112. See Zeng Zaozhuang, Su Che nianpu, p. 196.

concern about the authenticity of his collected works. Furthermore, the letter expresses the fundamental view of literature that Su Shi, his father and brother had proposed at a very early date. Writing the preface for the Nan xing ji, the collection of poems that the Three Sus had composed on the journey back to the capital in 1059, Su Shi had presented the central idea of composition the sons had received from their father. They knew that skill and ability came not from laboring at the composition of poetry, but rather from the spontaneous response one gave to the reality encountered. Thus he can say that he and his brother do not compose with the intention of composing.⁴⁸

Su Shi's reasons for not suspending his writing activity were based on a principle and an aesthetic theory. As noted above, Su Shi believed that when the natural world presented itself to him and moved his heart and his mind, the natural response was to record it in literature. He was not writing to display his skills or because he was forced to do so, but because the events of life compelled him to respond.

48. SSWJ, 1/1/323. "Nan xing qian ji shu 南行前集序." The preface for poems composed during the water journey was written by Su Shi; the postface for the land journey poems was composed by Su Che. Zeng Zaozhuang, San Su wenyi sixiang, pp. 93-94.

For this reason, the image of flowing water, which Su Shi used to describe his own writing, is the most apt explanation. Spontaneity and naturalness, perhaps a touch of compulsion, are all implied in his assessment of the way his writing comes into being.

AN EVALUATION OF MY WRITING⁴⁹

My writing is like a ten-thousand gallon spring. It can issue from the ground anywhere at all. On smooth ground it rushes swiftly on and covers a thousand li in a single day without difficulty. When it twists and turns among mountains and rocks, it fits its form to the things it meets in a way that cannot be known beforehand. What can be known is that it always traverses where it ought to go and that it always stops where it cannot but stop. This only can be known; although I might say something more, I would not really know it.

In light of the principles regarding the purpose and process of literary creation espoused by the Su family, and in view of Su Shi's self-understanding with respect to his own writing, it is not surprising that he continued to compose poetry during exile. While he attributed Wang Dingguo's improved literary skill to the self-cultivation of man tried by adversity, he did not claim the same for himself. Even though others might say that experiences of indignation, frustration and sadness compelled Su Shi to compose poetry, he understood his

49. SSWJ, 5/66/2069. "自評文." This image and metaphor has been analyzed by Andrew March in "Self and Landscape in Su Shih," JAOS 86 (1966), pp. 384-85.

actions to be the natural, spontaneous response to whatever he encountered in life.

Thus, in exile, Su Shi continued to write, composing numbers of works comparable to those written in times when he was at the court or in the provinces. During the four years of his Huangzhou exile he wrote approximately 180 poems, a number significantly less than the corpus of his Hangzhou works and written over a longer period of time. However, the number exceeds that of the Fengxiang corpus of 137 poems. The twenty-seven month period in Huizhou resulted in almost 190 poems; in Hainan for almost the same length of time, Su Shi wrote about 150 poems. On the journey returning to the North, he continued to write, completing almost 50 poems before his death.

In addition to shi poetry, Su Shi wrote in many other forms and genres during his exiles. Although his collection of ci poetry is relatively large, he did not begin writing ci until 1071 while he was serving in Hangzhou. Then, freed from the expectations that he assume the role of a serious, maturing Confucian scholar, and exposed to the social life in the cultural center of Hangzhou, Su Shi began to compose ci poetry. Association with such ci poets such as the aging master Zhang Xian 張先 (990--1078) stimulated Su Shi to use the popular poetic form. He developed a distinctive ci style, noted

for its boldness, rather than for its musicality.⁵⁰

However, it was during his years of exile in Huangzhou that Su Shi revealed his ability to use this genre with great versatility. He wrote poems which expressed his frustration and melancholy. The image in the "Busuanzi 卜算子" of the lonely swan searching for a place to light among the cold branches has been seen to symbolize Su Shi's isolation and sadness in exile.⁵¹ He used the ci to lament the past, to speak of the evanescence of fame, and to reveal his lofty transcendence. In his "Memories of the Past at Red Cliff" (Chibi huai gu 赤壁懷古) written to the tune of "The Charm of A Maiden Singer" (Nian nu jiao 念奴嬌), he wrote the quintessential ci in the bold and unrestrained style.⁵²

At the same time, he rendered Tao Yuanming's poem on return, "Gui qu lai xi ci, 歸去來兮辭" into lyric form and taught his farm hands to sing it as they walked to the fields.⁵³

50. For the influence of Zhang Xian on Su Shi's ci, See Ye Jiaying 葉嘉瑩, "Lun Su Shi ci 論蘇軾詞" in Zhongguo shehui kexue, 1985. 3, pp. 174-192.

51. DPYFJ, 2.17a-18b. "Busuanzi: Huangzhou Dinghui yuan yuju zuo 黃州定慧院寓居作".

52. DPYFJ, 2.9b-11a. "Nian nu qiao: Chibi huai gu 念奴嬌:赤壁懷古."

53. SSSJ, p. 2643. "Huangni ban ci 黃泥坡詞." The work was not included in the collection of ci poems.

During his second exile, he used ci poems to express affection for Zhaoyun, who accompanied him into exile, and again to lament her death.⁵⁴ Clearly, recognition that Su Shi expanded the subject matter of ci poetry should be associated with analysis of the content drawn from events experienced during his life in exile.

Of the twenty-seven fu in Su Shi's prose collection, the two most famous were written during his exile in Huangzhou. With his two "Rhapsody on the Red Cliff" he contributed to the development of the wen fu 文賦. These two works stand as literary monuments in his corpus and in the tradition of the fu. No works from the later exiles compare with their unique commingling of scene, feeling and idea.⁵⁵

One of the poses adopted by the exiled statesman was that of a man unconcerned with political matters, but rather, concentrated on the apolitical, leisure activities of study of literary texts, composition of poetry and experimentation with calligraphy. Periods of enforced leisure gave him the requisite time to complete

54. Dongpo ci, #246, p. 143. For a study of the ci poems written in Huizhou, see Zhang Zhilie 張志列, "Lun Dongpo Huizhou ci 論蘇東坡惠州詞" in Lun Su Shi Lingnan shi ji qita, pp. 293-312. Also, see Zeng Zaozhuang, "Dongpo ci zhong de Zhaoyun 東坡詞中的朝雲" in Dongpo ci lun cong, pp. 214-225.

55. A general introduction to Su Shi's fu, see Cyril Drummond Le Gros Clark, The Prose-poetry of Su Tung-p'o, 1939, 2nd ed. (New York: Paragon Book, 1964).

commentaries on classical works. During the Song Dynasty, such commentaries were written extensively.⁵⁶ Su Shi wrote in the discursive style characteristic of his age, commenting on the classical works that he found to be most instructive for his time. According to a letter written while in Huangzhou, he began the task of completing the commentary on the Yi jing which his father had begun.⁵⁷ The commentary was written primarily by Su Shi, though his brother wrote the annotations for one of the hexagrams. In addition, Su Shi began writing a commentary to the Book of History (Shu jing 書經) during the Huangzhou exile, completing it while in Hainan.⁵⁸ The result of reflection on political matters is also evident in essays such as that on Lord Shang Yang that he composed in Huangzhou.⁵⁹ The essay is

56. In a signed article in A Sung Bibliography, George Hatch not only introduces Su Shi's commentary on the Yi jing, but also places it within the context of Song Dynasty studies of this classical text. See pp. 4-9.

57. Su shi Yi zhuan 蘇氏易傳 9 juan, Wang Yunwu, main editor (Shangwu, 1935). CSJC. For dating of the commentary, see Zeng Zaozhuang, "Cong Biling Yi zhuan kan Su Shi de shijie guan 從毗陵易傳看蘇軾的世界觀" in Sichuan daxue xuebao congkan 6 (1980), 59-60. For analysis of Su Shi's philosophical positions, see Peter Bol, "Culture and the Way in Eleventh Century China."

58. The best English language introduction to Su Shi's study of the Shu jing is George Hatch's signed article in A Sung Bibliography, "Tung-p'o Shu-chuan 東坡書傳," pp. 13-19.

59. SSWJ, 5/65/2004. "Shang Jun gong zui 商君功罪." The title is "Shang Yang Lun 商鞅論"

evidence of Su Shi continued antipathy toward a policy based on legal constraints.

A third commentary, that on the Analects (Lunyu shuo 論語說), was also completed in Hainan. The three books were carried as treasures on the return trip to the North.⁶⁰ Fearing that his achievements would not be known by others, he expressed the hope that one day someone would study his commentaries and appreciate what had been written.

Even though Su Shi was not allowed to write memorials while he was an exile, he wrote numerous letters, some of which articulated his views of court policy. For the most part, however, the letters expressed his concern for family and friends at the same time they told of his situation in exile. Several letters, together with his colophons for paintings, can be used as sources for determining Su Shi's views regarding aesthetics and specific artistic works. Many of the colophons and cryptic remarks were collected in the Dongpo zhilin which contains a wide variety of notes

in Lang Ye, DPWJSL 40, pp. 206-209. This was written after Su Shi had read the Zhanguo ce 戰國策. The title used in the Complete Works is "Shu 'Zhanguo ce' hou shu 戰國策後書".

60. Dongpo zhilin (Zhonghua), 1.1. "記過合浦." The passage, dated Yuanfu 3 (1100), records the trip from Hainan to the mainland. Su Shi carried manuscripts, fearful that they would be lost in a storm at sea.

and short essays.⁶¹ The work manifested also Su Shi's abiding curiosity with respect to the esoteric and supernatural.

One of the unique forms of literature written extensively during exile was the gātha (jie 偈). Su Shi wrote hymns to Bodhisattvas, songs of praise, and prayers for safe passage during his exiles. His extensive reading of the Buddhist scriptures during the Huangzhou exile also resulted in literature on religious topics.⁶²

It can be concluded that despite his recognition that writing had been one of the immediate causes of his exile, Su Shi did not discontinue his literary activity. Although during the first few months in Huangzhou he was resolved to seek the cause of his exile and to desist in the composition of poetry, he eventually resumed writing. He was, however, inclined initially to study and write about religious topics for fear of embroiling himself or others in new controversies.

Freedom from the duties of official life gave him the requisite leisure to compose. Even though during

61. For an introduction to the Dongpo zhilin, see Zhou Xianshen 周先慎, "Dongpo Zhilin chutan 東坡志林初探" in Beijing Daxue xuebao No. 2 (1982).

62. See Xi chan ji 喜禪集, a collection of Su Shi's poems that have been identified as having Buddhist language and themes.

each exile period he faced the tasks of building a house or otherwise providing for his livelihood, he used leisure time to practice arts of self-cultivation, experiment with calligraphic forms, and compose literary works.

POETRY OF THE RETURNING EXILE

Analysis of the poems Su Shi wrote during his return journey reveals that the ideals he had set forth during his exiles in the South remained the dominant feature of his poetry. Seven years of exile and the development of various means of accommodation also had an influence on the content of his poems. The new literary ideal of the calm and easy style, which combined simple image and profound meaning, resulted in a modification in Su Shi's poetry. Poems composed on the return trip conformed to the new ideals. He no longer spoke of the superiority of Du Fu's style, nor did he look to Li Bai for inspiration. Rather, he praised the literary style of Tao Yuanming, electing to model his writing on Tao's poems to the exclusion of others. The qualities of directness and simplicity, a limited use of allusion, and a calm and tranquil tone were highly valued. Together with the theme of "return," which had been initially inspired by Tao and had been enriched by Su Shi's own understanding

of other uses of the idea of gui, the tranquil, accepting tone was given an element of transcendence. Underlying all poetic description, however, is an affection for the world, and especially for the family, that symbolizes an attachment to particular places and to earthly existence.

Selections from the fifty poems composed on the return journey show how the new literary motifs and principles had become a natural form of expression for Su Shi.

During his long years in exile, Su Shi had seldom used the language of direct and unmitigated complaint as he sought to determine the causes of his exile, to complain about the conditions of life there, and to seek a reprieve. This distinctive feature is evident in the poetry written on the return journey to the North. He had used humor, flights of imagination and other means to modify strong complaint. He was always able to place himself and his situation in a context larger than that of the unfortunate demoted official.

Officially and formally Su Shi was a member of the court bureaucracy who had been sent into exile and then recalled. He had been commanded to return to a place designated by the court. Yet, he chose to view the journey into exile and the return trip as an excursion. In several poems written on the return, he presented himself as one on a self-imposed journey. He combined

fact and illusion, preserving an ambivalence toward his experiences and thus relativizing the seriousness of his exile.

When he took leave of the Li family before departing from Hainan, he expressed sincere affection by saying that he was one of them, and thus hesitated to go. If he were originally one of them, it could be said, then his life in Shu could be called a form of exile; the exile in Hainan could be termed a time at home. Thus life, death and dream would be indistinguishable:

A POEM WRITTEN IN PARTING FROM LI MINBIAO OF HAINAN⁶³

Originally I was a man from Hainan,
But spent my life in Western Shu.
Suddenly I crossed the sea,
As though taking a distant journey.
I have always thought that life, death and dream,
Were not to be distinguished.
I know I will never see you again,
Though I must leave, I want to stay a while.

With largesse of spirit, but not without a touch of irony, Su Shi could view his exile as an excursion. The poem written on the night he crossed the sea from Hainan to return to the mainland reveals how he had come to conceive of his years in Hainan.

63. SSSJ, 7/41/2363. "別海南黎民表."

CROSSING THE SEA ON THE TWENTIETH OF THE SIXTH MONTH⁶⁴

As the star and dipper turn, it is almost the
 dawn,
 Bitter rains and the constant wind both give way
 to brightness.
 Clouds part and the moon is bright, who has made
 them shine?
 The tenor of the sky and the color of the sea
 have always been clear.
 No need to depend on Confucius' idea of the
 floating raft,⁶⁵
 I have some insight into the Yellow Emperor's
 music.⁶⁶
 Had I died nine deaths in the desolate place, I'd
 have no regrets,⁶⁷
 This journey was spectacular, the very best of my
 life.

Explicit correspondence between exile and excursion is based on hyperbole. And yet, the final lines of the poem are prepared for by the scene described and by the allusions to Confucius and the Yellow Emperor. Just as the rain and wind have given way to a clear, bright sky, so the desolation of exile, now that it has ended, can be

64. SSSJ, 7/41/2366. "六月二十日夜渡海".

65. The allusion is to Confucius' idea that he would take a raft to sea if the Way were not practiced. See Lunyu 5.7. See translation in D. C. Lau, Analects, p. 76. "If the Way were to fail to prevail and I were put out to sea on a raft, the one who would follow would be Yu."

66. The Xuan Yuan 軒轅 was the supposed dwelling place of the legendary Yellow Emperor. See Zhuangzi 14. 14, "Tian yun 天運." Translated in Watson, Complete Works of Chuang tzu, pp. 156-57.

67. The line is from Chuci, "Li Sao," L. 43. Translated in David Hawkes, Ch'u' Tz'u: The Songs of the South, p. 24, line 43.

viewed as an excursion. Like Confucius, Su Shi has an insight that surpasses mere withdrawal from the world on a raft. The waves of the sea Su Shi sails are singing with the music of the universe. He claims to have some understanding of the music played by the Yellow Emperor who had explained why the events of the world at times overwhelm humans:

I played it with the harmony of yin and yang, lit it with the shining of sun and moon; its notes I was able to make long or short, yielding or strong, modulating about a single unity, but bowing before no rule or constancy."

Suggesting that the understanding gained correlated directly with difficulties encountered, Su Shi identified with Qu Yuan who said he had no regrets for the journey he had undertaken. The lines of this poem serve to modify Su Shi's earlier outrageous remark that Han Yu's journey into exile was in fact an excursion taken to Chaozhou so that he could visit scenic places in the South.⁶⁸

When Su Shi crossed the symbolic divide between the North and South, he continued his analogy of exile and excursion. At the time he reached the Jiangxi area, he had already received the pardon that allowed him freedom of residence with a sinecure of the Yuju Monastery

68. SSWJ, 2/17/507-509. "潮州韓文公廟碑."

王局觀 in Chengdu. He had been greeted enthusiastically by officials and others along the way. Appropriately, he contrasted his movement into exile with the return. At that time, no one had come to send him off; now in returning he is like Han Yu. He will be honored in the same way that Han Yu was ennobled through the stele inscription he had been commissioned to compose for the temple in Han Yu's honor in Chaozhou. Now, even in his lifetime, he is grateful for the recognition given in the appointment.

CROSSING THE MOUNTAIN RIDGES⁶⁹

I wore the southern hat temporarily, not until
 life's end,
 Now I follow the northern goose, returning to
 rest.
 I've not been the rabbit with three holes for
 escape,
 From past to present, there's always a badger's
 home.
 At that time no one came to see Linhe off on his
 way,
 But today there is the court decree at Chaozhou.
 I gaze westward, seven thousand li to Jian Pass.
 Riding in my sedan chair, making an excursion to
 the Jade Hall Temple.

Because he was given freedom of residence and granted a sinecure at the Taoist temple where Zhang Daoling had studied the Way, Su Shi's journey seemed to him like a trip home to Shu and the end of all of his roving.

69. SSSJ, 7/45/2426. "過嶺 ." The mountain ridge is Yu's Pass in Jiangxi.

While in exile in Huangzhou, Su Shi had written poems that expressed in moving terms the intimate connection between the landscape and the feelings captured in language. Landscape poems from the Huizhou exile were particularly moving and beautiful, especially those which combined direct description of the landscape with a projection of feelings of transcendence, even of the desire to travel imaginatively to realms beyond the limits of the mundane world. On the journey back to the mainland of China, his poems reflect his ability to capture the essence of scene and feeling. A poem written as he gazed toward the sea at Chengmai post-station is an exquisite vignette that captures the preoccupations of the returning exile. Loneliness and sadness in the face of the distance of the journey are caused by the realization that a long distance separates him from home.

WRITTEN AT CHENGMAI POST STATION PAVILION NEAR THE SEA⁷⁰

POEM #1

Weary traveler saddened when he learns the road
 back is far,
 Sees before him a pavilion extending to the long
 bridge.
 Absorbed watching egrets cross the autumn
 marshes,
 He's unaware of dark woods sinking into evening
 tides.

70. SSSJ, 7/43/2364. "澄邁驛道潮閣二首."

Despite an expansive spirit, the poems expressing loneliness are poignant reminders that he is still a sojourner. A longer poem revealing his sense of isolation has a narrative element that reveals his sensitivity to the realities at hand. Following a description of the monastery, he records the discomforts of the journey, but brings a depth of feeling to his account.

TRAVELING FROM LEIZHOU TO LIANZHOU, I LODGE IN THE
JINGXING MONASTERY IN XINGLIAN VILLAGE⁷¹

How desolate the place, north to the south of the
 sea,
The Buddhist dwelling perched like a rooster's
 nest.
As I travel deep amidst the banyan forest,
A wooden structure appears jutting into the sky.
At the gate is a cool blue well,
Where I wash the mud from my feet.
The main building is made of new bricks,
The rooms are divided by carved jade tips.
Falling into bed, we sleep soundly aligned,
Snoring like the rainbow rising high.
The young servant is unwilling to leave,
And I am delayed for half a day.
At dawn we get into a small skiff,
But I'm in a stupor for ten miles on the river.
When I come around, I don't know where we are,
The road back, for an old man, seems ever more
 difficult to find.

A second poem written at the monastery integrates feeling and scene perfectly. The line bringing to mind the poetry he exchanged with his brother Ziyu as they

71. SSSJ, 7/43/2367. "自雷適廉宿於
興廉村淨行院。"

recalled their promises made from facing beds is a reminder of one cause of his loneliness. The motif that had frequently appeared in his poems over the course of forty years is appropriately repeated in one of his last poems.

SPENDING THE NIGHT AT JINGXING MONASTERY⁷²

Rattan shoes don't tread the path of profit and
fame,
A light skiff is abandoned to vast, flowing
waters.
From facing beds we listen to night rains in the
woods,
All is still, and no lamp shines on my
loneliness.

The use of dream motifs was common in Su Shi's writings from exile. It had served to relativize his situation and to give an added dimension to the poetry. It was used on the return journey as he came again to places he had passed on his trip into exile. He sensed that he was retracing his path. Movement in the reverse direction resulted in comparisons with dream. As he looks back on the years in exile, they seem to have been a dream, otherwise, he wonders, how could he have lived through them?

72. SSSJ, 7/43/2368. "夜雨宿净行院 ."

CROSSING OVER THE PASS⁷³ POEM #2

How have I borne with these seven years of
 sojourning?
 Once again I taste a ladle of sweet water from
 Cao Brook.
 It seems that in dream I once traveled beyond the
 sea,
 Now in drunkenness, I've unconsciously reached
 Jiangnan.
 Waves dash, dampening my feet, sounding in empty
 caverns,
 The fog hanging from mountain peaks wraps around
 my traveler's garb.
 Who sent the mountain cocks that suddenly rise up
 startled?
 Midway on the ridge mountain petals fall like
 light rain.

On the earlier journey south, Su Shi had stayed at the Nanhua Monastery 南華寺 near Cao Brook 曹谿 and had washed his inkstone in the pond named in honor of the Sixth Patriarch Huineng 六祖慧能.⁷⁴ The poem written on his return focuses on the ladle of water from the brook. This symbolizes the cleanliness and purity of spirit that he senses in the monastery setting. Su Shi had sought to reinforce his conviction that he was innocent of any wrongdoing. The peace he feels as he returns is evidence enough for him. Happiness verging on disbelief overtakes him as he comes again to familiar surroundings.

73. SSSJ, 7/45/2424. " 贈嶺上老人 ."

74. SSSJ, 6/38/2060-61. " 南華寺 ."

The scene described at another monastery dwelling reminded him of his native Shu. Associations are highlighted in his poem, and in dream he seems to have returned there.

LEAVING A POEM AT THE XIANSHENG MONASTERY⁷⁵

In the mist evening crows gather in the sparse
 branches,
 In the isolated village, smoke rises from
 monasteries.
 The recluses have themselves planted thousands of
 orange trees,
 The traveler comes to seek cloves from them.
 At Fushi water after frost has already dried,
 At Jiaokeng we rest and drink the tea before the
 rains.
 I sense that in my returning dream I have gone
 southwest,
 Green bamboo in the village along the river
 encircles the white sands.

The poetry written during the return trip reveals that Su Shi continued to consider the questions of meaning and purpose that had engaged him during exile. On the return journey, he encountered his fellow official Liu Anshi 劉安世 (1048--1125) who was also returning from exile in the South.⁷⁶ Quite likely, they discussed poetry and politics; there is evidence in poems that they conversed about Buddhism. While Su Shi proposed they take excursions, Liu preferred to discuss Chan and to

75. SSSJ, 7/45/2427. "留題顯聖寺".

76. SSSJ, 7/45/2445-48. Su Shi's poems record the exchanges.

make visits to the monks. According to Liu, the man he spoke with was no longer the Su Shi of Yuanyou days at the court, but a person totally changed, somehow detached and at peace. The influence of Buddhist and Taoist language can still be discerned in Su's poems.

One of the ways Su Shi interpreted the reason for his return was to say that the Bodhisattva had protected him during his exile. Poems to Guanyin, discussed above, were written as he passed by the monastery to express his thanks in a gāthā. At the temple in honor of Guanyin, he again wrote a gāthā expressing his gratitude that the Bodhisattva had allowed him to return safely. While the sincerity of his religious expression is not the point of inquiry, it is instructive to consider the work within the larger literary context. The poem may be compared with that written at a Daoist temple in Guangzhou. It reveals that Su Shi had not lost his interest in playing with the philosophical language of Taoism.

DAOIST HE'S MYRIAD MARVELS HALL IN GUANGZHOU⁷⁷

Calm and seeking nothing is the way of the
Taoist,
I alone observe this gate of Myriad Marvels.
All things are complex, but they return to the
source,

77. SSSJ, 7/44/2398. "廣州何道士眾妙堂."

When you are among the many, the Tao is still
 present.
 At dawn the Taoist arises, opens the Eastern
 study,
 Sitting in total concentration until the sun is
 bright.
 The accumulated rays shine on my glass tray,
 Inverted shining on the window ledge, they are
 clear and warm.
 About to receive the moon's spirit and eat the
 sun's ghost,
 If I follow the sun and moon nothing can swallow
 me.

Obviously, the Taoist ideas of relativity and the unity of all things continued to fascinate Su Shi. The idea that the marvelous could be myriad had once provoked a youthful Su Shi to put a question to his teacher in a dream. According to Su Shi's notes to the poem, he had asked his Meishan teacher, Zhang Jianyi 張簡易 how to interpret the line from the Laozi, "The mystery beyond mystery is the door to the myriad marvels 玄之又玄 眾妙之門".⁷⁸ Repeating the line, Su Shi suggests that he was seeking the source of unity. Reference to the Laozi regarding all things returning to the source clarifies the view that the Dao is present when unity is gained from multiplicity.⁷⁹

While staying with Daoists in Tengzhou, he had written about the moon and the way it resembled his own

78. SSSJ, 7/44/2398-99. "廣州何道士眾妙堂".

79. SSSJ, 7/44/2398. Line 3 is from the Laozi 1.3a. See Lau, Lao Tzu, Tao de ching, p. 57. It refers to all things returning to their root or origin.

pure heart. Identification with the sun and moon had made him feel invincible. Despite formal admission of guilt in official documents, Su Shi's personal writings reveal that he was convinced of the purity of his own heart. Reliance on emptiness, the Buddhist ideal, had allowed him to achieve a sense of tranquility and harmony.

MATCHING CANDIDATE HUANG'S POEM ON THE JIANKONG PAVILION⁸⁰

The moon originally was naturally bright,
 In the state of "no mind" how can you make a
 world?
 Relying on emptiness all can be reflected in the
 water mirror,
 And you can describe the image of this water and
 mountain.
 I observe the vast flowing waters of the ocean,
 Their great depths as everlasting as the heavens.
 The Nine Continents are situated in its midst,
 No different from the snake coiled on the
 mirror.⁸¹
 Space and water are both without substance,
 But when they reflect each other, both become
 clear.
 We foolishly speak of cassia, rabbit and toad,
 But the popular saying is that all can be
 discarded.
 As I roam at the Empty Mirror Pavilion,
 The sliver of moon seems desolate and chill.
 Master Huang wearing no coat feels cold,
 But facing the moon his lines are ever more
 moving.
 I borrow the water from your mirror,

80. SSSJ, 7/43/2399-2400. "和黃秀才鑑空閣."

81. SSSJ, 7/43/2399-2400, L. 4. The image of the snake coiled on the mirror suggests a questioning of the reality of things.

To wash the ink from my brush.⁸²
 Who says the coolness amid the small clump of
 trees,
 Is the best place on all of here on Five Peaks?⁸³

According to Ji Yun, the poem is the expression of a transcendent spirit, no less effective than the excellent poem written while Su Shi was viewing the moon in Tengzhou.⁸⁴ During the return journey, Su Shi came increasingly to identify himself with the purity and detachment of the moon.

RISING AT NIGHT TO VIEW THE MOON ON THE RIVER AT
 TENGZHOU⁸⁵

Moon river shines on my heart,
 River waters wash my inner being.
 In fact it resembles the small pearl,
 Falling into this white jade tray.
 My heart has always been like this moon,
 When the moon fills the river it does not flow.
 The one arising to dance, who is it?
 Don't think of them as three people.⁸⁶
 South of the mountain is a miasmatic land,
 But there is also coolness of river and moon.
 Yet I know that between heaven and earth,
 There is no one who is not pure and at peace.

82. The literal reference is to the tube city; it points to the writing brush, using the allusion of Han Yu's essay on the brush.

83. For the five peaks, see Shui jing zhu 水經注. See Wang Wen'gao's annotation in SSSJ, p. 2400.

84. Ji Yun, Su wenzhong Gong shi ji, 44.1a. For commentary and comparison, see 44. 5a.

85. SSSJ, 7/44/2386. "藤州江上夜起對月.
 贈邵道士."

86. The language echoes Li Bai's "Drinking Alone Beneath the Moon 月下獨酌."

Above my bed there is white wine,
 The bottle like white dew everywhere.
 Alone I'm drunk and again sober alone,
 The night air is clear and refreshing.
 Then I call to Taoist Shao,
 To bring his lute and strum under the moon.
 Together we'll board a small skiff,
 And at night go down to the Cangwu shoals.

Images of the moon, river and wine are common in Chinese poems. A Taoist with a zither and the poet with his boat are images seen in Su Shi's poetry from Huangzhou. Yet, this poem is notable for its simple theme. The poet creates a poetic world characterized by peace and harmony. The several poems written on the return journey that reflect a continuing use of Buddhist and Taoist imagery and allusion reveal that Su Shi persisted in seeing the world in those terms and preferred those images.

RETURN TO FAMILY AND TO DEATH

Primary among Su Shi's reasons for using the word "return" was its reference to his family and his desire to be reunited with them. Poems to, for, and about family members comprise a large portion of his corpus. His obvious affection for his sons and nephews is an appealing feature of his poetry. While the poem sent to the sons after they had come south to meet him does not have great literary merit, it reveals the extent to which

the idea of return preoccupied him. It shows, too, that the relationship between engagement and withdrawal as well as the suffering caused by life away from his family had not ceased to concern him.

SENT FROM GUANGZHOU TO MY TWO SONS MAI AND DAI⁸⁷

Heaven sent me away from home to become a
 Buddhist,⁸⁸
 And now that I reach old age, I study the Way.
 As I return north, because of my sons,
 It's laughable that I break the commandments.⁸⁹
 Parting the clouds we see the deva's eye,⁹⁰
 Turning back we've lost the seas flowing.
 The singing of the Man and the songs of the Li,
 The lingering sounds are still lovely.
 My oldest son had shepherded the group of young
 ones,
 Four years guarding the solitary mountain top.
 My second son in illness studies medicine,
 After trial and error, now knows a bit.⁹¹
 My youngest son farms for his sustenance,
 When he has some leisure studies his books.
 I also have made trouble with wine and poetry?

87. SSSJ, 7/44/2390-91. "將至廣州,用過韻寄邁
 迨二子."

88. He said that being in exile was like living the life of a mendicant monk.

89. The jie 劫 (śīla) are the Buddhist rules of moral conduct, the prohibitions given in the vinaya-piṭika.

90. The tianyan 天眼 (divya cakṣus) is one of the five kinds of eyes. This is the eye of the law by which the bohisattvas perceive all teachings in order to lead human beings to enlightenment. See Japanese-English Buddhist Dictionary 佛英大辭典 (Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha, 1979), p. 79.

91. Literally, he says that his son has tried breaking the bone three times. He has learned from his experiences. Wang Wen'gao annotates an allusion to the Zuo zhuan and explains that Dai, because of illness, has gone to Yangxian where he studies medicine.

When you lose the way, it becomes increasingly
indistinct.
When will the turmoil of the world be settled?
What can be attained is all old.
Don't be a Liu Zongyuan,
With poetry and books instructing the people.
And don't engage in mountain climbing,
What is so good about mountains and streams?
Settle down with me and don't go roaming,
Shut the door and sprinkle and sweep.

Su Shi's desires to be reunited with his family are expressed clearly in this poem. Return meant essentially and primarily a reunion with them. The concept of return took on particular significance; Su Shi considered where he should live upon returning to the north. Paramount in his thinking was that the place should be of his choosing. Because of the prestige both he and Su Che enjoyed, it was best to remain as distant from the capital as possible. There is every likelihood that Su Shi intended to retire from office.⁹² When he saw a scene of the ancient recluses, he placed himself in their midst. He, too, wanted to retire to an estate. Alluding to Bai Juyi, Wang Wei, Yang Xiong and Tao Yuanming, all of whom were fortunate to spend years of retirement on their estates, Su Shi suggests that he should retire.

92. SSWJ, 5/60/1837. Letter to Ziyou, #8. Su Shi discusses his retirement plans with Ziyou.

LI BOSHI PAINTS HIS BROTHER LIANGGONG'S "DWELLINGS OF
ANCIENT RECLUSES"⁹³

Bai Letian retired early, today no longer with
us,
Mojie retired long ago, his former traces now
have disappeared.

He himself planted five mu of bamboo above the
pond,
For ten years nothing, but now we see the map of
Wangzhou.
Today I hear that Tao's son has three jing,
One ought to allow Yang Xiong have one area.
In my latter years I'll make a plan for living,
Like swans and geese we'll scatter on the calm
lake.

Whatever his plans for reinstatement into the
political arena for himself, he surely held the view that
his sons would continue the tradition of service. He had
spoken of plans to take the five carts filled with books
so that he could begin the instruction of the children.⁹⁴
On the occasion of the birth of Ziyou's fourth grandson,
he wrote: "Without office we can relax; with sons, all is
sufficient." The confidence Su Shi held in sons and the
joy he felt in their presence was exceeded only by his
feelings for Ziyou. Beginning with the earliest parting
poems in his corpus and concluding with the poems
expressing a desire to retire with Ziyou, Su Shi's poetry
is unique in the number and variety of poems that reflect

93. SSSJ, 7/44/2413-14. "李伯時畫其弟亮工舊隱宅圖"

94. SSSJ, 7/42/2303. "偕前韻和子由生第四孫斗老."

the close relationship he enjoyed with his younger brother.

That Su Shi was never allowed a final farewell with Ziyou was his deepest regret. When Su Shi's died in Changzhou on the twentieth-eighth day in 1101, his own family and a Buddhist monk were present, but Ziyou was not. The request for burial at Song Mountain beneath the peaks of Small Emei was granted. Eleven years later, Su Che was buried beside his brother, reunited in death. Although the promise to return to Shu together had inspired them for several decades, they were unable to realize their desires. In retrospect, Su Shi's poetry on the themes of return written to Ziyou possess an added poignancy.

The poetry written during exile is essential for gaining an understanding of the general body of Su Shi's literature. It gives insight into Su Shi as a literary figure of many dimensions and capabilities. An explication of the themes of exile and return reveal a multi-faceted man who opened himself to experience the fundamental poles of one of life's profound dilemmas. The tension between engagement and withdrawal, universal in its most fundamental application, was never fully resolved by Su Shi. "Return" with its rich tapestry of meanings is used throughout his poetry, indicating that the tensions drew him in two directions until the end.

Rarely in any literature is the ambivalence expressed with such persistence. If this literature is negated, a way of gaining insight into Su Shi's entire corpus is denied. Both the man and his meaning could be misunderstood.

CONCLUSIONS

From the extensive literary corpus of Su Shi, an interrelated array of poems and prose works has been arranged to explicate features of the poet, his life and his literature. This selection and interpretation of poetry Su Shi composed on the subjects of exile and return has emphasized an essential quality of his art and his literary persona. If his literature composed during and regarding exile is not included in general considerations of Su Shi's works, an important dimension of his corpus and the persona it represents will have been neglected.

In this study, the theme of return in Su Shi's works has been presented in relationship to the idea of exile. The two matters are inextricably joined in a traditional Chinese society that punishes its scholar-official class with forms of exile. Su Shi, as the most famous of the Northern Song literati to have suffered demotion and banishment on several occasions recorded his feelings and ideas about exile in poetry that often pointed to the ideal of return. Generally, gui, return, meant a reprieve for the exile. But as we have seen, Su Shi did not limit his understanding of gui to amnesty; rather, he expanded it to include a philosophical dimension.

Poetry composed while he was in exile constitutes a distinct portion of Su Shi's poetic corpus. During the ten years of banishment, he wrote frequently about his own experiences of exile and those of others. Our designation of these periods is based on Su Shi's ironic reference to Huangzhou, Huizhou and Danzhou as the places of his greatest achievement.

While this study of literature related to the themes of exile and return has touched upon a variety of subjects, the most important are the historical context of Su Shi's exile, the poetic achievement of works written during and about exile, and the philosophical understanding Su Shi gained during times of banishment.

The controversial aspect of Su Shi as an historical figure is whether he intended to continue serving the Song court or planned to retire from service. Complaints and criticism he directed against the court do not possess the intensity of the outcry of men prior to him who had been expelled from service to the throne. But were Su Shi's announced intentions and threats to retire from service to be accepted as the sincere and lofty stance of the man who retreats from office?

With respect to the poetry composed in exile, the primary critical question is whether or not the adversity of the exile experience aided or thwarted Su Shi in the development of his poetic craft. Did the poetry composed

in exile possess the excellence of works written during other periods?

Controversies over which tradition, Confucian, Buddhist or Taoist, most influenced Su Shi during the periods of his exiles do not give adequate attention to the general acceptance of syncretic thought in the early Song, nor do they analyze adequately Su Shi's own corpus of literature with Buddhist and Taoist themes.

In this study, the three major questions regarding the interpretation of Su Shi as statesman, poet and philosopher have been considered through an analysis of the themes of exile and return in his writings.

On the basis of historical sources from the Northern Song, and from literary biographies, we have explained the causes of Su Shi's exiles. He was one of many dedicated statesmen who sought to make the country politically viable and economically strong. But because he and his contemporaries differed on the course of action required to strengthen the country and to repel the northern intruders, they caused antagonisms within the bureaucracy. Su Shi's writings reflect the factional disputes that resulted in the demotion and banishment of hundreds of officials during the last half of the eleventh century. But we have shown how he was singled out, indicted, tried and imprisoned for his alleged crime of slandering the emperor. Furthermore, he was the only

one of the Yuanyou partisans to be sent into exile to Hainan Island. Because of his reference to other exiles throughout the centuries in China and his comments regarding the dilemmas faced by the outspoken statesman, Su Shi appears to resemble the traditional exile. But it is precisely the manner in which he rejected total identification with exiled statesmen that shapes the distinctiveness of his stance towards exile.

The poetry Su Shi composed in exile is varied and extensive. While critics have said that his vision was not broadened by his experiences, the fact is that his descriptive accounts revealed his expanded sense of the world encountered in exile. In his poems on journeys into exile, geographic areas of China are brought into clearer focus. These landscape poems are among the best in Su Shi's collection, no less appealing than his landscape vignettes of Hangzhou and other scenic places. Poems describing his journey to Huizhou are exceptionally well crafted literary works, imbued with appreciation for the beauty of landscapes encountered and an awareness of the religious ambience of the southern realm he is entering. Analysis of the affectionate rendering of the places of exile reveals to us Su Shi's ability to describe particular places and to express his attachment to them. Poems from the Huangzhou period describing his East Slope, though somewhat prosaic in tone, are also

effective pieces. While he does not catalogue the exotic scenes of his Hainan exile nor recount the contours of the objective landscapes there, he does illumine the world of his exile. Furthermore, by using the literary techniques of imaginative association, he is able to transform his places of exile. He possesses an unusual capacity to accept the particular landscape of his exile, unbearable though it may seem, and to transform it into a world his imagination renders attractive. The attention accorded in this study to Su Shi's capacity to create worlds in which to dwell is an indicator of the significance of his talent, expressed best during times of exile when he sought a world beyond the one of banishment.

The capacity to create worlds not bound by conventional conceptions of time and space owes much to Su Shi's understanding of Buddhism and Taoism. One reason for his consideration of the two traditions was that during exile he gained the requisite leisure to pursue various arts of self-cultivation. The personal trauma of exile, however, was the primary factor compelling him to ponder the questions of guilt, suffering and death generally associated with Buddhism. Nonetheless, to say that he turned to Buddhism and Taoism because of the adversity of exile is to fail to account for the religious and philosophical inclinations he expressed

prior to exile. However, there is an apparent intensification during his exiles in poetry indebted to Buddhist and Taoist language and imagery.

One of the most important developments in Su Shi's literary corpus is the series of poems written to echo the rhymes of Tao Yuanming's corpus of poems. The significance of Su Shi's actions is found not only in the creation of the poems themselves, but also in the evidence that he engaged in sustained reflection on the meaning of the life and works of another. By contrasting his treatment of Tao with his responses to other historic figures, we have seen how he chose to draw upon the tradition. His literary accounts of Qu Yuan, Jia Yi, Han Yu and Liu Zongyuan have been analyzed with a view to clarifying how he gained an understanding of exile from reflection on the lives of those who met with rejection while offering honorable service.

Analysis of the ambivalence Su Shi felt toward his life as an official has drawn our attention. His predicament was not unique; however, the way in which he expressed the tension between engagement and withdrawal was distinct. Because the term gui in its fundamental sense of "to return home" or "to retreat" appears in numerous poems, it stands as a constant reminder that Su Shi never completely dispelled this ambivalence. The pervasiveness of the idea has been emphasized in order to

clarify why Su Shi chose Tao Yuanming as his exemplar. The matching poems have revealed Su Shi's affinity for Tao and for other recluses as well. His effort to write the poems was not, as some contend, merely a desire for consolation. Imitation was a form of literary response common among classical writers. To imitate was simply Su Shi's way of joining his voice with Tao's, taking him as a friend in exile. The action owes little to a spirit of anxiety that attempts to best the work of the earlier poet, but rather is based upon an effort to find balance as well as consolation in the figure of Tao Yuanming. Furthermore, the imitation was Su Shi's deliberate attempt to create poetry worthy of Tao's compositions. Finally, he enjoyed the challenge of meeting the restraints and restrictions of matching Tao's rhymes.

In a similar manner, rather than emphasize the contrast between what has been termed his bold and unrestrained (haofang) style and the easy and unadorned (pingdan) style, I have referred to critics who have expressed preference of one over the other. In fact, a style that expresses a transcendent dimension, whether bold or simple, seems best to describe the work of Su Shi.

Su Shi's development of a new standard for poetic composition provides the key to understanding the poetry written during his exiles in Huizhou and Hainan. The new

ideal of the unadorned, simple, but meaningful line should be the standard for assessing his poems from the later years. Several of the poems composed on the return journey are fine examples of this new ideal.

Those who contend that Su Shi's creative abilities were moderated, even thwarted by the severity of the hardships of exile point to an undeniable feature of his poetry. Because he prized spontaneity, Su Shi was less inclined than many of his contemporaries, such as Huang Tingjian, Wang Anshi and Ouyang Xiu, to perfect the craft of his poetry. Consequently, the poetry from exile, when not inspired by a compelling event, tends toward repeated recounting of his situation in exile. In this respect, he is subject to the criticism directed toward Song poetry in general. Attention to details of everyday life detracts from the emotional intensity of the poetry.

One reason Su Shi is not readily imitated by later poets is due to the highly personal nature of his poetry. The underlying ambivalence characterizing many of his poems resulted from the human experience of being drawn in diametrically opposed directions. His desire for engagement and his determination to find meaning in self-cultivation and reclusion was intensified by his experiences of exile. The particularity of his poetry results in part from this ambivalence and the manner in which he was able to express it.

If we do not give attention to the exile periods and his poetry of complaint expressing a desire to withdraw from service, we do not see the dislocation Su Shi experienced in relation to the court. When speaking of his inherent optimism, it is imperative to take these expressions of displacement into account. As our analysis has shown, Su Shi was not simply optimistic, rather, his responses in times of difficulty and adversity were based on an understanding of the fundamental human condition. With Buddhist and Taoist ideas, held together with a classical Confucian understanding of the Way, Su Shi found a way to combine several theoretical positions. He developed a deep awareness of the causes of sorrow and the way to accept if not overcome it. Because he did not reject the mundane, human existence of everyday life as he sought transcendence, his indebtedness to Chan thought is apparent. Retaining the tension of being engaged while seeking reclusion, of existing in the world of samsara while enjoying the tranquility of nirvana, Su Shi held within himself the apparent contradictions. It is precisely this genius that provides the continual appeal of his personality and his poetry.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. Works by Su Shi

- Dongpo chan xi ji 東坡禪喜集 . Edited by Liu Renhang 劉仁航 . Shanghai: Shangwu, 1931.
- Dongpo ci 東坡詞 . Edited by Cao Shuming 曹樹銘 . Hong Kong: Yinshu guan, 1974.
- Dongpo quan ji 東坡全集 . 2 vols. Edited by Yang Jialuo 楊家駱 . Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1972.
- Dongpo tiba 東坡題跋 . in Song ren tiba 宋人題跋 . 2 Vols. Edited by Yang Jialuo 楊家駱 . Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1962.
- Dongpo yuefu jian 東坡樂府箋 . Edited by Long Yusheng 龍榆生 . 1939; rpt. Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 1979.
- Dongpo zhilin 東坡志林 . 5 juan. Edited by Wang Songling 王松齡 . Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981.
- Dongpo zhilin 東坡志林 12 juan. Edited by Wang Yunwu 王雲五 et al. Taipei: Shangwu, 1939. Congshu jicheng chubian edition.
- Dongpo zhilin 東坡志林 and Qiuchi biji 仇池筆記 . Edited by Guji yanjiusuo 古籍研究所 . Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue, 1983.
- Haiwai ji 海外集 . Haiko: Hainan Shuju, 1948
- Jingjin Dongpo wenji shilue 經進東坡文集事畧. Edited by Lang Ye. 郎暉 . 2 vols. Taipei: Wenxue guiji, n.d. Sibu congan edition. .
- San Su wen ji 三蘇文集 . 8 vols. Shanghai: Huiwen xueshe, 1911.
- Su Dongpo ji 蘇東坡集 . 3 vols. Shanghai: Shangwu, 1958.
- Su Dongpo shi ji zhu 蘇東坡詩集注 . Compiled by Wang Shipeng 王十朋 (1112--1171). Taipei: Shangwu, n.d.

- Su Shi shi ji 蘇軾詩集 . 8 vols. Compiled by Wang Wen'gao (1764--?) 王文誥 collated by Kong Fanli 孔凡禮 . Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982.
- Su Shi wen ji 蘇軾文集 . 6 vols. Compiled by Kong Fanli 孔凡禮 . Beijing: Zhonghua, 1986.
- Su shi Yi zhuan 蘇氏易傳 . Taibei: Guangwen shuju, 1974.
- Su shi Yi zhuan 蘇氏易傳 . Shanghai: Shangwu, n.d.
Congshu jicheng 叢書集成 edition.
- Su Wenzhong Gong shi bianzhu jicheng 蘇文忠公詩編註集成 . 6 vols. Edited with commentary by Wang Wen'gao 王文誥 (1764--?). 1822, rpt. Taibei: Xuesheng shuju, 1967.
- Su Wenzhong Gong shi ji 蘇文忠公詩編註集成 12 vols.
Compiled by Ji Yun 紀昀 (1724--1805). n.p: n.d.

II. Chinese and Japanese Sources

- Bai Juyi 白居易 (772--846). Bai Juyi ji 白居易集 . 4 vols. Edited by Gu Xuejie 顧學頤 . Beijing: Zhonghua, 1979.
- Cao Shuming 曹樹銘. "Dongpo yu Dao Fo zhi guanxi 東坡與道佛之關係. Guoli zhongyang guoshuguan quankan. Part I, vol. 3. 2 (1970), 7-21; Part II, vol. 3. 3-4 (1970), 34-55.
- Chang Bide 昌彼得 et al. Song ren zhuanji ziliao suoyin 宋人傳記資料索引 6 vols. Taibei: Dingwen shuju, 1976.
- Chang Chi-yun 張其昀 et al. Zhongwen dacidian 中文大辭典 Taibei: Huagang chuban youxian gongsi, 1973, rev. ed., 1976.
- Chen Bangzhan 陳邦瞻, comp. Song shi ji shi benmo 宋詩紀事本末. 3 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1977.
- Chen Erdong 陳迺冬 . Su Shi shi xuan 蘇軾詩選 . Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1984.

- _____. Su Dongpo shi ci xuan 蘇東坡詩詞選 .
Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1982.
- Chen Huachang 陳華昌 "Xin ling, wei Tao Yuanming suo
xiyin 心靈為陶淵明所吸引 ." Lun Su
Shi Linnan shi ji gita, 209-221.
- Chen Shidao 陳師道 (1053--1101). Hou shan jushi wen
ji 厚山居士文集 . 2 vols. Shanghai: Guji
chubanshe, 1984.
- Chen Youqin 陳友琴 . Bai Juyi zhuan 白居易傳 .
Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962.
- Cheng Qianfan 程千帆 and Mo Lifeng 莫礪鋒 .
"Su Shi de fengge lun 蘇軾的風格論 ." .
Chengdu daxue xuebao (1968.1), 3-12.
- Cheng Shankai 成善楷 "Dongpo yuefu zhong geji ci de
meixue yiyi 東坡樂府中歌妓詞的美學意義 ." .
Dongpo ci luncong, 90-106.
- Chikusa Masaaki 竺沙雅章 . "So Shoku to bunkkyō"
蘇軾と佛教 . Tōhōgaku 36 (October, 1964), 457-
80.
- _____. So Tōba 蘇東坡 . Tokyo: Jinbutsu oraisha,
1967.
- Danxian zhi 儋縣志 . 1613; rev. ed. 1934. Hainan:
Danxian wenshi bangongshi, 1982.
- Ding Zhuanjing 丁傳靖 , ed. Song ren yishi huibian.
宋人軼事彙編 . Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981.
- Dongpo ci luncong 東坡詞論叢 . Edited by Su Shi
yanjiu xuehui 蘇軾研究學會 . Sichuan:
Renmin chubanshe, 1982.
- Dongpo shi luncong 東坡詩論叢 . Edited by Su Shi
yanjiu xuehui 蘇軾研究學會 . Sichuan:
Renmin chubanshe, 1983.
- Dongpo wen luncong 東坡文論叢 . Edited by Su Shi
yanjiu xuehui 蘇軾研究學會 . Sichuan: Wenyi
chubanshe, 1986.
- Dongpo yanjiu luncong 東坡研究論叢 . Su Shi
yanjiu lunwen ji 蘇軾研究論文集 , No. 3.
Sichuan: Wenyi chubanshe, 1986.

- Du Fu 杜甫 . Du shi yinde 杜詩引得 . Hong Ye 洪業 , et al. 2 vols. Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1985.
- Feng Youlan 馮友蘭 . Zhongguo zhexue shi 中國哲學史 2 vols. 1961; rpt. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1984.
- Gao Buyin 高步瀛 , ed. Tang Song wen juyao 唐宋文舉要 . Beijing: Zhonghua, 1963.
- Ge Hong 葛洪 . Baopuzi nei wai pian 抱朴子內外篇 . 4 vols. Taipei: Shangwu, 1979.
- Ge Xiaoyin 葛曉音 . "Lun chu, sheng Tang shige gexin de jiben tezheng 論初盛唐詩歌革新的基本特徵 . Zhongguo shehui kexue 中國社會科學 (1985.2), 191-208.
- Gu Yisheng 顧易生 . "Su Shi de wenyi sixiang 蘇軾的文藝思想." Wenxue yichan 文學遺產 (1980.2), 71-85.
- Guo Qingfan 郭慶藩 , ed. Zhuangzi jishi 莊子集釋 . Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1967.
- Guo Maoqian 郭茂倩 . Yuefu shiji 樂府詩集 . 3 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1979.
- Guo Shaoyu 郭紹虞 . Zhongguo wenxue piping shi 中國文學批評史 . Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1979.
- Han shu 漢書 . Compiled by Ban Gu 班固 (32--92). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962.
- Han Yu 韓愈 . Han Changli wen ji jiaozhu 韓昌黎文集校注 . Taipei: Hanjing wenhua shiye, 1983.
- . Han Changli shixi nian ji shi 韓昌黎詩繫年集釋 . 2 vols. Shanghai: Guji, 1984.
- He Wenhuan 何文煥 , ed. Lidai shihua 歷代詩話 . Beijing: Zhonghua.
- Hong Mai 洪邁 (1123--1202). Rongzhai suibi 容齋隨筆 . 2 vols. Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1978.
- Hong Xingzu 洪興祖 . Chuci buzhu 楚辭補注 . Beijing: Zhonghua, 1983.

- Hu Guorui 胡國瑞 . Wei Jin Nanbei chao wenxue shi
魏晉南北朝文學史 . Shanghai: Wenyi
chubanshe, 1980.
- Hu Yunyi 胡雲翼 . Song shi yanjiu 宋詩研究 .
Hong Kong: Shangwu.
- Huang Yunmei 黃雲眉 . Han Yu Liu Zongyuan wenxue
pingjia 韓愈柳宗元文學評價 . Ji'nan:
Shandong renmin chubanshe, 1957.
- Jiang Linzhu 姜林洙 . Xin Qiji zhuan 辛棄疾傳 .
Taipei: Shangwu, 1964.
- Jin Guoyong 金國永 . Su Xun 蘇洵 . Beijing:
Zhonghua, 1984.
- Jin shu 晉書 . Compiled by Fang Xuanling 房玄齡
(578--648), et al. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974.
- Jin Zheng 金諍 . "Su Shi renqingshuo shuping
蘇軾人情說述評" . Master's Thesis, Sichuan
University, 1984.
- Jin Zhongshu 金中樞 . "Songdai guwen yundong zhi
fazhan yanjiu 宋代古文運動之發展研究" .
Xinhua xuebao 5 (1960-1963), 79-146.
- Jiu Tang shu 舊唐書 . Compiled by Liu Xu 劉昫
(887--946). Beijing: Zhonghua, 1975.
- Ke Dake 柯大課 . Su Shi ji qi zuopin 蘇軾及其
作品 . Jilin: Renmin chubanshe, 1984.
- Kondō Mitsuo 近藤光男 . So Tōba 蘇東坡 . Kanshi
taikei, vol 17. Tokyo: Shueisha, 1964.
- Li E 厲鶚 , ed. Song shi ji shi 宋詩紀事 .
4 vols. Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1983.
- Li Jinqian 李錦全 . "Jianzeng Ru Dao Fo, qihe li
jingshen 兼綜儒道佛, 契合理情神" . Su Shi
sixiang tantao, 1-19.
- Li Shan 李善 (?--689), comp. Liuchen zhu Wen xuan
六臣注文選 . 2 vols. Taipei:
Guangwen shuju, 1937.

- Li Tao 李燾 . Xu cizhi tongjian changbian
續資治通鑑長編 . Taibei: Shijie shuju,
1964.
- . Xu cizhi tongjian chang bian 續資治
通鑑長編 . Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985.
- Li Yibing 李一冰 . Su Dongpo xin zhuan 蘇東坡新傳 .
2 vols. Taibei: Lianjing chubanshiye gongsi, 1983.
- Li Zehou 李澤厚 . Mei de licheng 美的歷程 .
Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1981.
- Liang Rongmao 梁榮茂 . Bao puzi yanjiu
抱朴子研究. Taibei: Mutton chubanshe, 1977.
- Liu Naichang 劉乃昌 . Su Shi wenxue lun ji 蘇軾
文學論集 . Ji'nan: Ji Lu shushe, 1982.
- . Su Shi xuanji 蘇軾選集 . Jinan:
Jinanshushe, 1981.
- Liu Shangrong 劉尚榮 . "Ping xinban de Su Shi shi ji
評新版的蘇軾詩集 ." Su Dongpo yanjiu
luncong, 213-37.
- Liu Shaoquan 劉少泉 . Su Laoquan nianpu
蘇老泉年譜 . Sichuan: Meishan San Su guan,
1981.
- Liu Xizai 劉熙載 . Yi gai 藝概 ; rpt. Shanghai: Guji
chubanshe, 1978.
- Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 . Liu Hedong ji 柳河東集 .
Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 1972.
- . Liu Hedong quan ji 柳河東全集 . Sibu
beiyao 四部備要 edition.
- . Liu Hedong ji 柳河東集 . 2 vols.
Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1974.
- Lu Qinli 逯欽立 . Tao Yuanming ji 陶淵明集 .
Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979.
- Lun Song Ming lixue 論宋明理學 . Edited by
Zhongguo zhexue shi xue hui 中國哲學史
學會 . Zhejiang: Renmin chubanshe, 1983.

- Lun Su Shi Lingnan shi ji qita 論蘇軾嶺南詩及其他。
 Edited by Su Shi yanjiu xuehui 蘇軾研究學會
 . Guangzhou: Guangdong:
 Renmin chubanshe, 1986.
- Luo Genze 羅根澤 . Zhongguo wenxue piping shi
 中國文學批評史 . 3 vols. Shanghai: Gudian
 wenxue, 1957.
- Luo Liantian 羅聯添 , "Liu Zihou nianpu 柳子厚
 年譜" . " Xueshu jikan 6.4 (1958),
 100-18.
- _____. Han Yu yanjiu 韓愈研究 . 1977; rpt.
 Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, 1982.
- Luo Man 羅漫 . "Lun Tang ren songbie shi 論唐人
 送別詩" . " Wenxue yichan (1987.2),
 49-59.
- Ma Tongbo 馬通伯 , ed. Han Changli wenji 韓昌黎
 文集 . Shanghai: Gudian wenxue, 1957.
- Mao shi yinde 毛詩引得. Hong Ye 洪業 , et al.
 Harvard-Yenching Sinological Index Series, No. 9.
 Beijing: 1934.
- Meng Yuanlao 孟元老 Dongjing meng Hua lu 東京
 夢華錄 . Annotated by Deng Zhicheng 鄧之誠
 . Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982.
- Mochizuki, Shinkō 望月信享 Bukkyō daijiten
 佛教大辭典 8 vols. Tokyo: Sekai Seiten, 1954.
- Murakami Tetsumi 村上哲見 . Sōshi kenkyū 宋詞研究 .
Oriental Studies Library, 12. Tokyo: Sobunsha,
 1976.
- _____. "So Tōba shokan no denrai to Tōbashū shohon no
 keifu ni tsuite" 蘇東坡書簡の傳來と東坡集
 諸本の系譜について Chūgoku bungaku
 hō 中國文學報 43 (April, 1977), 51-87.
- Niu Baotong 牛寶彤 . San Su wen xuan 三蘇文選 .
 Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1983.
- Ogawa Tamaki 小川環樹 and Yamamoto Kazuyoshi
 山本和義 . So Tōba shū. 蘇東坡集 Chūgoku
bunmei sen. Vol. 2. Tokyo: Asahi Shinbun, 1972.

- Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 . Ouyang Yongshu ji 歐陽永叔集 .
3 vols. Shanghai: Shangwu, 1958.
- Puji 普濟 , ed. Wu deng hui yuan 五燈會元 .
3 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1984.
- Qi Zhiping 齊志平 . Tang Song shi zhi zheng gai shu
唐宋詩之爭概述 . 2 vols. Changsha: Yue
Lu shushe, 1984.
- Qian Mu 錢穆 . Guo shi dagang 國史大綱 .
2 vols. 1930; rev. Taipei: Guoli bianshi guan,
1976.
- . "Jin yu tui 進與退 ." Dongfang zazhi
東方雜誌 19.5 (1985), 11-17.
- Qian Zhongshu 錢鍾書 . Song shi xuan zhu 宋史選注 .
Chongqing: 1932; rpt. Beijing: Renmin wenxue
chubanshe, 1982.
- . Tan yi lu 談藝錄 . Hong Kong, 1965; rpt.
Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984.
- Qin Guan 秦觀 (1049--1100). Huai hai jushi changduan
ju jiaozhu 淮海居士長短句校注 . in Su men si
xueshi ci jiaozhu 蘇門四學士詞校注 series.
Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1982.
- Quan Tang shi 全唐詩 . 25 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua
shuju, 1960.
- San Su fen ziliao huibian 三蘇墳資料匯編
Edited by Jiaxian dang'an guan 鄭縣檔案館 .
Henan: Henan daxue chubanshe, 1986.
- Shao Bowen 邵伯溫 (Song). Shao Shi wen jian lu
邵氏聞見錄 . Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983.
- Shi ji 史記 . Compiled by Sima Qian 司馬遷 (145--ca.86).
Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959.
- Shi Jun 石峻 , et al. Zhongguo Fojiao sixiang ziliao
xuan bian 中國佛教思想資料選編 .
Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983.
- Shimizu Shigeru 清水茂 Tō sō hakka bun 唐宋八家文
2 vols. Tokyo: Asahi Simbunsha, 1966.
- Shui jing zhujiao 水經注校 , ed. Wang Guowei
王國維 . Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1984.

- Song Huiyao 宋會要 . Compiled by Xu Song 徐松 .
Taibei: Shijie shuji, 1964.
- Song Qiulong 宋丘龍 . Su Dongpo he Tao Yuanming shi zhi bijiao yanjiu 蘇東坡和陶淵明詩之比較研究
Taibei: Shangwu, 1982.
- Song shi 宋史 . Compiled by Tuo Tuo 脫脫 (1313-1355?), et al. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974.
- Song shi ji shi ben mo 宋詩紀事本末 . Edited by Chen Bangzhan 陳邦瞻 . Peking: Zhonghua shuju, 1977.
- Song wen xuan 宋文選 . 2 vols. Compiled by Sichuan daxue Zhongwen xi gudian wenxue jiaoyan shi 四川大學古典文學教研室 . Beijing: Remin wenxue, 1980.
- Su Che 蘇轍 . Luancheng ji 樂城集 . Sibu beiyao 四部備要 edition.
- . Luancheng ji 樂城集 . Edited by Zeng Zaozhuang 曾棗莊 and Ma Defu 馬德富 . 3 vols. Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1987.
- . Longzhuan biezhi; Long chuan luezhi 龍川別志 龍川略志 . Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982.
- Su Dongpo zai Hainan 蘇東坡在海南 . Hainan: Guangdong sheng Danxian wenhuaguan, 1981.
- Su Guo 蘇過 . Xiechuan ji 斜川集 . Sibu beiyao 四部備要 edition.
- Su Shi sixiang zhentao 蘇軾思想探討 . Edited by Sichuan sheng Meishan San Su bowuguan 四川省眉山三蘇博物館 . Sichuan: Shifan daxue xuebao congan, 1987.
- Su Shi yanjiu zhuanji 蘇軾研究專集 . Sichuan Daxue xuebao 四川大學學報 . Special Issue No. 6. (November, 1980), 3-142.
- Su Shi yu Huizhou 蘇軾與惠州 . Huizhou: Huiyang diqu yinshua, 1982.
- Su Xun 蘇洵 . Jiayou ji 嘉祐集 . Taibei: Shangwu, 1974.

- _____. Jiayou ji 嘉祐集 . Shanghai: Zhonghua.
Sibu beiyao edition.
- Sun Changwu 孫昌武 . "Guanyu Zhongguo gudian wenxue
zhong Fojiao yingxiang de yanjiu 關於中國古典
文學中佛教影響的研究 . Wenxue yichan
(1987.4), 15-20.
- Sun Min 孫民 . "Dui shihuan rensheng de shenke
fansheng 對仕宦人生的深刻反省 ."
Shenyang shifan xueyuan shehuikexue xuebao
(1985.2). 59-64.
- Tang Guizhang 唐圭璋 , ed. Song ci ji shi 宋詞
紀事 . Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1982.
- Tang Lingling 唐玲玲 . "Lun Su Shi de He Tao shi
論蘇軾的和陶詩." Lun Su Shi Lingnan shi ji
qita, 166-184.
- Tang Song ci ren nianpu 唐宋詞人年譜 . Shanghai:
Guji, 1979.
- Tao Wenpeng 陶文鵬 . "Qing xiong qi fu bian huan
feidong 清雄奇富變幻飛動" Zhongguo gudian
wenxue luncong 中國古典文學論叢 . Beijing:
Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1984.
- _____. "Lun Su Shi de shanshui shi 論蘇軾的
山水詩 ." Master's Thesis, Zhongguo shehui
kexue yuan yanjiu yuan, 1981.
- Tao Yuanming ji 陶淵明集 . Edited by Lu Qinli
逯欽立 . Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979.
- Tao Yuanming ji fu Su Dongpo he shi 陶淵明集附
蘇東坡和詩 . Taipei: Zhongyong
chubanshe, 1959.
- Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021--1086). Wang Wengong wenji
王文公文集 . 2 vols. Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe,
1974.
- Wang Baozhen 王保珍 . Zeng bu Su Dongpo nianpu
huizheng 增補蘇東坡年譜會證 . Taipei:
Taiwan Daxue, 1969.
- Wang Bomin 王伯敏 . Zhongguo huihua shi 中國
繪畫史 . Shanghai: Renmin meishu
chubanshe, 1982.

- Wang Jinghong 王景鴻 . Su Dongpo zhushu banben kao
蘇東坡著述版本考 . Shumu xuekan:
3-54.
- Wang Shuizhao 王水照 . "Lun Su Shi chuanguo de
fazhan jieduan 論蘇軾創作的發展階段."
Shehui kexue zhanxian 社會科學戰線 (1984.1),
259-69.
- _____. Su Shi 蘇軾 . Shanghai: Guji chubanshe,
1981.
- _____. Su Shi xuan ji 蘇軾選集 . Shanghai: Guji
chubanshe, 1984.
- Wang Yao 王瑤 . Zhongguo wenren shenghuo 中古
文人生活 . Taipei: San ren xing chubanshe,
1974.
- Wang Zhaotian 王昭田 . Tao Yuanming shi fu Su Dongpo
he shi 陶淵明詩附蘇東坡和詩 .
Taipei: Zhongyong chubanshe, 1959.
- Wei Jingzhi 魏慶之 (13th C.). Shi ren yuxie 詩人
玉屑 . 2 vols. Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1978.
- Wu Lushan 吳鸞山 , et al. Su Shi shi xuan zhu
蘇軾詩選註 . Tianjin: Baihua wenyi chubanshe,
1982.
- Wu Tianchi 吳天墀 . "Song dai Sichuan cang shu
kaoshu 宋代四川藏書考述 ." Sichuan wenwu
四川文物 (1984.3.), 62-70.
- _____. Xi Xia shi gao 西夏史稿 . Sichuan:
Renmin chubanshe, 1982.
- Wu Wenzhi 吳文治 . Liu Zongyuan ping zhuan 柳宗元
評傳 . Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1964.
- Xiang Chu 項楚 . "Du 'Ji ping Su shi 讀紀評
蘇詩 ." Dongpo shi luncong, 1-18.
- Xie Taofang 謝桃坊 . "Su shi fenqi pingyi 蘇詩分期
評議 ." Lun Su Shi Lingnan shi ji qita, 6-23.
- Xin Tang shu 新唐書 . Compiled by Ouyang
Xiu 歐陽修 (1007--1072), et al. Beijing:
Zhonghua shuju, 1975.

- Xiao Tong 蕭統 (501--531). Wen xuan 文選 .
Commentary by Li Shan 李善 (?--689). 1936; rpt.
Hong Kong: Shangwu, 1974.
- Xu Fuguan 徐復觀. "Song shi tezheng shilun"
宋詩特徵試論 Zhongguo wenhua fuxing yuekan
11.10 (October, 1970), 27-40.
- Xu Shen 許慎 (fl. 100 A. D.), comp. Shuowen jiezi
說文解字 Hong Kong: Zhonghu shuju, 1979.
- Xu Wenyu 許文雨 . Wen lun jiangshu 文論講疏 .
1937; rpt. Hong Kong: Zhengzhong shuju, 1976.
- Yamamoto Kazuyoshi 山本和義 . So Shoku 蘇軾
Chūgoku shi bunsen 中國詩文選 . vol. 19. Tokyo:
Chikuma, 1974.
- Yan Zhongqi 顏中其 . Su Dongpo yishi huijian 蘇東坡
軾事匯編 . Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1984.
- _____. Su Shi lun wenyi 蘇軾論文藝 . Beijing:
Beijing chubanshe, 1985.
- Yang Mu 楊牧 [C. H. Wang 王靖獻]. Yi shou shi
de wancheng 一首詩的完成 . Taipei:
Hongfan, 1989.
- _____. Wenxue zhishi 文學知識 . 3rd ed. Taipei:
Hongfan, 1975.
- Yang Yong 楊勇 , ed. Tao Yuanming ji jiao qian
陶淵明集校箋 . Hong Kong: Wuxing ji shuju,
1971.
- Ye Jiaying 葉嘉瑩 . "Lun Su Shi ci 論蘇軾詞 ."
Zhongguo shehui kexue 中國社會科學 (1985.3),
175-92.
- Ye Youming 葉幼明 and Bei Yuanchen 貝遠辰 . Lidai
youji xuan 歷代遊記選 . Hunan: Renmin, 1980.
- Yi Sumin 易蘇民 . San Su nianpu 三蘇年譜 . Taipei:
Changyan, 1969.
- _____. San Su zhushu kao 三蘇著述考 . Taipei:
Daxue wenxue, 1969.

- Yoshikawa Kōjirō 吉川幸次郎 . Sō shi gaisetsu 宋詩概說 . Chugoku shijin sen. Series 2, vol. 1. Tokyo: Iwanami, 1965.
- You Xinli 游信利 . Su Dongpo de wenxue lilun 蘇東坡的文學理論 . Taibei: Xuesheng shuju, 1981.
- . Su Dongpo de lishen yu lun wen zhi dao 蘇東坡的立身與論文之道 . Taibei: Xuesheng shuju, 1985.
- Yu Yingshi 余英時 . Shi yu Zhongguo wenhua 士與中國文化. Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1987.
- Yu Zongxian 余宗憲 . "Song dai zhi guan pinjie zhidu yanjiu 宋代職官品階制度研究 ." Zhongguo Renmin daxue shubao ziliao she 中國人民大學書報資料社 . Wen shi 文史 (1984.3), 3-34.
- Zeng Zaozhuang 曾棗莊 . Su Shi ping zhuan 蘇軾評傳. Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1984.
- . Su Xun ping zhuan 蘇洵評傳 . Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1983.
- . Su Che nianpu 蘇轍年譜 . Shaanxi: Renmin chubanshe, 1986.
- and Shu Dagang 舒大剛 . "Su Guo nianpu 蘇過年譜 ." Sichuan Daxue xuebao congkan 四川大學學報叢刊 [Guji zhengli yanjiu] 27 (1985), 85-114.
- . San Su wenyi sixiang 三蘇文藝思想 . Sichuan: Wenyi chubanshe, 1985.
- . "Lun Su Shi dui Shi Dao taidu de gianhou yizhi xing 論蘇軾對釋道態度的前後一致性 ." Tianfu xin lun 天府新論 (1985.2), 41-45.
- . "Su Shi zhushu sheng qian bianke qingkuang kaolue 蘇軾著述生前編刻情況考略 ." Zhonghua wenshi luncong (1984.4), 193-207.
- Zhang Jian 張健 . Song Jin si jia wenxue piping yanjiu 宋金四家文學批評研究 . Taibei: Lianjing, 1975.

- Zhang Siyan 張思岩 . Ci lin ji shi 詞林紀事 .
Chengdu: Guji shudian, 1982.
- Zhang Zhilie 張志列 . "Tan Su shi zhong de meng
談蘇詩中的夢 ." Dongpo shi lun cong, 105-120.
- Zheng Qingmao 鄭清茂 . Song shi gaishuo
宋詩概說 [Translation of Yoshikawa Kōjirō, So
Shi gaisetsu]. Taipei: Lianjing, 1977.
- Zhongguo meixueshi ziliao xuan bian
中國美學史資料選編 Edited by Beijing daxue
zhexue xi meixue jiaoyanshi 北京大學哲學系
美學教研室 . 2 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua,
1980.
- Zhongguo zhexueshi xuehui 中國哲學史學會 . Lun
Song Ming lixue 論宋明理學 . Hangzhou:
Zhejiang renmin chubanshe, 1983.
- Zhou yi 周易 [Yi jing 易經] Zhou yi yinde 周易
引得 Yen-ching Institute Sinological Index Series,
Supplement No. 10. 1935; rpt. Taipei: Chengwen.
- Zhou Xianshen 周先慎 . "Dongpo zhilin chu tan
東坡志林初探 ." Beijing daxue xuebao
(1982. 2), 69-80.
- Zhou Yigan 周義敢 . Su men si xueshi 蘇門四學士 .
Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1983.
- Zhou Yukai 周裕鍇 . "Su Shi Huang Tingjian shige
lilun zhi bijiao 蘇軾黃庭堅詩歌理論之比較 ."
Wenxue pinglun 文學評論 (1983.3), 88-97.
- Zhu Dongrun 朱東潤 . Zhongguo wenxue lun ji
中國文學論集 . Beijing: Zhonghua shuju,
1983.
- Zhu Jincheng 朱金城 . Bai Juyi nianpu 白居易年譜 .
Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1982.
- Zhu Jinghua 朱靖華 . Su Shi xin lun 蘇軾新論 .
Ji'nan: Ji Lu shushe, 1983.
- _____ and Wang Hong 王洪 . "Shi ping Yan Yu de
Dongpo lun 試評嚴羽的東坡論 ." Wenxue yichan
文學遺產 no. 3 (1986).

Zhu Yushu 朱玉書 . Haiwai qi cong 海外奇踪
Hainan: Renmin chubanshe, 1986.

_____ and Lin Guanchun 林冠群 . "Su Shi yu
Danxian wenhua 蘇軾與儋縣文化"
Sichuan daxue xuebao congkan 四川大學學報叢刊no. 6
(1980), 126-30.

Zhuangzi yinde 莊子引得 Harvard-Yenching Sinological
Index Series, Supplement No. 20. A Concordance to
Chuang tzu 1947; rpt. Taipei: n.p.

III. Western-Language Works

Balazs, Étienne. Chinese Civilization and Bureaucracy.
Translated by H. M. Wright. New Haven and London:
Yale University Press, 1964.

Bauer, Wolfgang. "The Hidden Hero: Creation and
Disintegration of the Ideal of Eremitism."
Individualism and Holism: Studies in Confucian and
Taoist Values. Edited by Donald J. Munro.
Michigan: Center for Chinese Studies, 1985.

Berling, Judith A. The Syncretic Religion of Lin
Chao-en. New York: Columbia University Press,
1980.

Berkowitz, Alan J. "Patterns of Reclusion in Early and
Early Medieval China: A Study of the Formulation
and the Practice of Reclusion In China and Its
Portrayal," Ph. D. Dissertation, University of
Washington, 1989.

Bol, Peter. "Culture and the Way in Eleventh Century
China." Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University,
1982.

Bush, Susan. The Chinese Literati on Painting: Su Shih
(1307--1101) to Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555--1636).
Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971.

_____ and Christian Murch, eds. Theories of the Arts
in China. Princeton: Princeton University Press,
1983.

- _____ and Hsio-yen Shih, eds. Early Chinese Texts on Painting. Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1985.
- Ch'en Kenneth K. S. Buddhism In China. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964.
- Ch'ien Mu. Traditional Government in Imperial China: A Critical Analysis. Translated by Chun-tu Hsueh and George O. Totten. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1982.
- Chan, Marie. Kao Shih. Boston: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1978.
- Chan, Wing-tsit, ed. Source Book in Chinese Philosophy. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963.
- Chang Chun-shu and Joan Smythe, Trans. South China in the Twelfth Century: A Translation of Lu Yu's Travel Diaries July 3-December 6, 1170. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1981.
- Chang Fu-jui. Les fonctionnaires des Song: Index des titres. Paris: Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, 1962.
- Chang, Kang-i Sun. The Evolution of Chinese Tz'u Poetry: From Late T'ang to Northern Sung. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980.
- Chaves, Jonathan. "'Not the Way of Poetry': The Poetics of Experience in the Sung Dynasty." CLEAR 4.2 (July, 1982), 199-212.
- _____. Mei Yao-ch'en and the Development of Early Sung Poetry. New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1976.
- Chen Shih-Hsiang. "The Genesis of Poetic Time: The Greatness of Ch'u Yuan, Studied With A New Critical Approach." Tsing hua Journal of Chinese Studies, New Series 10.1 (June, 1973), 1-44.
- Chen Yu-shih. "The Literary Theory and Practice of Ou-yang Hsiu." Chinese Approaches to Literature from Confucius to Liang Ch'i-ch'ao. Edited by Adele Austin Rickett. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978.

- _____. Images and Ideas in Chinese Classical Prose. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988.
- _____. "Change and Continuation in Su Shih's Theory of Literature: A Note on His 'Chi bi fu'." Monumenta Serica 31 (1974-75), 375-92.
- _____. "Han Yü as a Ku-wen Stylist." Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University, 1967.
- Clark, Cyril Drummond. Selections from the Works of Su Tung-p'o. London: Jonathan Cape, 1932.
- _____. The Prose-Poetry of Su Tung-p'o. Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1935.
- Conze, Edward. Buddhism: Its Essence and Development. 1951; rpt. Harper, 1959.
- Creel, Herrlee G. Confucius: The Man and the Myth. New York: The John Day Company, 1949.
- _____. What is Taoism? Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1970.
- Davis, A. R. "Su Shih's Following the Rhymes of T'ao Yuan-ming's Poems: A Literary or Psychological Phenomenon?" Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia 10 (1974), 93-109.
- _____. "The Double Ninth Festival in Chinese Poetry." Wen-lin: Studies in the Chinese Humanities. Edited by Chow Tse-tung. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968.
- _____. T'ao Yüanming (A.D. 365--427): His Works and Their Meaning. 2 vols. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1983. [Vol I: Translation and Commentary; Vol II: Chinese Text, Additional Commentary, Notes and Bibliography.]
- de Bary, Wm. Theodore. The Liberal Tradition in China. New York: Columbia University Press, 1983.
- _____. The Unfolding of Neo-Confucianism. New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1975.
- Demièville, Paul. "La Montagne dans L'art Littéraire Chinois." France Asie 20 (1965), 7-32.

- Dickenson, R. J. "The Tristia: Poetry in Exile." Ovid. Edited by J. W. Binns. London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973.
- Dunnell, Ruth Wilton. "Tanguts and the Tangut State of Ta Hsia." Ph. D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1983.
- Durrant, Stephen W. "Self as the Intersection of Traditions: The Autobiographical Writings of Ssu-ma Ch'ien." Journal of American Oriental Society 106.1 (Jan.-March, 1968), 33-40.
- Egan, Ronald C. The Literary Works of Ou-yang Hsiu (1007--72). Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Fitzgerald, C. P. The Empress Wu. Melbourne: Australian Melbourne University, 1955.
- Franke, Herbert. "Treaties Between Sung and Chin." Etudes Song [In Memoriam Etienne Balazs]. Edited by Francoise Aubin. Vol 1: Histoire et Institutions. France: Mouton and Co, 1970.
- _____. ed. Sung Biographies. 4 vols. Weisbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1976.
- Freeman, Michael Dennis. "Lo-yang and the Opposition to Wang An-shih: The Rise of Confucian Conservatism, 1068--1086." Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University, 1973.
- Frodsham, J. D. The Murmuring Stream: The Life and Works of the Chinese Nature Poet Hsieh Ling-yun (385--433, Duke of K'ang-lo). 2 vols. Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1967.
- Fuller, Michael. "The Poetry of Su Shi (1037--1101)." Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University, 1983.
- Fung Yu-lan. A History of Chinese Philosophy. Vol. 2. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953.
- _____. History of Chinese Philosophy. Vol. I. Translated by Derk Bodde. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953.
- Gentzler, Jennings Mason. "A Literary Biography of Liu Tsung-yuan 773--819." Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1966.

- Ginsberg, Stanley. "Alienation and Reconciliation of A Chinese Poet." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1976.
- Graham, A. C. "How Much of Chuang tzu Did Chuang Tzu Write?" Journal of the American Academy of Religion 47.3, Thematic Issue 5 (September, 1980), 459-501.
- _____. Two Chinese Philosophers: Ch'eng Ming-tao and Ch'eng Yi-chuan. London: Lund Humphries, 1958.
- _____. trans. Chuang-tzu: The Seven Inner Chapters and other writings from the book 'Chuang-tzu'. London and Boston: George Allen and Unwin, 1981.
- Grant, Beata. "Buddhism and Taoism in the Poetry of Su Shi (1036--1101)." Ph.D. Dissertation, Stanford University, 1987.
- Hargett, James M. "Preliminary Remarks on the Travel Records of the Song Dynasty." CLEAR 7.1/2 (July, 1987), 67-93.
- Hartman, Charles. Han Yu and the T'ang Search for Unity. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986.
- Hatch, George. "Su Shih." Sung Biographies. Edited by Herbert Franke. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1976.
- _____. "The Thought of Su Hsun (1009--1066), An Essay On the Social Meaning of Intellectual Pluralism in Northern Sung." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Washington, 1978.
- Hawkes, David. "The Quest of the Goddess." Studies in Chinese L'iterary Genres. Edited by Cyril Birch. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974.
- _____. Ch'u Tz'u: The Songs of the South. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959.
- Ho Peng Yoke, et al. Lu Yu, The Poet-Alchemist. Occasional Paper 13. Canberra: The Australian National University, 1972.
- Hervouet, Yves, ed. A Sung Bibliography. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1978.

Hightower, James Robert. "Allusion in the Poetry of T'ao Ch'ien." Studies in Chinese Literary Genres. Edited by Cyril Birch. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974.

_____. "T'ao Ch'ien's 'Drinking Wine' Poems." Wen-lin: Studies in the Chinese Humanities. Edited by Chow Tse-tsung. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968.

_____. The Poetry of T'ao Ch'ien. Translated with commentary and annotation. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970.

Holzman, Donald. Poetry and Politics: The Life and Works of Juan Chi. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.

Hsiao Kung-chuan. A History of Chinese Political Thought. Translated by F. W. Mote. Vol. 1: From the Beginnings to the Sixth Century A.D. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979.

Hung, William. Tu Fu: China's Greatest Poet. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952.

Hurvitz, Leon, trans. Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma. Translated from the Chinese of Kumārajīva. New York: Columbia University Press, 1976.

Johnson, Wallace, trans. The T'ang Code: Volume I, General Principles. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979.

Kaltenmark, Max. Lao Tzu and Taoism. Translated by Roger Greaves. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969. [Originally published as Lao tseu et le taoisme, 1965.]

Kaplan, Edward Harold, "Yueh Fei and the Founding of the Southern Sung," Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Iowa, 1970.

Knechtges, David R. The Han Rhapsody: A Study of the Fu of Yang Hsiung (53 B.C.--A.D. 18). Cambridge and London: Cambridge University Press, 1976.

_____. trans. and annotator. The Han shu Biography of Yang Xiong (53 B.C.--A.D. 18). Occasional Paper No. 14. Arizona: Arizona State University, 1982.

- _____. trans. and annotator. Wen Xuan, or Selections of Refined Literature. vol. 1: Rhapsodies on Metropolises and Capitals. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982.
- _____. trans. and annotator. Wen xuan. vol. 2: Rhapsodies on Sacrifices, Hunting, Travel, Sightseeing, Palaces and Hall, Rivers and Seas. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987.
- Kracke, E. A., Jr. Civil Service in Early Sung China 960--1067. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953.
- _____. Translations of Sung Civil Service Titles, Classification Terms and Governmental Organ Names. San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1978.
- Kramers, R. P. K'ung Tzu Chia Yu: The School Sayings of Confucius. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1950.
- Kroll, Paul. Meng Hao-ran. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1981.
- Ku Sui. "Interpretation of Su Tung-p'o's Ts'u." Translated by Huang Kuo-pin and Teresa Yee-hwa Yu. Renditions (1979), 157-175.
- Lattimore, Owen. Inner Asian Frontiers of China. New York: American Geographical Society, 1940.
- _____. Lao Tzu: Tao Te Ching. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1963.
- _____, trans. Mencius Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1970.
- Lau, D. C., trans. The Analects. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979.
- Ledderose, Lothar. Mi Fu and the Classical Tradition of Chinese Calligraphy. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979.
- Legge, James, trans. The Chinese Classics. Vol. 1: Confucian Analects, The Great Learning, and the Doctrine of the Mean. 1861; rpt. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960.

- _____. trans. The Chinese Classics. Vol. 2: The Works of Mencius. 1861; rpt. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960.
- Levy, Howard S., trans. Translations from Po Chu-i's Collected Works. Vol. 1. New York: Paragon Books, 1971.
- Li Chi. "The Changing Concept of the Recluse in Chinese Literature." Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies 24 (1962-63), 234-47.
- Li Hui-lin. Nan-fang Ts'ao-mu chuang. Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1979.
- Lin Yu-tang. The Gay Genius: The Life and Times of Su Tung-po. New York: John Day Co., 1947.
- Liu, James J. Y. Major Lyricists of the Northern Sung. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974.
- _____. The Art of Chinese Poetry. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1962.
- Liu, James T. C. Reform in Sung China: Wang An-shi (1021--1086) and his New Policies. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959.
- _____. Ou-yang Hsiu: An Eleventh-Century Neo-Confucianist. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1967.
- Liu, Shih Shun. Chinese Classical Prose: The Eight Masters of the T'ang-Sung Period. Hong Kong: The Chinese University, 1979.
- Liu Ts'un-yan. "The Compilation and Historical Value of the Tao-tsang." Essays on the Sources for Chinese History. Edited by Donald D. Leslie, et. al. 1973; rpt. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1975.
- Lo, Irving Yucheng. Hsin Ch'i-chi. New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1971.
- Loewe, Michael. Chinese Ideas of Life and Death: Faith, Myth and Reason in the Han period (202 BC--AD 220). London and Boston: George Allen and Unwin, 1982.
- March, Andrew. "Landscape in the Thought of Su Shih." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Washington, 1964.

- _____. "Self and Landscape in Su Shih." Journal of the American Oriental Society 86 (1966), 377-96.
- Mather, Richard B. "Individualist Expressions of Outsiders During the Six Dynasties." Individualism and Holism: Studies in Confucian and Taoist Values. Edited by Donald J. Munro. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, 1985.
- _____. "The Controversy Over Conformity and Naturalness During the Six Dynasties." History of Religions, 9 nos. 2-3 (Nov-Feb, 1969-70).
- _____. The Poet Shen Yüeh (441--513), The Reticent Marquis. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988.
- _____. "Vimalakīrti and Gentry Buddhism." History of Religions, 8.1. (1968).
- McKnight, Brian E. The Quality of Mercy: Amnesties and Traditional Chinese Justice. Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1981.
- _____. Village and Bureaucracy in Southern Sung China. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1971.
- Meskill, John, ed. Wang An-shih: Practical Reformer? Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1963.
- Misch, George. Translated by E. W. Dicks in collaboration with the author. A History of Autobiography in Antiquity. 2 vols. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951.
- Mote, Frederick W. The Poet Kao Ch'i (1336-1374). Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962.
- _____. "Confucian Eremitism in the Yuan Period." The Confucian Persuasion. Edited by Arthur R. Wright. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960.
- Munro, Donald J. Individualism and Holism: Studies in Confucian and Taoist Values. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, 1985.

Murch, Christian. "Su Shih's Reading of the Chung-yung." Theories of the Arts in China. Edited by Susan Bush and Christian Murch. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983.

Needham, Joseph. Science and Civilisation in China. Vol. 2: History of Scientific Thought (1956); Vol. 3: Mathematics and the Sciences of the Heavens and Earth (1959); Vol. 5: Chemistry and Chemical Technology, Part I (1985), Part III (1976). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954. [5 vols to date.]

Nienhauser, William H., Jr., et al. Liu Tsung-yüan. New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1973.

_____. "Floating Clouds and Dreams in Liu Tsung-yüan's Yung-chou Exile Writings." Journal of the American Oriental Society 106.1 (January-March, 1968), 169-81.

Olney, James. Metaphors of Self: The Meaning of Autobiography. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951.

Owen, Stephen. Remembrances: The Experience of the Past in Classical Chinese Literature. Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1986.

Owen, Stephen. The Great Age of Chinese Poetry: The High T'ang. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981.

_____. The Poetry of Meng Chiao and Han Yü. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1975.

_____. The Poetry of the Early T'ang. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1977.

_____. Traditional Chinese Poetry and Poetics: Omen of the World. Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985.

Pease, Jonathan. "From the Wellsweep to the Shallow Skiff: Life and Poetry of Wang Anshi (1021--1086)." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Washington, 1986.

Rickett, Adele, ed. Chinese Approaches to Literature from Confucius to Liang Chi'-ch'ao. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978.

- Sailey, Jay. The Master Who Embraces Simplicity: A Study of the Philosopher Ko Hung, A. D. 283--343. San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, Inc., 1978.
- Sargent, Stuart. "Can Latecomers Get There First? Sung Poets and T'ang Poetry." CLEAR 4.2 (July, 1982), 165-98.
- Sariti, Anthony William, "The Political Thought of Ssu-ma Kuang: Bureaucratic Absolutism in the Northern Sung." Ph. D. Dissertation, Georgetown University, 1970.
- Schafer, Edward H. Shore of Pearls. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970.
- _____. The Golden Peaches of Samarkand: A Study of T'ang Exotica. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963.
- _____. The Vermilion Bird: T'ang Images of the South. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967.
- Schirokauer, Conrad M. "Chu Hsi's Political Career: A Study in Ambivalence." Confucian Personalities. Edited by Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962.
- Schneider, Laurence A. A Madman of Ch'u: The Chinese Myth of Loyalty and Dissent. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980.
- Schwartz, Benjamin I. The World of Thought in Ancient China. Cambridge and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1985.
- Siven, Nathan. Chinese Alchemy: Preliminary Studies. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968.
- Soong, Stephen C., ed. Song Without Music: Chinese Tz'u Poetry. Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1980.
- Spring, Madeline. "A Stylistic Study of Tang guwen: The Rhetoric of Han Yu and Liu Zongyuan." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Washington, 1983.

- Starn, Randolph. Contrary Commonwealth: The Theme of Exile in Medieval and Renaissance Italy. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1982.
- Swanson, Jerry. "A Third Century Taoist Treatise on the Nourishment of Life: Hsi K'ang and his Yang-sheng lun." Studies in Philosophy and in the History of Science: Essays in Honor of Max Fisch. Kansas: 1970.
- The Vimalakīrti Nirdeśa-Sūtra (Wei Mo Chieh So Shuo Ching). Translated by Lu K'uan Yu [Charles Luk]. Berkeley and London: Shambala, 1972.
- Thompson, Laurence G. Chinese Religion: An Introduction. California: Dickenson Publishing Company, 1969.
- Tillman, Hoyt Cleveland. Utilitarian Confucianism Ch'ên Liang's Challenge to Chu Hsi. Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1982.
- Unschuld, Paul U. Medicine in China: A History of Ideas. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985.
- Wagner, Marsha L. Wang Wei. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1981.
- Waley, Arthur. The Life and Times of Po Chü-i. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1949.
- Wang, C. H. "Sartorial Emblems and the Quest: A Comparative Study of the Li sao and The Faerie Queen." Tamkang Review II.2/III.1 (October, 1971--April, 1972), 309-28.
- _____. From Ritual to Allegory: Seven Essays in Early Chinese Poetry. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1988.
- Ware, James R., trans. Alchemy, Medicine, Religion in the China of A.D. 320: The Nei P'ien of Ko Hung (Pao-p'u tzu). Cambridge and London: The Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1966.
- Watson, Burton, trans. The Old Man Who Does As He Pleases: Selections from the Poetry and Prose of Lu Yu. New York: Columbia University Press, 1973.

- _____, trans. Records of the Grand Historian of China.
2 vols. New York: Columbia University Press, 1961.
- _____, trans. Su Tung-p'o: Selections from A Sung
Dynasty Poet. New York: Columbia University Press,
1965.
- _____, trans. The Complete Works of 'Chuang tzu'. New
York: Columbia University Press, 1968.
- Weinstein, Stanley. Buddhism Under the T'ang.
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Weintraub, Karl Joachim. The Value of the Individual:
Self and Circumstance in Autobiography. Chicago and
London: The University of Chicago Press, 1976.
- Welch, Holmes. Taoism: The Parting of the Way. Boston:
1965.
- Wilhelm, Hellmut. Change: Eight Lectures on the "I
Ching". Translated by Cary F. Baynes. New York:
[Bollingen Foundation], Harper and Row, 1960.
- Wilhelm, Richard, trans. The I Ching or Book of Changes.
Translated by Cary F. Baynes. Bollingen Series 19.
1950, 1967; rpt. Princeton: Princeton University
Press, 1969.
- Williamson, H. R. Wang An Shih. 2 vols. London: A.
Probsthain, 1935-1937; rpt. London: Hyperion, 1973.
- Worthy, Edmund Henry, Jr. "The Founding of Sung China,
950--1000: Integrative Changes In Military and
Political Institutions." Ph. D. Dissertation,
Princeton University, 1975.
- Wright, Arthur F. Buddhism in Chinese History.
Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959.
- _____, ed. Confucianism and Chinese Civilization.
Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959.
- _____. ed. Studies in Chinese Thought. Chicago and
London: The University of Chicago Press, 1953.
- _____. and Denis Twitchett, eds. Perspectives on the
T'ang. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973.
- Xu Yuan-zhong, trans. Su Dong-po: A New Translation.
Hong Kong: The Commercial Press, 1982.

- Yampolsky, Philip B., trans. The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch. New York: Columbia University Press, 1967.
- Yoshikawa Kōjiro. An Introduction to Sung Poetry. Translated by Burton Watson. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967.
- Yü Ying-shih. "Life and Immortality in the Mind of Han China." Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies 25 (1964-65), 80-122.
- Yu, Pauline. Wang Wei. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980.

APPENDIX A

Information Chart for Life of Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101)*

Northern Song Emperors (960--1127)

960--976	Taizu 太祖	1064--1068	Yingzong 英宗
976--998	Taizong 太宗	1068--1086	Shenzong 神宗
998--1023	Zhenzong 真宗	1086--1101	Zhezong 哲宗
1023--1064	Renzong 仁宗	1101--1126	Huizong 徽宗
		1126--1127	Qinzong 欽宗

<u>Year</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Event</u>
1036 ⁺	(1)	Born in Meishan 眉山
1054	(19)	Marries Wang Fu 王弗
1056	(21)	Passes prefectural exam in Chengdu
1057	(22)	Passes <u>jìnshì</u> exam at the Capital (Bianjing) Returns to Meishan to mourn mother
1058	(23)	In mourning in Meishan
1059	(24)	Returns to the Capital
1060	(25)	Appointed Registrar 主簿 Fuchang 福昌 Does not assume post
1061	(26)	Sponsored by Ouyang Xiu for decree exam; achieves third grade; Appointed to Fengxiang as Signatory Official
1062	(27)	In Fengxiang 鳳翔
1063	(28)	In Fengxiang

*Biographical information is based Wang Baozhen 王保珍, Zeng bu Su Dongpo nianpu huizheng 增補蘇東坡年譜會証 (Taipei: Taiwan daxue, 1969).

+Su Shi's birth date is Jingyou 3.12.19. Jingyou 3 = 1036, but 3.12.19 falls in 1037.

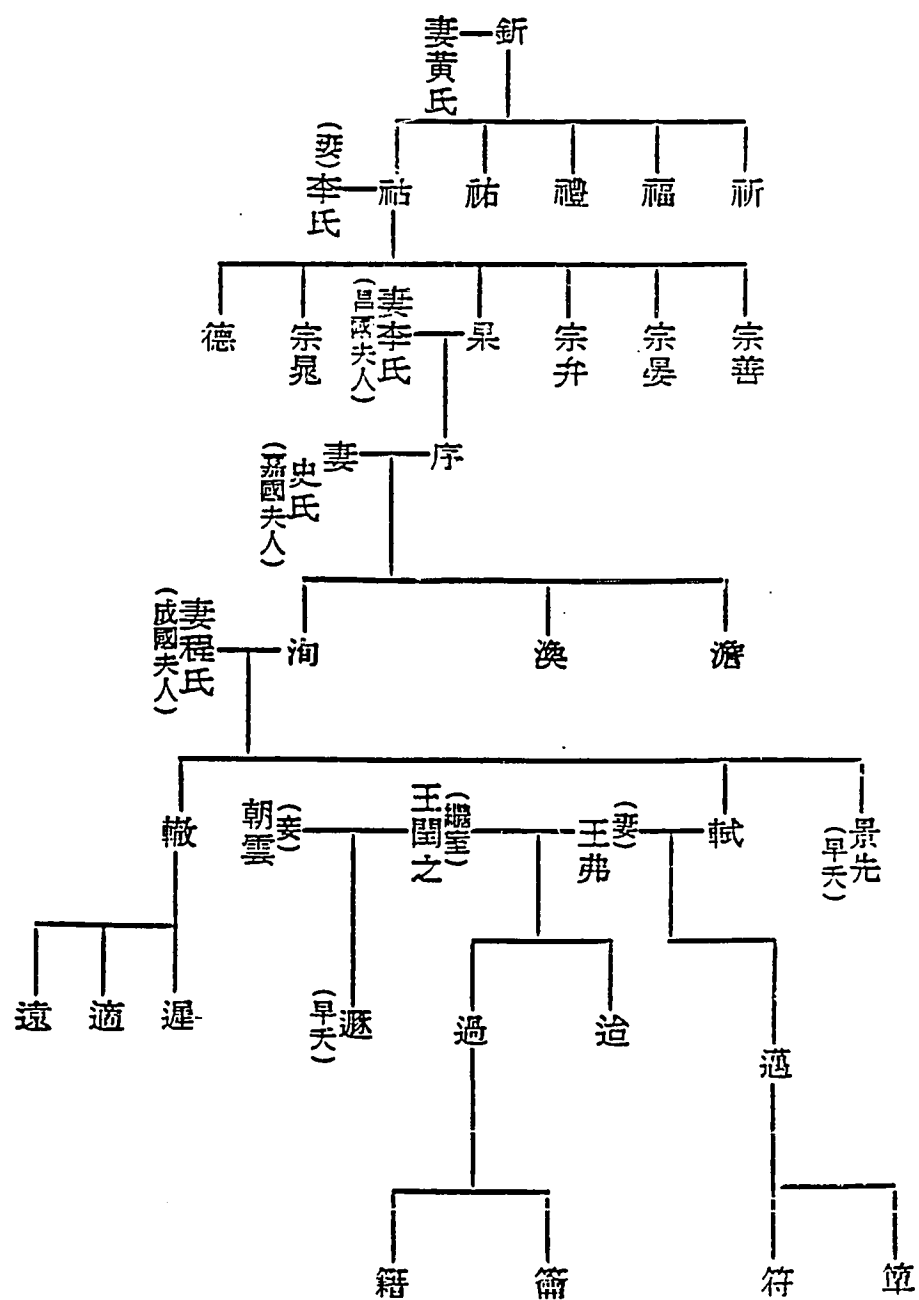
- 1064 (29) Promoted; called to return to Capital
- 1065 (30) Appointed Supervisor of Petitioners Drum Bureau 聞鼓院
Yingzong desires to appoint him to Hanlin Academy; Is examined and assigned as Auxiliary Official of Bureau of History; Wife Wang Fu dies in Bianjing
- 1066 (31) Father Su Xun 蘇洵 dies in Capital
Returns to Meishan for mourning
- 1067 (32) In mourning in Meishan
- 1068 (33) Marries Wang Runzhi 王閏之
Leaves for Capital
- 1069 (34) Appointed Supervisor in Bureau of Announcement of Appointments
- 1070 (35) At Capital
- 1071 (36) Factional disputes with Wang Anshi;
Made acting judge for Kaifeng Prefecture;
Requests appointment to Hangzhou
- 1072 (37) In Hangzhou as Vice-prefect 杭州
- 1073 (38) In Hangzhou
- 1074 (39) Transferred to Mizhou 密州 as Prefect
- 1075 (40) In Mizhou
- 1076 (41) Transferred to Hezhongfu 河中府 ;
Promoted to rank of Auxiliary Secretary for Department of Sacrifices
Appointment changed to Prefect of Xuzhou
- 1077 (42) Arrives in Xuzhou as Prefect 徐州
- 1078 (43) In Xuzhou as Prefect
- 1079 (44) Transferred to Huzhou 湖州 as Prefect;
Arrested for slandering the Emperor
Imprisoned and tried in Capital
Demoted and banished to Huangzhou
- 1080 (45) Arrives in Huangzhou 黃州
- 1081 (46) In Huangzhou as Assistant Militia Commander
without official duties

1082	(47)	In exile in Huangzhou	557
1083	(48)	In exile in Huangzhou	
1084	(49)	Transferred to Ruzhou 汝州 without change of status	
1085	(50)	Receives permission to live in Changzhou; 常州 Emperor Shenzong dies; Zhezong reigns Empress Dowager assumes power of throne Restored to previous rank; Appointed Prefect of Dengzhou 登州; Summoned back to court as Superior Secretary of Ministry of Rites; appointed Recorder of Imperial Movements	
1086	(51)	Appointed Drafting Official of Secretariat; Appointed Hanlin Academician and Special Drafting Official	
1087	(52)	Concurrently appointed Reader-in Waiting to Zhezong	
1088	(53)	Administrates <u>jinshi</u> exam	
1089	(54)	Appointed Academician of the Longtu Pavilion; appointed Prefect of Hangzhou	
1090	(55)	In Hangzhou as Prefect for second time	
1091	(56)	Summoned back to Court; Hanlin Academician for Transmission of Directives; concurrent appointment as Reader-in Waiting Factional quarrels; requests appointment in provinces; made Prefect of Yingzhou 穎州	
1092	(57)	Transferred to Prefect of Yunzhou 鄆州; Transferred to Yangzhou 揚州; summoned back to court as Minister of War; Transferred to Academician of Duanming Hall	
1093	(58)	Requests appointment outside capital; Appointed Prefect of Dingzhou 定州; Wife Wang Runzhi dies; Empress Dowager Zuanren dies Zhezong recalls Wang Anshi's party Arrives in Dingzhou	
1094	(59)	Stripped of Academician status; reassigned Prefect of Yingzhou; 英州 demoted while en route; restricted to residence in Huizhou 惠州	

1095	(60)	In exile in Huizhou	558
1096	(61)	In exile in Huizhou	
1097	(62)	Appointed to Qiongzhou 瓊州 (Hainan) with restricted residence	
1098	(63)	In exile in Changhua jun 昌化軍 Danzhou 儋州 (Hainan) 海南	
1099	(64)	In exile in Hainan; Son Guo accompanying him	
1100	(65)	Pardoned and summoned to return to North; transferred to restricted residence in Lianzhou 廉州 ; appointed to reside in Yongzhou 永州 ; restored to Chaofenglang rank Given sinecure and freedom of residence	
1101	(66)	Reaches Changzhou; 常州 Dies of illness in Changzhou	

APPENDIX B

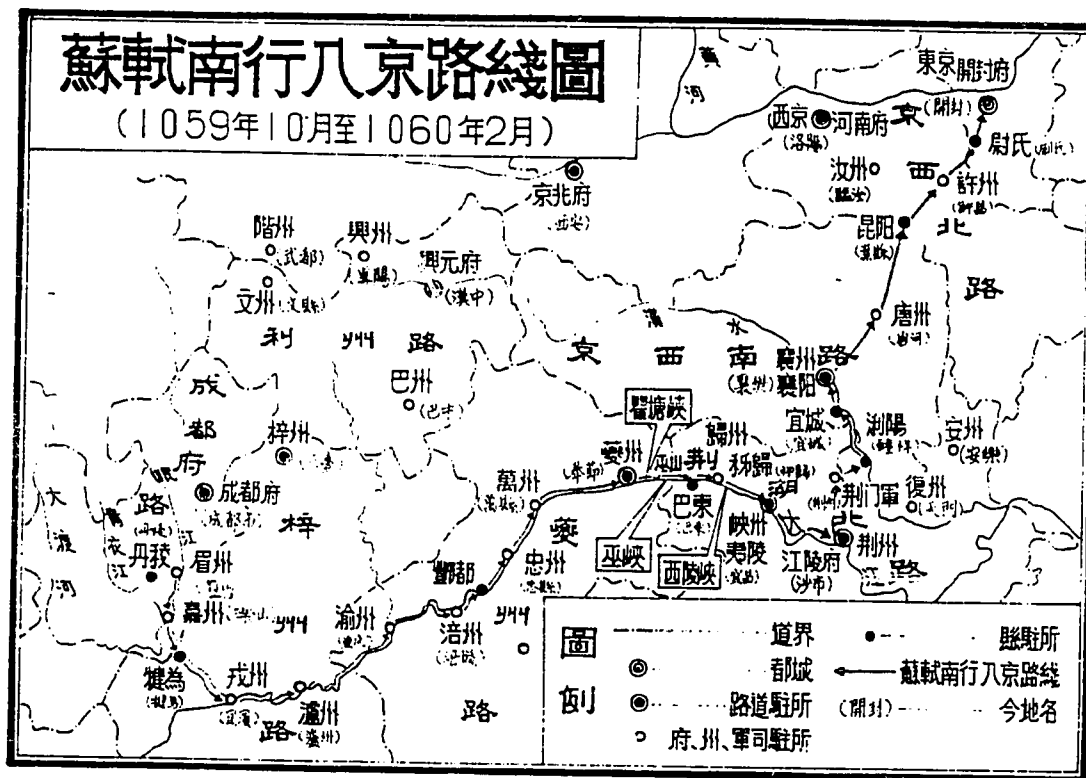
Genealogical Chart for Su Shi



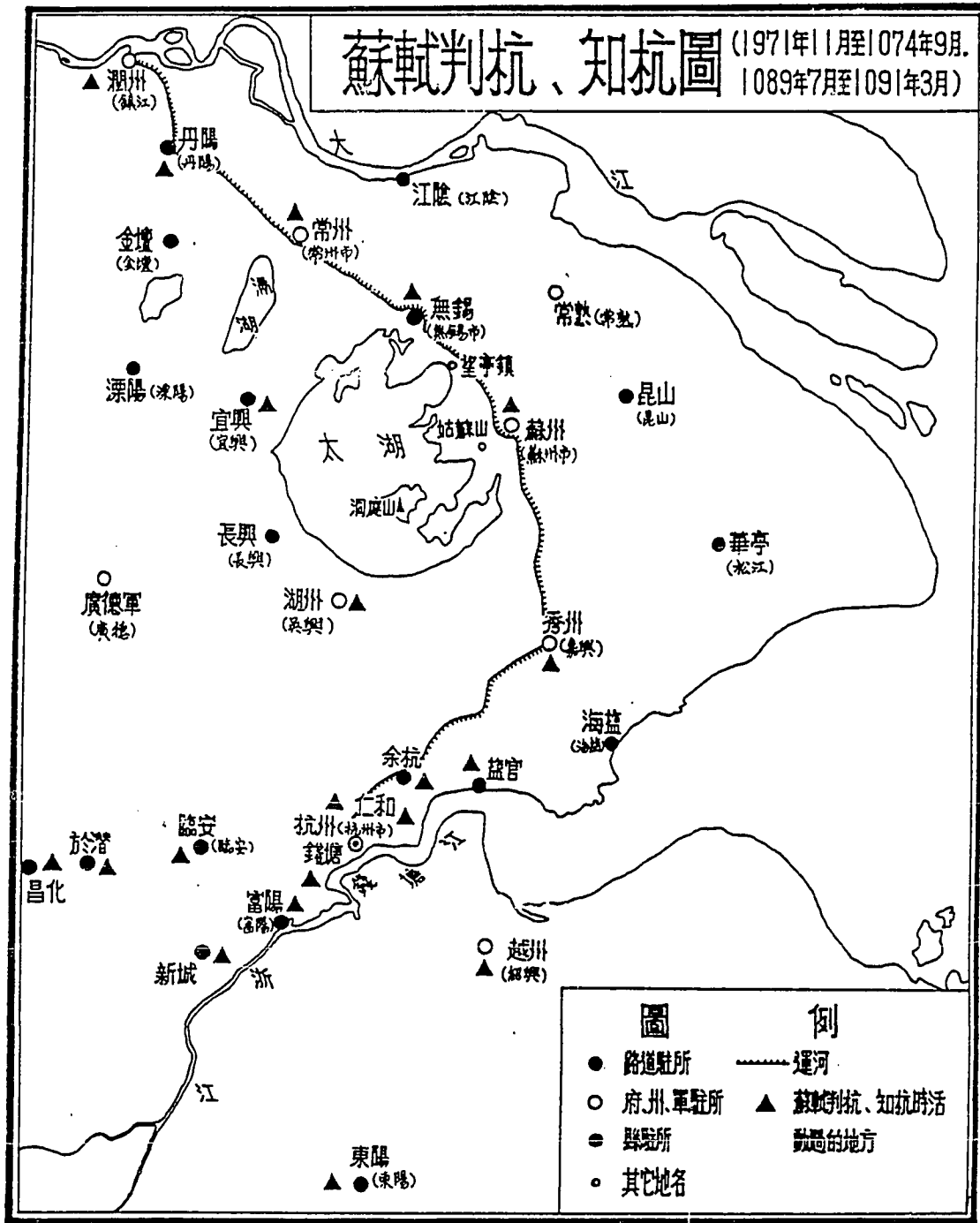
from Wang Baozhen, Zeng bu Su Dongpo nianpu huizheng.

APPENDIX C

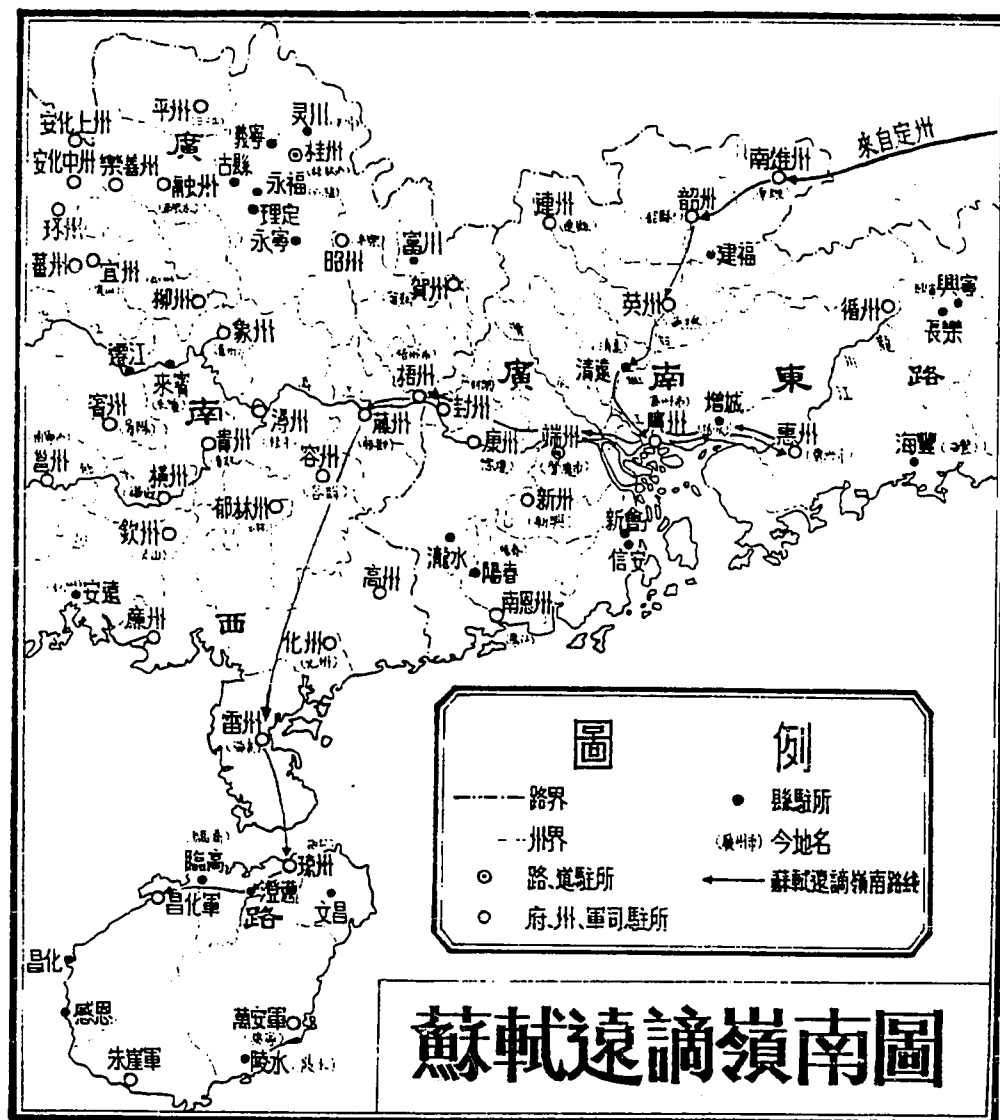
MAPS



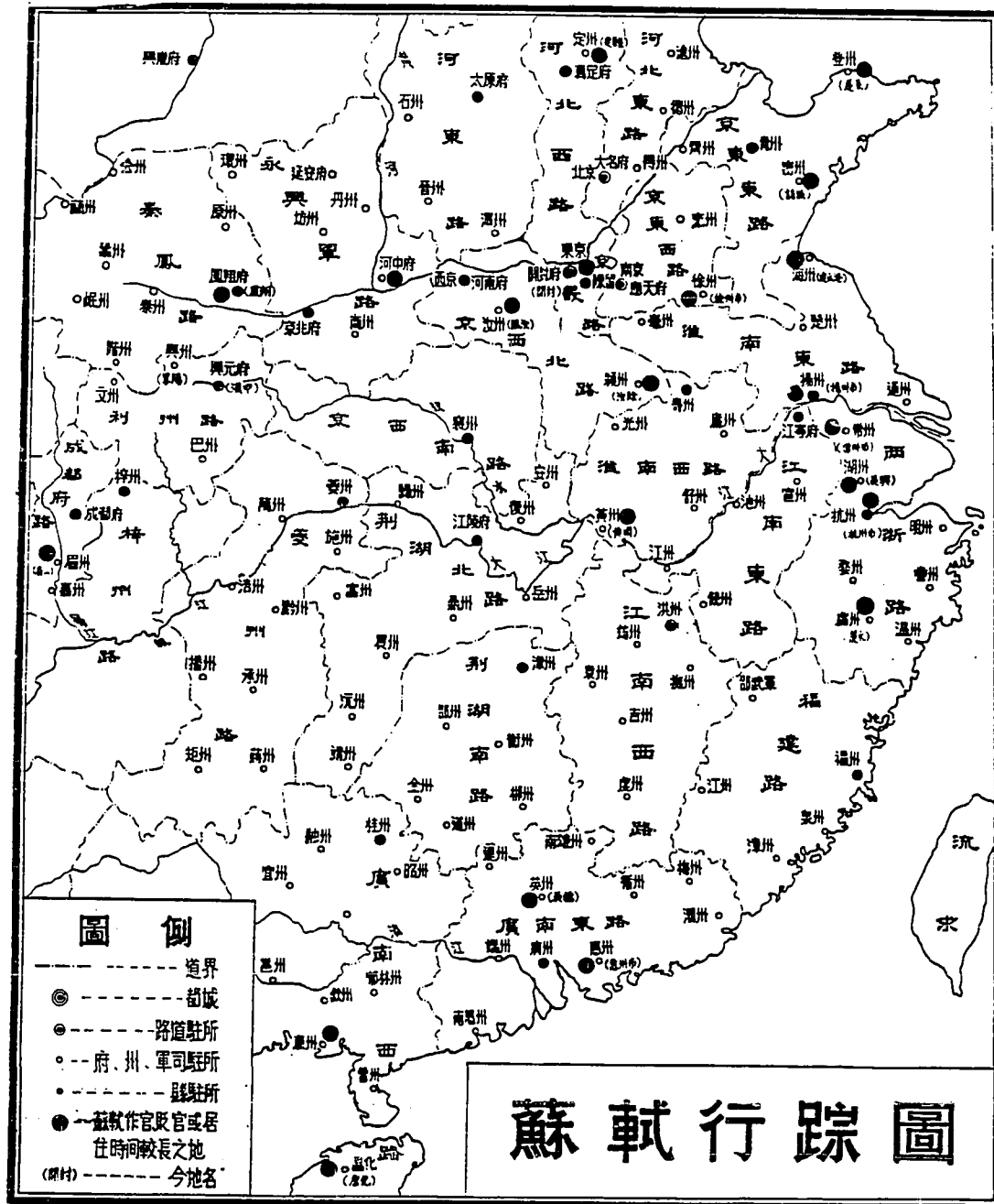
Map 1: Journey from Shu to the Capital



Map 3: Governance in Hangzhou



Map 4: Journey South: Exile in Huizhou and Danzhou



Map 5: The Journeys of Su Shi

VITA

Kathleen Tomlonovic began her studies of Chinese while teaching English at Fu Jen University in Taiwan during the 1974-75 academic year. She then studied at the University of Iowa, completing her Master's Degree in Asian Languages and Literature in 1977. Her program included Chinese language study at Middlebury College during the summer of 1976. Formal studies were begun at the University of Washington in 1978. From 1983-1985 she was the recipient of a National Academy of Science award administered by the Committee for Scholarly Communication with the People's Republic of China. She conducted her dissertation research first in Beijing then in Chengdu. Her program was directed by faculty members of the Chinese Department of Sichuan University.

She received her B.A. in English from Marycrest College and an M.A. in Religion from Fordham University. From 1969-1974, she was a faculty member of the Division of Humanities at Marycrest College. During the summers of 1983 and 1987, she was a teaching assistant in Chinese at the University of Washington. Since the fall of 1987, she has taught Chinese in the Department of Foreign Languages and has been a member of the Center for East Asian Studies at Western Washington University in Bellingham, Washington.