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# A Guide to Ming-Ch'ing Anthologies of Female Poetry and Their Selection Strategies

KANG-I SUN CHANG

No nation has produced more women poets than imperial China. Especially from the seventeenth century onward (that is, during the late Ming and early Ch'ing dynasties), there was a sudden increase of women poets, partly attributable to a dramatic rise of female literacy and the widespread development of printing. Hu Wen-k'ai's *A Study of Women's Writings through the Ages* (*Li-tai fu-nü chu-tso k'ao*) records more than two thousand women poets published during the Ch'ing dynasty alone.<sup>1</sup> And the proliferation of anthologies and collections of women's poetry during the late Imperial era, altogether reaching a total of three thousand publications, is simply stunning. This is especially impressive if compared to the situation before the late Ming: few collections of pre-Ming female poetry have survived.

Why were there suddenly so many anthologies and private collections of women's writings from the late Ming onward? First of all, it was not until this time that scholar-poets, male and female alike, began to notice that writings by women, whatever their quality, were simply not being preserved. Many of these scholars and poets therefore assumed the role of editors and anthologists, comparing their efforts in collecting women's works to Confucius's compilation of the *Classics of Poetry* (*Shih-ching*), an anthology that, as the new anthologists were quick to remind their public, was thought by many scholars to have contained a large percentage of songs

written by women. T'ien I-heng, editor of the anthology *Shih nü-shih* (published sometime during the Chia-ching reign, 1522–1566), was perhaps the first male scholar in the Ming to dwell so much on the importance of transmitting women's works.<sup>2</sup> He observes that there were numerous women poets from ancient times whose literary achievements were equal to men's. But, as he explains in his preface, it was the lack of "collecting or anthologizing" (*ts'ai-kuan*) that had kept women's names so obscure in literary history.<sup>3</sup> In a similar way, the woman poet Shen I-hsiu (1590–1635), mother of the legendary female genius Yeh Hsiao-luan (1616–1632), stepped into the gap and assumed responsibility for the transmission of female poems and poetic reputation. She stressed the importance of collecting *contemporary* works, claiming that her anthology *I-jen ssu* (published posthumously in 1636) departed from the conventional way of "following the old" (*yen-ku*).<sup>4</sup> Whatever their approaches, it is obvious that all these scholars and poets were inspired by the curatorial function of anthology making.

Unfortunately, until very recently, scholars of Chinese literature (men or women) have failed to consider the numerous anthologies and collections of women's poetry produced in the Ming-Ch'ing, and hence many valuable texts have been lost. As a result, histories of Chinese literature have consistently provided a misleading picture of women's literary position in the Ming-Ch'ing. As was noted by Maureen Robertson, "in the 1,355 page edition of his history of premodern Chinese literature, a history that spans over 2,500 years, Liu Dajie mentions only five women who produced literary texts, none of them from periods later than the Sung Dynasty."<sup>5</sup>

This brings us to an interesting question: Why have modern scholars failed to take note of the existing bulk of anthologies and collections of female poetry that would have revised our general perceptions of women's literature, or for that matter the whole of Chinese literature? My own study of Ming-Ch'ing women poets has inspired me to contemplate the many implications of this broad question, leading me to seek further information in a host of anthologies and collections that have gradually shaped the framework of my research. In this paper, I would like to share my thoughts and experience concerning the use of some of these sources on Ming-Ch'ing women poets, which I believe are extremely relevant to our study of Chinese literature in general.

First of all, my past failures in locating the right poems and other source materials have more to do with a blind spot in my general conception and

methodology than with the availability of texts. For a long time, I had been using primarily anthologies such as Chu I-tsun's *Ming-shih tsung* (1705), Shen Te-ch'ien's *Ming-shih pieh-ts'ai chi* (1739) and *Ch'ing-shih pieh-ts'ai chi* (1760), Chang Ying-ch'ang's *Ch'ing shih to* (1869), Ting Shao-i's *Ch'ing-tz'u tsung pu* (ca. 1894), and Hsü Shih-ch'ang's *Ch'ing shih hui* (1929) — texts that happen to have convenient modern reprints. These are indeed important sources, for all of them are first-rate anthologies that aim at preserving what the anthologists deem to be the “best works” in the designated periods. But the problem with these “standard” anthologies is that, although they generally include an impressive number of women poets, the selections from each poet are not at all generous, with only two or three poems from each. Moreover, these anthologies have explicitly assigned a marginal position to women by putting their works at the end, alongside those by monks — a procedure of selection first adopted by the Five Dynasties poet Wei Chuang (836–910) in his *Yu-hsüan chi*.<sup>6</sup> Such a policy of selection — reflecting what the modern scholar Shih Chih-ts'un calls “a regressive view of literature”<sup>7</sup> — makes for a misleading profile of women's place in Ming-Ch'ing literature. In fact, not only was the number of women poets recorded in Late Imperial China unprecedented, but many learned women during the period actually did share a world with men. They acted not as auxiliary attachments to a male sphere or as denizens of a parallel female world, but often fully took part in the poetic traditions and expressions that defined the larger cultural and social context.

It took me quite some time to realize that the best available source materials on Ming-Ch'ing female poetry are those anthologies that record women's works exclusively. Ironically, it is through reading and using these *separate* — that is, separate from male authors — anthologies that we are able to get a view of the “total history” and to appreciate fully the close relations and interdependence between male and female literary activities. This is because the published products of the Ming-Ch'ing women poets were simply too numerous for the traditional form of anthology, recording male and female poets, to do them justice. And given the existing underrepresentation of female poets in conventional anthologies and the severe problem of preservation mechanisms for women's works, it is not surprising that forward-looking Ming-Ch'ing women and their male friends and patrons would pursue a new and different selection strategy for their anthologies. There is enough pluralism in the arenas of women's writings

during the Ming-Ch'ing — similar to the diversity of male literary works — to necessitate the creation of separate anthologies. Thus, it would be simplistic to conceive of the whole phenomenon of women's anthologies as what Maureen Robertson calls the "traditional rule of separate spheres of activity," an "institutionalization of women's exclusion from all intellectual and literary activity."<sup>8</sup> I am not trying to deny the existence of a male-dominated principle in the conventional anthologies such as those by Shen Te-ch'ien. My purpose is simply to call attention to the importance of a new "female" approach in anthology making in this period — an approach that provided the right kind of preservation mechanism necessary for women poets to thrive. In other words, what we need is a "bifocal view" (to borrow Dorothy Ko's term)<sup>9</sup> of Ming-Ch'ing scholarship, taking into account both male- and female-oriented source materials.

Indeed, when I started to explore the many female anthologies and collections of poetry, I found the experience immensely gratifying. Overwhelmed by the number of texts and the amount of information available to me, I began to wonder why I used to complain about the lack of source materials on women poets. Indeed, as Dorothy Ko says, "the source materials do exist, if we look for them in the right places."<sup>10</sup>

What these sources "in the right places" told me is a story about how men and women in the Ming-Ch'ing worked *together* to revalue and promote women's writings. Indeed, male scholars, rather than the female writers themselves, served as the major editorial brain behind most of the early female anthologies. These editors and compilers tried to "canonize" women's writings by repeatedly associating their anthologies with the classical canon, the *Shih-ching*. Yet at times, the *Li sao* also enjoyed the privilege of being the classical canon to which women's collections were compared. A case in point is the *Female Sao* (*Nü-sao*) published in 1618, obviously named after the *Li sao*. In his foreword to *Nü-sao*, Chao Shih-yung says that the purpose of the anthology is to ensure that poems by women "be remembered forever by posterity," just like "classics and edicts."<sup>11</sup> One also notices with great interest that Ming-Ch'ing scholars began to give their anthologies titles that reveal their respect for women — titles that include words like "female talents" (*nü-chung ts'ai-tzu*), "gentry women poets" (*shih-yüan*), "female scribes" (*nü-shih*), "famous masters" (*ming-chia*), and the like.

It is not surprising that, encouraged by these liberal-minded male literati, many Ming-Ch'ing women began to compile poetry anthologies in which

they confidently stated their principles of inclusion and exclusion. Indeed, there finally emerged a kind of “contextual poetics”<sup>12</sup> for women’s poetry whereby anthologies became a crucial means of literary promotion and critical evaluation. Most important, various sources have established that, as Ellen Widmer says, “contemporary women writers strove to be included in women’s poetical anthologies.”<sup>13</sup> Apparently for them, anthologies were selective canons that provided “models, ideals, and inspiration.”<sup>14</sup> And through the anthologies and private collections, these women wished to become known to future generations.<sup>15</sup>

#### A BASIC LIST OF ANTHOLOGIES

In the following, I would like to provide a basic, or minimum, list of women’s anthologies produced in Late Imperial China, which I hope will throw light on the particular acts of selection on the part of the anthologists, male or female. In my selection of this short list, I had to rely on my own experience and judgment in deciding what is central and what is secondary. I do not claim that this list is definitive, but I believe it will provide a kind of “cultural literacy” in researching Ming-Ch’ing women’s poetry and its literary status.

1. *Ming-yüan shih-kuei* (ca. 1620), 36 *chüan*, comp. Chung Hsing.

This item is essential for studying women’s *shih* poetry from ancient times to the late Ming. It contains useful biographical notes and short commentaries on individual poems. It covers works by all kinds of women — gentry women, courtesans, Taoist nuns, painters, women officials, Korean ladies who wrote in Chinese. The selection of Ming writers is extremely extensive (*chüan* 25–36). The anthology has been dated loosely from 1573 to 1620 (the Wan-li reign), simply because the editor Chung Hsing (1574–1624) lived during that period. But the fact that it includes (in *chüan* 36) many poems by the courtesan-Taoist Wang Wei (ca. 1600?–ca. 1647), whom I believe to have been born around 1600, makes me inclined to date the anthology to around 1620 rather than to the earlier part of the Wan-li period.

Some Ch’ing scholars, chief among them Wang Shih-chen (1634–1711), seriously doubted that Chung Hsing was in fact the editor.<sup>16</sup> But the “evidence” these Ch’ing scholars used for their argument is rather shaky — it

is simply that the anthology contains some works whose authorship is in question. From this they came to the conclusion that the collection must have been put together by some book dealers who did not understand much about scholarship. In fact, in his *Ssu-k'ü ch'üan-shu tsung-mu t'i-yao*, Chi Yün (1724–1805) used exactly this argument to raise doubts about T'ien I-heng's editorship of *Shih nü-shih*,<sup>17</sup> an anthology printed almost a century before *Ming-yüan shih-kuei*. It is indeed true that, as Chi Yün points out, Ming anthologists often seem to be rather lax in their selection policies, as compared to those of the Ch'ing.<sup>18</sup> But at a time when the tradition of female anthologies was in its infancy, it is entirely understandable that such editorial inexactitudes would exist. For our purpose, however, it is good to remember that *Ming-yüan shih-kuei*, whether edited by Chung Hsing himself or not, was an ambitious and important Ming anthology that offers more primary source materials than do other similar poetry collections published at the time.

Most important, Chung Hsing's preface to *Ming-yüan shih-kuei* is an excellent example of the way late-Ming male scholars assigned value to women's writings. Chung Hsing relies on an alleged female "purity" (*ch'ing*) to make his argument — claiming that ideal poetry must come from this quality of *ch'ing* with which women are innately endowed. Since poetic "purity" is a "female" attribute, he further suggests, women's poetry could be used as an ideal remedy for the problem of artificiality (*ch'iao*) in contemporary male poetry. This faith in the corrective function of women's poetry no doubt encouraged more women to take on poetry writing as their vocation.

2. *Ku-chin nü-shih* (1628), comp. Chao Shih-chieh (1628). Modern reprint in two volumes: *Li-tai nü-tzu shih-chi*, 8 *chüan*; and *Li-tai nü-tzu wen-chi*, 12 *chüan* (Shanghai: Sao-yeh shan-fang, 1928).

Unlike Chung Hsing's anthology where Ming works figure most prominently, *Ku-chin nü-shih* devotes most of its space to women's poetry before the Ming. (Its small selection of Ming works focuses on major poets such as Lu Ch'ing-tzu, Hsü Yüan, and Tuan Shu-ch'ing.) In his preface Chao Shih-chieh dwells at length on the curatorial function of anthologies, for he obviously recognizes the ultimately tenuous nature of the transmission process:

In the days of the Seven Warring States (475–221 B.C.), with battles going on day and night, no time was left for literary composition, but Lady Fan and Cheng Hsiu were not without wit and conversational skill. Han O sang but once, and her sorrows and grief clung to the beams of the inn. And yet their compositions have been lost without a trace — whether on account of wars, or as a result of the fires of Ch'in.<sup>19</sup>

Thus in his role as preserver and editor of women's poetry, Chao Shih-chieh finds himself a precedent in the example of the editor-sage Confucius. He says:

Confucius surveyed the *Airs of the States* and said: “[Poetry] stimulates; it teaches observation, sociability, and the expression of grief.” In collecting those rhymed sayings, he did not reject [the songs of] the “wandering girls” of the Han and the Yangtze River. Who will say that the Three Hundred Odes [of the *Shih-ching*], the *Elegantiae* and the rest, can only have been composed by upright scholars and sages.”<sup>20</sup>

We used to assume that it was Yüan Mei (1716–1797) who first pointed out that “the speakers in many of the poems in the *Book of Songs* were obviously women.”<sup>21</sup> But from Chao Shih-chieh's preface to his *Ku-chin nü-shih*, we have come to learn that at least a century before Yüan Mei's time, male scholars had already used this claim as one of their main strategic constructs by which they tried to elevate and legitimize the literary status of women's poetry. Of course, such a claim might sound problematic to modern scholars, for it seems to be dependent on a conflation of two separable notions, that of the “author” and that of the “persona.” But the stratagem not only was convincing to contemporary editors and readers alike but also remained compelling for subsequent collections of female poetry.

3. *Chüan* four of “Jun-chi,” ed. Liu Shih. In *Lieh-ch'ao shih-chi*, ed. Ch'ien Ch'ien-i, completed 1649; printed 1652? (See illustration 1.)

It is common knowledge that the compiler and editor of *Lieh-ch'ao shih-chi*, a most extensive anthology of Ming poetry with about two thousand biographies appended to it, was the poet and bibliophile Ch'ien Ch'ien-i

列朝詩集

閩集第四

香奩上三十六人

王司綵一首

王妃一首

宮人媚蘭詩

夏氏雲英 三首

郭氏真順 一首

李夫人陳氏 一首

濮孺人鄒氏 一首

王太淑人金氏 三首

楊安人黃氏 二首 小令一首

陳宜人馬氏 五首

于太夫人劉氏 一首

鄭高行鄧氏 二首

女學士沈氏 十二首

王莊妃 一首

安福郡主 一首

金華宋氏 一首

武定橋節婦 一首

錢氏女 一首

孫夫人楊氏 一首

韓安人屈氏 三首

儲氏 一首

劉文貞毛氏 三首

端氏淑卿 三首

王氏鳳嫺 六首

列朝詩集



1. From the *Lieh-ch'ao shih-chi, jun-chi*, comp. Liu Shih (1618-1664). Fifteen cols. of 28 chars.; block 13 x 20.5 cm. Collection of the Gest Oriental Library.

絳雲樓選

列朝詩集

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(1582–1664). But few knew, until very recently, that its section on women poets (*chüan* 4 of “Jun-chi”) was edited by the famous courtesan poet Liu Shih (1618–1664). According to Hu Wen-k’ai (who based his research partly on the *Kung-kui shi-chi i-wen k’ao lüeh*), Liu Shih not only edited the poems but was also responsible for the extensive annotations on women poets in that particular section.<sup>22</sup> Although I have been unable to verify Hu Wen-k’ai’s theory, I nonetheless find his views extremely plausible on the basis of what I know as Liu Shih’s particular manner of expressing herself. Therefore in this paper I simply assume that Liu Shih was the editor, or at least a co-editor, of the section on women poets in *Lieh-ch’ao shih-chi*.

The story goes that in the winter of 1640 Liu Shih went to visit Ch’ien, then almost sixty years old, at his private residence called Pan-yeh t’ang (see illustration 2). By then, Liu Shih was already a recognized author, having published her two collections of poems, the *Wu-yin ts’ao* (1638; see illustration 3) and *Hu-shang ts’ao* (1639; see illustration 4).<sup>23</sup> Ch’ien and Liu exchanged many poems (later to be collected in *Tung-shan ch’ou-ho chi*), and Ch’ien was immensely struck by the talent and beauty of Liu. The couple married the following year, and in 1643 Ch’ien built for Liu a studio, the famous Chiang-yün-lou, where they together compiled the *Lieh-ch’ao shih-chi*<sup>24</sup> and where their great collections of rare books were housed. (Unfortunately, a fire in 1650 destroyed the studio and most of their collections.)

In her role as literary editor, Liu Shih distinguished herself as one who understood well the power of editorial selection in an anthology. A courtesan poet who had struggled to establish a literary position, Liu Shih seemed to be primarily concerned with elevating the status of courtesan poetry. As I have shown elsewhere, courtesans played a crucial place in the development of early seventeenth-century literature and arts.<sup>25</sup> In particular, the famous anthologist Chou Chih-piao lists the courtesan Wang Wei as one of the “seven female talents” in his collection *Nü-chung ch’i ts’ai-tzu lan-k’o chi*, and devotes two entire *chüan* to her.<sup>26</sup> Other major anthologies and studies such as Chung Hsing’s *Ming-yüan shih-kuei* (see also item 1 above) and Ch’en Wei-sung’s *Fu-chen chi* all gave prominent place to contemporary courtesan poets — not to mention the numerous anthologies devoted exclusively to courtesan poetry, such as the famous *Ch’in-huai ssu-chi shih* celebrating the literary status of four famous courtesans of the Ch’in-huai quarters of Nanking.<sup>27</sup> It should also be mentioned that in his *Ku-chin nü-shih* (see also item 2 above), Chao Shih-chieh emphasizes the distinction

河東君初訪野半堂小景



清余秋室繪東河君初訪野半堂小景

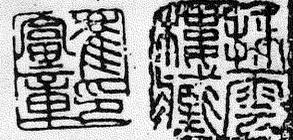
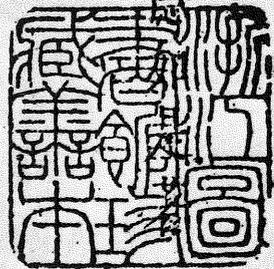
2. A portrait of Liu Shih by Yü Chi (1739–1823). From Ch'en Yin-k'o, *Liu Ju-shih pieh-chuan* (1980). By permission, Shanghai Ku-chi ch'u-pan-she.

戊寅草

擬古詩十九首

浩歌發淥水媚風激青帷宿管承  
 眇昧志意共綺靡豈期有離別  
 送君春水滑芳素長自守遠邁  
 竟何之桐花最哀怨碧柰空參  
 差思君漳臺北臺流吹易長  
 燦爛雲中錦上著雙鴛鴦黃鶴  
 飛已去鯉魚何肯將

柳隱



戊寅草

3. From Liu Shih (1618-1664), *Wu-yin ts'ao*, 1 ch., 1638. Eight cols. of 18 chars.; block 17 x 25 cm. Collection of Chekiang Library, Shanghai. It should be noted that Ch'en Yin-k'o did not have access to either this item or *Hu-shang ts'ao* (see illustration 4) when he wrote his highly acclaimed *Liu Ju-shih pieh-chuan* (Shanghai: Ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1980).

湖上草 巳卯春

雨中游新橋

野橋丹閣總通煙  
春氣虛無卷影前  
北浦問誰芳草後  
西冷應有恨情邊  
看桃子夜論鸞鵲  
折柳孤亭憶杜鵑  
神女生涯倘是夢  
何妨風雨照嬋娟

上巳

湖上草

柳隱如是著



4. From Liu Shih (1618-1664), *Hu-shang ts'ao*, 1 ch., 1639. Eight cols. of 18 chars.; block 17 x 25 cm. (Printed together with a collection of Liu Shih's letters, *Liu Ju-shih ch'ih-tu*, 1 ch.) Collection of Chekiang Library, Shanghai.

of the T'ang courtesan-poets Hsüeh T'ao (ca. 768—ca. 831) and Yü Hsüan-chi (845—868) by including an unusually large selection from them. Most important of all, in all these collections courtesans and gentry-women poets are treated as equals and placed in the same category.

In her section on women poets in the *Lieh-ch'ao shih-chi*, Liu Shih not only puts courtesans in the same category as gentry-women poets, she predominantly selects poems by major courtesans. For example, she includes sixty-one poems from Wang Wei, fifty-two poems from Ching P'ien-p'ien (fl. late 16th century), and nineteen poems from Yang Wan (fl. early 17th century). Indeed, it was unprecedented to make such generous and representative selections from courtesan poets. Although the anthology also includes works of many gentry-women poets of the Ming, the selections from such major poets as Hsü Yüan (fl. 1596) are surprisingly few, in Hsü's case only two poems. Generally, among gentry-women poets, Liu seems to favor those who dwell on images of romantic love in their poetry — a style resembling that of courtesan poetry, where personal meaning seems to be determined by the male-female relationship. In any case, Liu's generous selections from such "romantic" gentry poets as Chang Hung-ch'iao (fl. 14th century, 12 poems), Yeh Hsiao-luan (14 poems), and Tung Shao-yü (fl. 1544, 17 poems) seem to confirm my speculation.

One notices also that, as a commentator, Liu Shih was very forthright in her criticism (and her praise) of individual poets. A case in point is her criticism of the Korean poet Hsü Ching-fan (Hönsörhön), whom she accuses of plagiarism.<sup>28</sup> When Liu passes judgment on Hsü Yüan and Lu Ch'ing-tzu, the "two great poets of Wu-men (Su-chou),"<sup>29</sup> she adopts the traditional male critical method of *p'in*, a procedure of ranking first made popular by the Six Dynasties critic Chung Jung (459—518). In evaluating the two female talents of Su-chou, for example, Liu ranks Lu Ch'ing-tzu above Hsü Yüan — adding that in her view, Lu Ch'ing-tzu is even superior to most literati men.<sup>30</sup> As for Hsü Yüan, Liu cannot agree with the extreme views of Lady Fan of T'ung-ch'eng who accuses Hsü Yüan of "fishing for fame and lacking in learning" (*hao-ming erh wu-hsüeh*), but she nonetheless thinks that there might be some justification for such severe criticism.<sup>31</sup> This might be why Liu's anthology includes only two poems of Hsü Yüan.

Liu Shih's Ming-loyalist concerns were revealed in her comments on the courtesan-Taoist Wang Wei, the poet who occupies the most space (66 poems) in Liu's anthology. Unlike Chung Hsing, who gives a very brief bio-

graphical note on Wang Wei in his *Ming-yüan shih-kuei* (naturally enough, given that Wang Wei was still quite young around 1620), Liu Shih provides detailed notes on Wang Wei's life — especially on her role as a Ming loyalist, participating in various resistance activities against the Manchu invaders. As far as I know, Liu Shih was the first person to report that Wang Wei died “three years” after the “political crisis” (*luan*), which I take to mean the Ming-Ch'ing transition.<sup>32</sup> It is because of Liu Shih's findings that I feel confident in assigning the dates circa 1600–1647 for Wang Wei.

Liu's loyalist approach was of course in keeping with Ch'ien Ch'ien-i's general method of commentary in the whole *Lieh-ch'ao shih-chi* which, as we know, was the main reason the anthology was banned by the Ch'ing government during Emperor Ch'ien-lung's reign (1736–1795). Although Ch'ien Ch'ien-i had submitted to the Manchus in 1645, it was felt that his true loyalty was still to the Ming; his commentary seems to confirm this suspicion.<sup>33</sup> In any case, Ch'ien's *Lieh-ch'ao shih-chi* was harshly criticized by the Ch'ing scholar-official and apologist Chi Yün (1724–1805), who accused Ch'ien of “twisting the facts and confusing right and wrong.”<sup>34</sup> According to Chi Yün, Chu I-tsun's (1629–1709) anthology of Ming poetry, *Ming-shih tsung* (1705), was compiled in order to correct the “factual errors” found in Ch'ien Ch'ien-i's *Lieh-ch'ao shih-chi*.<sup>35</sup> Whether Chi's theory is right or wrong, it is true that in compiling his anthology, Chu I-tsun took a very different tack indeed from Ch'ien Ch'ien-i (and Liu Shih). With regard to women poets, for instance, Chu has clearly distinguished gentry-women poets from courtesan poets, putting the former under the category of “kuei-men” (*chüan* 86) and assigning the latter the unflattering classification of “chi-nü” (*chüan* 98). As for his biographical notes on the courtesan-Taoist Wang Wei, the description of Wang Wei's life is again different from the one given by Liu Shih. In particular, Liu's version of Wang Wei's loyalist activities is completely omitted from Chu's anthology.<sup>36</sup>

From the perspective of Ming studies, it is indeed regrettable that Ch'ien's *Lieh-ch'ao shih-chi* and Liu's section in the “Jun-chi” were banned in the eighteenth century. This no doubt led to the Ch'ing scholars' “misreading” of many Ming poets, including major women poets like Wang Wei.

Liu Shih also compiled an anthology entitled *Ku-chin ming-yüan shih-tz'u hsüan*, which includes poetic works (both in *shih* and *tz'u*) of women from ancient times to the Ming. The anthology existed only in manuscript form

until 1937 when it was finally printed by the Chung-hsi shu-chü.<sup>37</sup> Unfortunately, I have not yet had access to this anthology.

4. *Shih-yüan pa ming-chia hsüan* (preface 1655), comp. Tsou Ssu-i. Original in the Science Institute of Beijing.<sup>38</sup>

This anthology, whose title literally means "Selected Works of Eight Famous Women Poets," is a rare item. It includes works by eight poets, arranged in the following order:

- Wang Tuan-shu (1621–ca. 1706; see item 5 below)
- Wu Hsiao (fl. mid-17th century, poet-painter)
- Wu Ch'i (fl. mid-17th century, poet-painter and sister of Wu Hsiao)
- Liu Shih
- Huang Yüan-chieh (fl. mid-17th century, poet-painter)
- Chi Hsien (fl. mid-17th century)
- Wu Shan (fl. mid-17th century, poet-painter)
- Pien Meng-chüeh (fl. mid-17th century, daughter of Wu Shan)

Like Wang Shih-lu (elder brother of the famous poet Wang Shih-chen), Tsou Ssu-i was one of those "male feminists" of the mid-seventeenth century who seemed to devote their lives to the promotion of contemporary women's writings. But unlike Wang's anthology *Jan-chih chi* (preface 1658), which appears all inclusive in its approach,<sup>39</sup> Tsou's is selective and dwells on the evaluation of a few female talents. Tsou's detailed comments on the eight poets' lives and works are meant to provide a frame of reference and explanatory basis for assigning value. For example, his preface to the section on Liu Shih begins with this statement based on the principle of *p'in*: "After evaluating works of the many contemporary famous women poets, I will have to say that Ho-tung [Liu Shih] ranks first." Then he continues to explain (by citing examples) why Liu Shih's poetry is more gentle and beautiful than the works of Po Chü-i (772–846) and many other male poets of ancient times.

Tsou's anthology of eight famous women poets was later expanded to an anthology of ten poets in his *Shih-yüan shih ming-chia hsüan*, which supposedly includes works by two other poets, Ku Wen-wan and P'u Ying-lu.<sup>40</sup> The Beijing Library has an incomplete copy of the *Shih-yüan shih ming-chia*

*hsüan*, from which the parts on Ku Wen-wan and P'u Ying-lu are unfortunately missing.

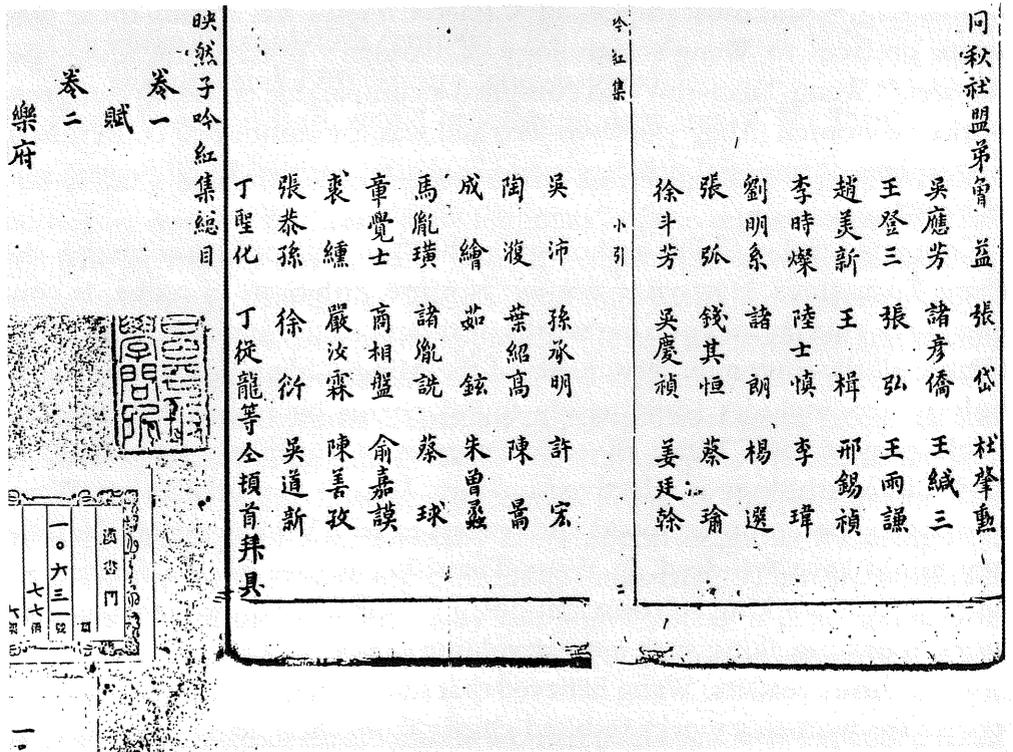
5. *Ming-yüan shih-wei* (completed 1664; printed 1667), comp. Wang Tuan-shu. Originals in the Beijing Library and the Central Library of Taipei.

Like Liu Shih, Wang Tuan-shu was one of the most prominent women poets and scholars of the seventeenth century. But whereas Liu Shih's origins were obscure, Wang was born and raised in a respectable gentry family. Daughter of the famous scholar Wang Ssu-jen (1575–1646), Wang Tuan-shu was taught to read all kinds of classics from an early age. She was one of those literate women who enjoyed the respect and friendship of contemporary male scholars.<sup>41</sup> The number of male friends who called themselves “sworn brothers” (*meng-ti*) and signed their names as sponsors for Wang's own collected works, *Yin hung chi* (see illustration 5), is simply astonishing.<sup>42</sup> And most important, Ch'ien Ch'ien-i was among those who wrote prefaces to Wang's anthology of women's poetry, the *Ming-yüan shih-wei*.<sup>43</sup> Wang Tuan-shu also compiled a comparable anthology of prose works by women (*Ming-yüan wen-wei*) and was the author of a collection of biographies of imperial princesses and consorts, entitled *Li-tai ti-wang hou-fei k'ao*.<sup>44</sup>

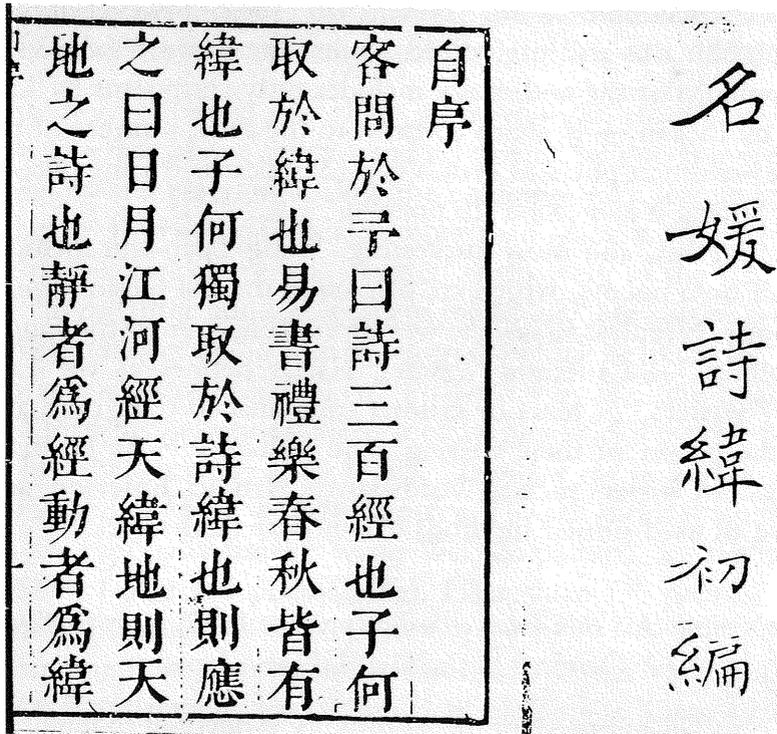
Compared to Liu Shih's anthology in the “Jun-chi” of *Lieh-ch'ao shih-chi*, Wang Tuan-shu's *Ming-yüan shih-wei* is more ambitious in scope. It contains forty-two *chüan*, covering works of about one thousand women poets. Almost all these women were poets of the Ming-Ch'ing, although the anthology also includes some newly found poems by earlier authors. The whole project took Wang twenty-five years to complete, from 1639 to 1664. Liu's anthology is selective in nature, Wang's comprehensive. Wang even urged contemporary poets and readers to send her any more selections they might have.<sup>45</sup> Indeed, in Wang Tuan-shu, we see for the first time a female editor working so conscientiously to perform her proper curatorial duties in passing along such a great volume of poetic works to contemporary and future readers. Wang believed that the problem of the transmission process for women's works resulted chiefly from their being “restricted in speech and public activities” (*nei-yen pu-ch'u*). Thus, it was up to her (Wang Tuan-shu) to preserve women's works for later generations, and to make sure that she herself was not guilty of failing to rescue the poems from

obscurity.<sup>46</sup> Her husband, Ting Sheng-chao, explains this idea most clearly in his foreword to the anthology: "Why did my wife Yü-ying [Tuan-shu] compile this *Ming-yüan shih-wei*? It is because she cannot bear to see the excellent poems of women of our times vanishing like mist and grass."<sup>47</sup>

Wang Tuan-shu attempted to give her anthology of women poets canonical status by naming the collection *Classics of Poetry by Famous Women* (*Ming-yüan shih-wei*), a direct reference, or challenge, to the arch-canonical text of the *Shih-ching*. The key word for her "classics" is *wei* (parallel to *ching* in the *Shih-ching*), which literally means "latitude" — an exact complement to "longitude" (*ching*). By saying that "without latitude there is no longitude" (*pu-wei tse pu-ching*), she is in fact arguing for the necessity of a new pluralism that expresses a new female point of view regarding the classics, or even the concept of classics.<sup>48</sup>



5. From Wang Tuan-shu (1621-ca. 1706), *Yin hung chi*, 30 ch., publication date unknown. Eight cols. of 18 chars.; block 13 x 22 cm. This may be the only extant copy (*ku-pen*) of Wang Tuan-shu's collected works. Collection of Naikaku Bunko, Japan.



6. From Wang Tuan-shu (1621–ca. 1706), comp. and ed., *Ming-yüan shih-wei*, 42 ch., 1677. Nine cols. of 19 chars.; block 13 x 20 cm. Collection of the Central Library, Taipei, Taiwan.

Notable also is Wang Tuan-shu's attempt to establish proper literary credentials for gentry-women poets, as opposed to courtesan poets. For, as I have shown elsewhere, by the early seventeenth century, courtesans had become the prototype of the "talented woman" (*ts'ai-nü*) in both real life and contemporary fiction.<sup>49</sup> Indeed, the popular image of courtesans as "talented women" symbolizing the ultimate ideal of literature and arts in effect slighted such gentry-women poets as Wang Tuan-shu. In any case, she arranged her anthology of about one thousand women poets in descending order of social status. Gentry women are grouped in the category of "the proper" (*cheng*), courtesans in the category of "the erotic" (*yen*). The only exceptions are people like Liu Shih, Li Yin, and Wang Wei — for although they had been courtesans, they later did manage to become "gentry women" by marrying prominent male literati. Therefore, their works are

included in the section of “*cheng*” rather than “*yen*.” However, it is clear that Wang Tuan-shu was still prejudiced against these courtesans who turned gentry women. For the anthology includes only six poems by Liu Shih,<sup>50</sup> and three by Li Yin — in sharp contrast to the great number of poems by such gentry-women poets as Hsü Yüan (28 poems),<sup>51</sup> Fang Wei-i (20 poems), and Huang Yüan-chieh (16 poems).

Most important, and most interesting, Wang Tuan-shu includes sixty-three of her own poems, which are printed in the last section (*chüan* 42) of the anthology. Needless to say she was attempting to enter the canon herself by “logrolling” — a method Wendell Harris defines as the “active espousal” by writers “of texts or criteria congenial to their own aims” and also “by the power of their writing” and influence.<sup>52</sup> As Harris demonstrates, Western writers such as Wordsworth, Arnold, Emerson, and Longfellow have all used similar methods to canonize themselves.<sup>53</sup>

6. *T'ien-hsia ming-chia shih-kuan ch'u-chi* (preface 1672), comp. Teng Han-i.<sup>54</sup> Original in the Diet Library, Japan.

Although only *chüan* twelve of this anthology is devoted to female authors, this is an extremely important source for studying poetry of the Chiangnan area during the mid-seventeenth century. It includes works by forty-five major women poets. The fact that Teng Han-i puts female authors in the general category of “Famous Poets” (*ming-chia*) — for the title of his anthology literally means “A Look at the Famous Poets in the Whole Nation” — is significant in itself. In reading through the poems (along with Teng’s comments), one gets the impression that women poets are judged independently of gender — or, rather, they seem to be evaluated largely as if they were male poets. Their status as “famous poets” is attested to through the many detailed biographical notes prepared by Teng Han-i, which often contain interesting anecdotes concerning their involvements with other literary figures, male or female. The anthology is especially useful for tracing the literary association between women poets. For example, in the section on Shang Ching-lan and her daughters (and daughters-in-law), one notices that all the poems selected are farewell poems to the famous poet-painter Huang Yüan-chieh.<sup>55</sup> Teng Han-i’s comments especially call our attention to the fact that Li Yin was an admiring friend of Liu Shih. It was Li Yin who provided Teng (supposedly sometime after Liu Shih’s death) with the remarkable story of Liu’s life.

7. *Ts'ui-lou chi* (1673), comp. Liu Yün-fen. Modern punctuated edition by Shih Chih-ts'un (Shanghai: Tsa-chih kung-ssu, 1936).

This anthology is divided into three parts (*ch'u-chi*, *erh-chi*, and *hsin-chi*), altogether covering about seven hundred poems by two hundred women poets. Perhaps as a reaction against the contemporary female anthologies that had begun to dwell on Ch'ing rather than Ming works, Liu Yün-fen claimed that his anthology was devoted exclusively to the female poetry produced "in the three hundred years of the Ming." He says he is impressed by the "sheer bulk" of Ming women's verses (which he likens to "an expansive sea") and is extremely "taken" (*hsin-tung*) by the fine quality of the poems.<sup>56</sup> Since his selections were mostly newly discovered poems not available in other current anthologies, *Ts'ui-lou chi* is a very important source for studying Ming women's poetry. The selections from the following poets are especially useful: Wang Wei (26 poems), Lu Ch'ing-tzu (23 poems), Shen I-hsiu (40 poems), Yeh Hsiao-luan (36 poems), and Hsü Ching-fan (25 poems).

Liu, who remarked that research on women's works was his lifelong ambition (*chih*),<sup>57</sup> apparently devoted much of his time to literary archaeology since he was able to come up with many interesting discoveries. In his foreword to the anthology, Tsung Yüan-ting sums up the two main obstacles encountered in anthologizing earlier women's works: (1) it was extremely difficult to search for the unpublished sources, and (2) even published materials registered in major catalogues were often lost. Tsung further compliments Liu Yün-fen for producing such a carefully researched anthology under these difficult circumstances.

*Ts'ui-lou chi* is unusual also for its section called "*tsu-li*," which highlights the regions the women poets came from. It is an immensely helpful guide for those interested in studying the regional distribution of female talents in the Ming.

8. *Chung-hsiang tz'u* (1690), comp. Hsü Shu-min and Ch'ien Yüeh. Reprint (Shanghai: Ta-tung shu-chü, 1934).

*Chung-hsiang tz'u* was one of the three major anthologies of "song lyrics" (*tz'u*) of women poets — the other two being *Lin-hsia tz'u-hsüan* (1671) and *Ku-chin ming-yüan pai-hua shih-yü* (1685) — that were published in the last decades of the seventeenth century. The anthology focuses on more than

新城王士禛阮亭

玉峯徐樹敏師魯

大同李宗孔秘園

選

同閱

金閨錢 岳十青

商丘宋 犖漫堂

涇陽劉 涵海觀

徐

燦

字湘蘋長洲人海昌相國陳素菴夫人善詩文兼精書畫其詞極得北宋風格絕無纖佻之習可為本朝

第一大家後相國沒塞上夫人扶櫬歸嘗手繪大士像萬餘軸種種變相絕不雷同真所謂千百億化身也賞鑒家藏為拱璧有拙政園詞傳世

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7. From Hsü Shu-min and Ch'ien Yüeh, comps. and eds., *Chung-hsiang tz'u*, 6 ch., 1690. Thirteen cols. of 24 chars.; block 13 x 20 cm. Rpt. Shanghai: Ta-tung shu-chü, 1934. Collection of Kang-i Sun Chang.

four hundred women *tz'u* poets during the Ming-Ch'ing transition, and the scope of its coverage testifies to the important role women played in the movement to revive the song-lyric genre in the early seventeenth century.<sup>58</sup> As I have shown elsewhere, by the late Ming the *tz'u* genre had been viewed more or less as a "dying genre" for over three centuries. It was Liu Shih, the courtesan poet, who helped her lover Ch'en Tzu-lung (1608–1647) establish the important Yün-chien School of *Tz'u* Revival.<sup>59</sup> Both men and women were strongly affected by this *tz'u* revival, but especially for women *tz'u* suddenly became the main expressive vehicle. The number of women *tz'u* poets during the Ming-Ch'ing transition was simply unprecedented.

In his foreword to *Chung-hsiang tz'u* (which literally means "Song Lyrics of Numerous Fragrances"), Wu Ch'i dwells on the conception of "femininity" as a generic trait of *tz'u*. He suggests that women, being female, are able to produce better song lyrics. Wu's argument, whether right or wrong, reflects a convergence of biological femaleness and stylistic femininity common to the thinking of many Ming-Ch'ing critics that no doubt encouraged many women to embark on *tz'u* writing as the vehicle of their poetic ambitions.

In fact, the two other near-contemporary anthologies of women *tz'u* poets also took this same theory of "femininity" as their basic premise. In his foreword to *Lin-hsia tz'u-hsüan* (1671) compiled by Chou Ming,<sup>60</sup> the famous scholar Yu T'ung (1618–1704) claims that *tz'u* writing, rooted in the feminine style of "delicate restraint" during the Sung, is particularly suitable for women poets.<sup>61</sup> In a similar way, Sun Hui-yüan — one of the four female compilers of *Ku-chin ming-yüan pai-hua shih-yü* (1685) — argues in her preface that theirs is a truly female and feminine anthology, indeed more convincing than the "feminine mode" written by men that seems to fill the earlier *tz'u* anthologies such as *Hua-chien chi* and *Ts'ao-t'ang shih-yü*.<sup>62</sup> In passing, I should also mention that *Ku-chin ming-yüan pai-hua shih-yü* was an unusual anthology not only because it was edited and compiled by four women poets, but also because it was organized by a special symbolic device. In it ninety-one women *tz'u* poets dating from the eleventh to the seventeenth century were arranged according to the sequence of the four seasons — a device that emphasized "femininity" as the unique quality of song lyrics.<sup>63</sup> In particular, Sun Hui-yüan's preface is noted for its "spring metaphors":

Let its beauty surprise you, since, like the rain, it is always the same and always new. The spring colors of the Shang-lin garden do not need to be adorned with ribbons; must the plant branches of the Chin-ku garden wait for the East Wind's imperial breath? Truly, the flower-historians are female historians, and the rhyming of words is a rhyming of minds.<sup>64</sup>

According to Hu Wen-k'ai, this anthology was particularly well edited and printed, containing selections that often were not available in the *Chung-hsiang tz'u*.<sup>65</sup> Unfortunately, I have not yet been able to gain access to either the *Ku-chin ming-yü pai-hua shih-yü* or the *Lin-hsia tz'u-hsüan*.

In general, the *Chung-hsiang tz'u* differs from these two anthologies in its arrangement of poets. Most noticeable is the fact that its six parts are named after the six arts that ancient Confucian scholars were required to master: *li* (rites); *yüeh* (music); *she* (archery); *yü* (chariot driving); *shü* (learning); and *shü* (mathematics). Although there seems no real correlation between the names of the six sections and the poets included in them, these Confucian designations work to reflect the anthologist's value judgment. The anthology arranges its over four hundred female authors in a descending order of social status, with courtesans coming at the end (in part 6). Courtesans such as Liu Shih, Tung Pai, and Ku Mei who later married famed scholar-officials, however, belong to part five. This organizing principle certainly recalls that of Wang Tuan-shu's *Ming-yüan shih-wei*, though it is far more rigid and elaborate.

Through this particular method of arrangement, or classification, the compilers of *Chung-hsiang tz'u* had in mind a certain interpretive strategy that would help them canonize and judge the writings of certain distinguished gentry women. We find, for instance, Hsü Ts'an (ca. 1610–after 1677) at the very beginning of the anthology hailed as “the greatest poet of the present dynasty” because her song lyrics were imbued with “Northern Sung style, devoid of ornate and frivolous qualities.”<sup>66</sup> In a similar way, her grand-aunt Hsü Yüan — who incidentally was one of those criticized by Liu Shih — also received high marks from the compilers. Hsü Yüan was singled out for praise: “Poems by Lo-wei [Hsü Yüan] can be compared to the first and the third songs in the *Shih-ching*, “Kuan-chü” and “Chüan-erh.”<sup>67</sup> Thus, by referring to the canonical text, the *Shih-ching*, the compilers were again able to claim for themselves a moral power that would support the canonical status they claimed for women in literature. This strat-

egy certainly worked in the case of Hsü Ts'an, who has been recognized (even up to this day) as the best of the Ming-Ch'ing women *t'zu* poets.<sup>68</sup>

All things considered, *Chung-hsiang tz'u* seems to have satisfied the changing needs and tastes of the *tz'u* critics during the last decades of the seventeenth century. By then the romantic "Southern T'ang style" *tz'u* promoted by Ch'en Tzu-lung and Liu Shih in the 1630s had already gone out of fashion. In its place, the "Sung-style" *tz'u* became the favored mode of *tz'u* writing, as may be demonstrated by the elevated position of Hsü Ts'an in *Chung-hsiang tz'u*. This shift in poetic taste can also be seen in the contemporary anthologies of male *tz'u* poets. For example, the male anthology *Ch'ing-p'ing tz'u-hsüan* (1678) was compiled and edited by two scholars from Yün-chien (i.e., Sung-chiang, Ch'en Tzu-lung's hometown) in an attempt to propagate the Southern T'ang style *tz'u*, no doubt as a reaction to the Sung-style *tz'u* championed by the poets Ch'en Wei-sung and Chu I-tsun, which was gradually gaining in importance.<sup>69</sup> Then a decade later the famous anthology *Yao-hua chi* (1687) was almost entirely given over to the Sung-style *tz'u* — for it selects 148 poems from Ch'en Wei-sung and 111 poems from Chu I-tsun, in sharp contrast to the 29 poems from Ch'en Tzu-lung.<sup>70</sup> Although *Yao-hua chi* also includes some poems by women poets such as Hsü Ts'an (10 poems) and Hsü Yüan (5 poems), there are no selections from Liu Shih.

Thus, in many ways, *Chung-hsiang tz'u* could be seen as an exact parallel to *Yao-hua chi* — with the former focusing on female poets and the latter on male poets. It is important to remember that although their works might be preserved in two different anthologies, male and female poets of the time were the products of the same literary milieu.

9. *Sui-yüan nü-ti-tzu shih-hsüan* (1796), comp. Yüan Mei. Modern punctuated edition (Shanghai: Ta-ta t'u-shu kung-ying-she, 1934).

This is an anthology of poems by Yüan Mei's female disciples, compiled by Yüan Mei himself. It is common knowledge that Yüan Mei was the first person in Chinese history to collect an entourage of women students. But few realize that it was not until he was in his seventies that Yüan actively sought to teach women. When he published his anthology *Sui-yüan nü-ti-tzu shih-hsüan* at the age of eighty, he had already acquired as many as twenty-eight female disciples.

There are six *chüan* in the anthology. According to the table of contents,

the anthology selects poems by all of the twenty-eight disciples. But for some reason, works by nine students — including famous ones like Ch'ü Ping-chün, Kuei Mao-i, and Wang Yü-chen — are missing from the anthology as it exists today. Hsi P'ei-lan (Yüan Mei's prize student) appears at the beginning of the collection, with two congratulatory verses for the anthology, written at the request of Yüan Mei.

It is indeed not a coincidence that Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng's (1738–1801) famous essay “Women's Learning” (“Fu hsüeh”), a bitter personal attack on Yüan Mei and his female disciples, was written right after the publication of Yüan Mei's anthology. In a sense, the publication of this anthology served as the catalyst that triggered the important controversies centered on women — controversies that seemed to have sharply divided the literati class of late eighteenth-century China. For Chang's “Fu hsüeh” ridiculed a certain unnamed patron of women poets for distorting the true meaning of the great classics — such that “women today” forgot the true function of their learning and “wantonly flung themselves into poetry.”<sup>71</sup>

Perhaps it was in anticipation of such criticism that Yüan Mei had asked Wang Ku (the publisher) to write a foreword to the *Sui-yüan nü-ti-tzu shih-hsüan*, defending the close relationship between women's poetry and the ancient classics. In his foreword, Wang Ku bases his promotion of women poets directly on his interpretation of the *Book of Changes* (*I-ching*). He reminds the reader that according to the *Book of Changes* commentary, the *tui* trigram (lake), which symbolizes “the third daughter” (*shao-nü*), provides the principle by which the sage “joins with his friends for discussion and practice.” And similarly, the *li* trigram (fire), which symbolizes “the second daughter” (*chung-nü*), is the source from which the sage built the civilization “by perpetuating this brightness.”<sup>72</sup> He also repeats the (by then) common argument that odes written by women (e.g., “Ko t'an” and “Chüan-erh”) had been placed at the beginning of the canonical *Shih-ching*, a view to which Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng strongly objected.<sup>73</sup>

Ultimately, despite Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng's far more traditional interpretation of the role of women in the Confucian classics, this anthology of Yüan Mei's female disciples became Yüan's strongest argument in favor of women's poetry. In promoting his female students, Yüan was at the same time corroborating his own poetic theory centered around the idea of “innate sensibility” (*hsing-ling*).<sup>74</sup> This is because central to the concept of *hsing-ling* is the notion of spontaneous self-expression — and the basic assump-

tion that both men and women, when poetically inspired, could create a true voice in poetry. It was a theory that Yüan Mei's female disciples learned well.

10. *Kuo-ch'ao kuei-hsiu cheng-shih chi* (The correct beginnings: Collected women's poetry of our dynasty; 1831), comp. Wan-yen Yün-chu. *Hsü-chi* (1863), ed. Miao Lien-pao.

This is an ambitious anthology of more than fifteen-hundred Ch'ing women poets, comprising over three thousand *shih* poems.<sup>75</sup> Known in her day as "the female Confucianist" (*nü-chung chih ju*),<sup>76</sup> Wan-yen Yün-chu (a Manchu) adopted the attributes of "meekness and gentleness" (*wen-jou tun-hou*) as the criterion of selection for her anthology. *Wen-jou tun-hou* was a typical quality of emotional restraint long celebrated in the Confucian hermeneutic tradition and specifically in the appreciation of the *Shih-ching*. And, of course, it was also the principle of selection invoked by Shen Te-ch'ien's (1673–1769) *Ch'ing-shih pieh-ts'ai chi* (1760), an anthology that Wan-yen Yün-chu acknowledged to have taken as her model.<sup>77</sup>

Wan-yen Yün-chu's anthology is thus a perfect example of how Neo-Confucianism influenced some literati women after the mid-Ch'ing. In making moral edification her principle of selection, Wan-yen Yün-chu seemed to be challenging (though never explicitly) Yüan Mei's liberal-minded view of literature, according to which spontaneous self-expression came before the didactic function of poetry. Although her claim that the *Shih-ching* "did not eliminate writings from the women's quarters"<sup>78</sup> seems to recall Yüan Mei's famous view, her insistence on women poets' moral function instead of their literary innovation<sup>79</sup> echoes Neo-Confucian concerns. The fact that the title of her anthology, *Kuo-ch'ao kuei-hsiu cheng-shih chi*, takes the term *cheng-shih* directly from the "Little Preface" to the first two books of the *Shih-ching*, is especially worth noting. *Cheng-shih* is of course the epithet for "Kuan-chü," which gives prominence to "the virtues of the queen." Thus, whereas Yüan Mei took the love songs in the *Shih-ching* at their word, Wan-yen Yün-chu would be inclined to read them as allegorical poems, promoting the moderate emotions of the virtuous wife.

A consequence of this is that Wan-yen Yün-chu's antagonism to courtesans is far greater than that of the anthologists who preceded her. To her, courtesans represented an affront to wifely virtues. She called the courtes-

sans “women who had lost their virtue” (*shih-hsing fu-jen*), and prided herself on excluding their works from her anthology.<sup>80</sup> The only exceptions were a few earlier “reformed” women like Liu Shih, Wang Wei, and Pien Yü-ching (fl. early 17th century), who managed to cultivate their “virtues in their late years” (*wan-chieh*). Even so, Wan-yen Yün-chu put their poems in the appendix (not in the main text) — with only two poems by Liu Shih, two poems by Wang Wei, and one poem by Pien Yü-ching. As for *contemporary* courtesans, they were completely ignored. Of course, this may in part result from the fact that by the middle Ch’ing, courtesans were no longer prominent in the world of refined letters and seldom published their poems<sup>81</sup> — in sharp contrast to the early seventeenth-century courtesans who so often provided the popular model of the “talented woman.”

As an anthology of Ch’ing gentry-women poets, however, Wan-yen Yün-chu’s *Kuo-ch’ao kuei-hsiu cheng-shih chi* is indispensable. It is much more ambitious in scope than Shen Te-ch’ien’s *Ch’ing-shih pieh-ts’ai ch’i* (her acknowledged model), and unlike Shen’s anthology, which has only the work of authors no longer living, it includes extensive selections from contemporary writers.

11. *Kung-kuei wen-hsüan* (1843), comp. Chou Shou-ch’ang (1814–1884).<sup>82</sup>

This anthology, as its title clearly indicates, is a “female *Wen-hsüan*,” which was deliberately modeled on Hsiao T’ung’s (501–531) prestigious anthology, *Selections of Refined Literature*.<sup>83</sup> Like Hsiao T’ung, Chou Shou-ch’ang arranged the works according to different genres — *fu* poetry, prose (*wen*), *yüeh-fu* songs, *shih* poetry, and so on. Again, like Hsiao T’ung’s, Chou’s *Kung-kuei wen-hsüan* is a comprehensive, representative anthology. It selects works of women writers from ancient times to the end of the Ming — with *chüan* 1–10 covering works in *fu* and *wen*, and *chüan* 11–26 covering *yüeh-fu* and all forms of *shih* poetry.

In some other ways, however, *Kung-kuei wen-hsüan* recalls Hsü Ling’s (503–583) anthology, the *New Songs from the Jade Terrace* (*Yü-t’ai hsin-yung*), which was compiled under the patronage of Hsiao Kang (503–551) in an attempt to challenge the basic selection policy of the *Wen-hsüan*. First, Chou’s own preface, written in a flowery parallel prose (*p’ien-wen*) style, reminds us of Hsü Ling’s preface to *Yü-t’ai hsin-yung*, which focuses on the description of languishing beauties indulging in editing and reading verses.

The fact that *Yü-t'ai hsün-yung* included numerous poems by women — and the fact that it was intended for female readers — made it a wonderful precedent for Ming-Ch'ing women's anthologies, although these later anthologies never made women readers their sole audience. Still, as an anthology *Kung-kuei wen-hsüen* departs from *Yü-t'ai hsün-yung* in one significant way: it does not claim, as *Yü-t'ai hsün-yung* did, to be a “contemporary” collection comprising mostly “new” poems by living authors. Instead, Chou Shou-ch'ang deliberately took an “archaic” approach, excluding all Ch'ing works from his anthology, making the end of the Ming (200 years before his time!) his cut-off date. Was Chou a Ming loyalist? Or was he simply presenting pre-Ch'ing women's literature as a kind of model literature — the kind that in his view preserved the best of women's writings? I do not have immediate answers to these questions. But Chou's way of mixing together a large number of courtesans' poems with the gentry women's verses does lead us to suspect that his open-minded approach might be a direct reaction to the Neo-Confucian approach adopted by Wan-yen Yün-chu's anthology, published twelve years before Chou's.

12. *Hsiao-t'an-luan-shih hui-k'o pai-chia kuei-hsiu tz'u* (1896), comp. Hsü Nai-ch'ang.

This anthology — or more precisely this composite compilation of “collected editions” of one hundred poets — is by far the most valuable source material for the study of Late Imperial women's *tz'u* poetry.<sup>84</sup> With a preface by Wang P'eng-yün (1849–1904), a renowned poet and scholar largely responsible for the late-Ch'ing revival of song lyrics, Hsü Nai-ch'ang's *Hsiao-t'an-luan-shih hui-k'o p'ai-chia kuei-hsiu tz'u* reveals how female poets of the time were deeply involved in the revival movement. As William Schultz has pointed out, this late renaissance of the *tz'u* is “in part traceable to the emergence of the so-called Ch'ang-chou school in the late eighteenth century, and its insistence on the use of allegory and allusion in commenting on contemporary realities.”<sup>85</sup> That late Ch'ing women poets writing in the *tz'u* style (like their male contemporaries) became deeply interested in current affairs, and hence in writing topical allegories, no doubt helped *tz'u* become an elevated form of poetry.

Hsü Nai-ch'ang's *Hsiao-t'an-luan-shih hui-k'o pai-chia kuei-hsiu tz'u* is primarily a Ch'ing anthology, for among its 100 women poets only 4 were

late Ming authors (Shen I-hsiu, Yeh Wan-wan, Yeh Hsiao-luan, and Shang Ching-lan). But later, in 1906, Hsü Nai-ch'ang compiled a sequel called *Kuei-hsiu tz'u-ch'ao*, which collected works by 521 more poets, many of them Ming poets. Indeed, Hsü Nai-ch'ang's two anthologies were unprecedented in scope. By comparison, Ting Shao-i's famous *Ch'ing-tz'u tsung pu*, which also contains works by female authors, seems almost inconsequential. And certainly, if compared to the thin volume of the *Ch'ing-tai kuei-hsiu shih-ch'ao* (1922), Hsü's two collections of female writers in the *tz'u* style are much more impressive.

#### OTHER RELEVANT ANTHOLOGIES AND SOURCE MATERIALS

Many other female anthologies of the Ming-Ch'ing deserve to be examined as well — such as those defined by their “local” nature, among them the *Hsiang-t'an Kuo-shih kuei-hsiu chi* (The collected works of Madame Kuo of Hsiang-T'an [in Hunan]; 1837) and *Ch'ang-sha Yang-shih kuei-hsiu shih* (The collected poems of Madame Yang of Ch'ang-sha [in Hunan]; 1878) from Hunan.<sup>86</sup> In addition, the importance of the recently discovered “women's script” (*nü-shu*) in Hunan should also be weighed.<sup>87</sup> The “women's script” reveals the existence, according to some reports since early times, of a long-standing female oral tradition supported by a written tradition unique to country women in one small region of southern China. (See illustration 8.) The numerous folk songs and ballads set down in the “women's script” are especially worth noting, for their styles resemble the traditional *yüeh-fu* and other popular songs.<sup>88</sup> The mere presence of these folk songs could have been used to refute Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng's argument that “women of ancient times” could not possibly have “opened their mouths and poured out complete verses.”<sup>89</sup> But Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng obviously did not know of the “women's script,” which however limited in time and space its use may prove to have been, transmitted a genuine “women's voice” among those who used it.

Finally, an anthology of male poets (entitled *Ming san-shih chia shih-hsüan*) compiled by the woman poet Wang Tuan (1793–1838) deserves our special attention (see illustration 9).<sup>90</sup> In this anthology we can see how broad and thorough was the education of gentry women; it was not restricted to the so-called female tradition. Wang Tuan's *Ming san-shih chia shih-hsüan* (printed 1822, rpt. 1873) was unusual not only because it was compiled by



道光壬午冬鑄

明三十家詩選初集

自然好學齋藏板

9. From Wang Tuan (1793–1838), comp. and ed., *Ming san-shih chia shih-hsüan*, 8+8 ch., 1822. Eleven cols. of 22 chars.; block 14 x 18.5 cm. Collection of the Gest Oriental Library.

a woman, but also because it was judged by many to be the finest anthology of Ming poetry. According to *Jan-chih yü-yün*, for example, Wang Tuan's anthology is far superior to those compiled by Ch'ien Ch'ien-i, Chu I-tsun, and Shen Te-ch'ien.<sup>91</sup> Wang Tuan's anthology was distinguished especially for her insightful views on Chinese poetry, expressed through extremely thoughtful introductions to each of the thirty male poets she included. Her "Fan-li" (Editorial principles) departs from the conventional pattern of dwelling on the technical points involved in the anthologist's policy of selection. Instead, it reads like a superb essay of literary criticism, demonstrating Wang Tuan's brilliant exploration into the three-hundred-year history of Ming poetry. Deeply concerned with the qualities of "purity" (*ch'ing*) and "sincerity" (*chen*) in poetry, Wang Tuan especially praised the poet Kao Ch'i (1336–1374). Wang Tuan was apparently influenced by her famous father-in-law, Ch'en Wen-shu, who was deeply interested in Ming loyalism, for she devoted a whole *chüan* of her anthology to the loyalist poets Chen Tzu-lung and Ku Yen-wu (1613–1682; see *chüan* 7). But as Ellen Widmer has pointed out in another context, such interest in loyalism on the part of Ch'en Wen-shu's circle (which included many women poets) was meaningful "perhaps more for its romantic than its political side."<sup>92</sup> As a critic, Wang Tuan had an enthusiasm for ideas, especially ideas about originality and poetic traditions, as her able recounting of the history of poetic trends and individual creativity shows. Indeed, Wang Tuan wrote with a self-assurance and authority that she seemed to have inherited from the Sung poet Li Ch'ing-chao (ca. 1084–ca. 1151), the first female critic to write so confidently about male poets. In many ways, however, Wang Tuan was the exact opposite of Li Ch'ing-chao. Whereas Li Ch'ing-chao was always finding fault with male poets, Wang Tuan affirmed the artistic achievement of many male poets who suffered undeserved obscurity. Most important, as the first female anthologist of male poetry in the Chinese tradition, Wang Tuan demonstrated how compiling anthologies gave power and prestige to one's critical vocation. Clearly her goal was not to celebrate the "female" tradition in poetry. She seemed to prefer instead to erase the boundaries between the male and the female by reversing the usual gender roles in Chinese criticism — for previously it was the male critic who judged the female poet rather than the other way around. Thus, Wang Tuan's anthology became for her an excellent, if indirect, strategy for elevating the literary status of women.

As Pauline Yu says, “anthologies put poems in their place metaphorically and historically, addressing directly or indirectly the values of the time.”<sup>93</sup> The Ming-Ch’ing poetry anthologies, as I have outlined them above, can serve as a perfect means of understanding the place of female (and male) poets of the time. Indeed, Shih Shu-i points out in her *Biographies of Ch’ing Women Poets* (1922) that she based her choice of significant figures largely on whether those poets had been included in previous anthologies.<sup>94</sup> For the very variety of selection strategies and criteria evident in the Ming-Ch’ing anthologies of women poets reveals a rather pluralistic and evolving literary scene — a picture that other kinds of sources might not have offered. Unfortunately, modern scholars of Chinese literary history have failed up to now to take advantage of the numerous anthologies of female poetry produced in the Ming-Ch’ing. Their neglect is regrettable, for these important anthologies would have constituted perhaps the strongest argument against the modern view of literary history that claims traditional women were largely excluded from the literary establishment.

## NOTES

- I am grateful to F. W. Mote for asking me to write this article and for his help in all aspects of the research and writing. I also appreciate the help of Haun Saussy who offered comments and suggestions on this paper. I am especially indebted to Ch’iu-ti Judy Liu, my research assistant, for locating and providing valuable source materials. In addition, I wish to express my thanks to many other friends, teachers, and colleagues who gave me important information and support, among them Yu-kung Kao, Wen-k’ai Kung, Mei-yi Lin, Paul Ropp, Shih Chih-ts’un, Yü-lin Wang, and Ellen Widmer.
1. Hu Wen-k’ai, *Li-tai fu-nü chu-tso k’ao* (1957; rev. edn. Shanghai: Shanghai

Ku-chi ch’u-pan-she, 1985), hereafter referred to as “Hu.”

2. There is an original copy of *Shih nü-shih* in the Beijing Library, and the University of Chicago has a microfilm made from the original. It should be noted that long before the Ming, the Sung poet Ou-yang Hsiu already expressed views similar to T’ien I-heng’s. In his foreword to Hsieh Hsi-meng’s collected works, Ou-yang writes: “In the past, works of Chuang Chiang of Wei and Lady Hsü-mu were recorded by Confucius and ranked among the *Kuo-feng* [of the *Shih-ching*]. If there were today a heroic person who could evaluate contemporary poets and inspire confidence in later generations, people

- would rank her [Hsi-meng] highly, and her name would not be lost to memory" (Hu, p. 66). Such views did not, however, become prevalent until the late Ming.
3. Hu, p. 876.
  4. See Shen I-hsiu's preface to her *I-jen ssu*, p. 1. In Yeh Shao-yüan, *Wu-meng-t'ang ch'üan-chi* (1636; punctuated edn. Shanghai: Shanghai tsa-chih kung-ssu, 1936), vol. 2.
  5. Maureen Robertson, "Voicing the Feminine: Construction of the Female Subject in the Lyric Poetry of Medieval and Late Imperial China," paper presented at the Colloquium on Poetry and Women's Culture in Late Imperial China, UCLA, October 20, 1990, p. 1.
  6. See Shih Chih-ts'un, *T'ang-shih pai-hua* (Shanghai: Ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1987), p. 769.
  7. *Ibid.*, p. 775.
  8. Robertson, "Voicing the Feminine," p. 1.
  9. Dorothy Yin-yeo Ko, "Toward a Social History of Women in Seventeenth-Century China" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1989), p. 2.
  10. *Ibid.*
  11. Hu, p. 885.
  12. "Contextual poetics" is a term coined by Neil Fraistat. See the introduction to his edited volume, *Poems in Their Place: The Intertextuality and Order of Poetic Collections* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), pp. 3-17. I owe this specific citation to Pauline Yu; see her "Poems in Their Place: Collections and Canons in Early Chinese Literature," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 50.1 (1990), p. 195.
  13. Ellen Widmer, "The Epistolary World of Female Talent in Seventeenth-Century China," *Late Imperial China* 10.2 (1989), p. 22.
  14. See Wendell V. Harris's idea of the canon as a means of "providing models, ideals, and inspiration," in his "Canonicity," *PMLA* 106.1 (1991), p. 111.
  15. K'ang Cheng-kuo, *Feng-sao yü yen-ch'ing* (Honan: Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1988), p. 345.
  16. *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu t'i-yao* (rpt. Taipei: Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1971), 193, p. 4301.
  17. *Ibid.*, 192, p. 4287.
  18. *Ibid.*, 193, p. 4318.
  19. Hu, p. 888; trans. Haun Saussy. See "Female Scribes, Ancient and Modern," trans. Haun Saussy, to be included in "An Anthology of Chinese Women Poets from Ancient Times to 1911," ed. Kang-i Sun Chang (New Haven: Yale University Press, forthcoming).
  20. Hu, p. 888.
  21. Arthur Waley, *Yüan Mei: Eighteenth Century Chinese Poet* (1957; rpt. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1970), p. 179.
  22. Hu, p. 433.
  23. The *Wu-yin ts'ao* and *Hu-shang ts'ao* are now in Shanghai's Chekiang Library. It was Shih Chih-ts'un who acquired for me (by special permission) photocopies of these two valuable collections.
  24. According to reliable sources, the project of *Lieh-ch'ao shih-chi* was started in 1646 and completed in 1649. (See the foreword by the Publishing

- Committee of Shanghai Ku-chi ch'u-pan-she. In *Lieh-ch'ao shih-chi hsiao-chuan*, rev. edn., 2 vols. [Shanghai: Ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1983], vol. 1, p. 1.)
25. See my *The Late-Ming Poet Ch'en Tzu-lung: Crises of Love and Loyalism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), p. 19.
  26. Hu, p. 844.
  27. Ibid.
  28. Ibid., p. 433. See also Widmer, "The Epistolary World," p. 20.
  29. *Lieh-ch'ao shih-chi hsiao-chuan*, vol. 2, p. 752.
  30. Ibid., p. 751.
  31. Ibid., p. 752.
  32. Ibid., p. 760.
  33. I accept the view of the modern scholar Ch'en Yin-k'o who claimed that it was Liu Shih who turned Ch'ien into a true Ming loyalist, albeit one involved only in underground resistance activities. See Ch'en Yin-k'o, *Liu Ju-shih pieh-chuan* (Shanghai: Ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1980), vol. 3, pp. 827-1224.
  34. *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu t'i yao*, 190, p. 4229.
  35. Ibid.
  36. See *Ming-shih tsung* (rpt. in 2 vols. Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1989), vol. 2, p. 712.
  37. Hu, p. 434.
  38. This information was first given me by Ellen Widmer. Kung Wen-k'ai has acquired for the Yale University Library a microfilm copy from the Science Institute of Beijing.
  39. Wang Shih-lu's *Jan-chih chi* exists only in manuscript form. The Shanghai Library has the original of the anthology, though *chüan* 16-20 are missing (Hu, p. 906).
  40. Hu, p. 849.
  41. For example, Tsou Ssu-i places her at the beginning of his anthology "Eight Famous Women Poets." And in 1661 the dramatist Li Yü asked Wang to write a foreword to his play, *Pi-mu yü* ("Sole" Mates); see also Widmer, "The Epistolary World," p. 11.
  42. Naikaku Bunko has the original of *Yin-hung chi*. According to Shih Chih-ts'un, mainland scholars have been looking for *Yin-hung chi* for a long time (private communication, letter dated October 23, 1991). My photocopy was provided by Ellen Widmer.
  43. For some reason, Ch'ien Ch'ien-i's important preface is missing from the Central Library copy. The Yale microfilm, which was acquired by Kung Wen-k'ai from the Beijing Library, does contain Ch'ien's preface.
  44. Hu, p. 248.
  45. See "Fan-li," p. 3a.
  46. Ibid., pp. 3a-b.
  47. Ibid., p. 1.
  48. Wang Tuan-shu never mentions the historical *Wei-shu*. But it might be significant that the original *Wei-shu* is a lost book which gave unorthodox interpretations of the classics (see *Sui shu*, "Ching-chi chih"). I am indebted to Haun Saussy for this point.
  49. See my *The Late-Ming Poet Ch'en Tzu-lung*, chap. 2, pp. 9-18.
  50. Incidentally, Wang Tuan-shu once wrote a poem (in *Ming-yüan shih-wei*, *chüan* 42, p. 11b) recalling her meeting with Ch'ien Ch'ien-i and Liu Shih. (I am indebted to Ellen Widmer for this

- reference.) But this does not rule out the possibility that Wang Tuan-shu was biased in her opinions or subject to feelings of rivalry — for although Tsou Ssu-i places Wang Tuan-shu at the beginning of his anthology, he also states that Liu Shih “ranks first” among famous women poets.
51. Readers should be reminded that Liu Shih’s *Lieh-ch’ao shih-chi, jun-chi* includes only two poems by Hsü Yüan.
  52. Harris, “Canonicity,” p. 116.
  53. *Ibid.*
  54. For information on this anthology, see Widmer, “The Epistolary World,” p. 41.
  55. Teng Han-i, comp., *T’ien-hsia ming-chia shih-kuan ch’u-chi*, vol. 22, pp. 24a–25b.
  56. See the modern punctuated edition by Shih Chih-ts’un, p. 1.
  57. See Tsung Yüan-ting’s foreword to the anthology (Hu, pp. 903–904).
  58. See also my paper, “Liu Shih and Hsü Ts’an: Feminine or Feminist?” in “Voice of the Song Lyric in China,” ed. Pauline Yu (Berkeley: University of California Press, forthcoming).
  59. See my *The Late-Ming Poet Ch’en Tzu-lung*, chap. 4, pp. 41–68.
  60. *Lin-hsia tz’u-hsüan* selects works of women *tz’u* poets from the Sung to the early Ch’ing. The Ming-Ch’ing works are in *chüan* 6–13. According to Shih Chih-ts’un, his friend Huang Shang (the famous bibliophile) owns two copies of the original. See Shih Chih-ts’un [under pseud. She-chih], “Li-tai tz’u hsüan-chi hsü-lu,” in *Tz’u-hsüeh*, (1986), vol. 4, p. 247.
  61. Hu, p. 896.
  62. *Ibid.*, p. 900.
  63. *Ibid.*
  64. Translation by Haun Saussy. See “A Hundred and More Poetic Flowers, by Famed Beauties of Past and Present,” trans. Haun Saussy, to be included in my “Anthology of Chinese Women Poets.”
  65. Hu, p. 784.
  66. *Chung-hsiang tz’u*, pt. 1, p. 1a.
  67. *Ibid.*, preface, pt. 1.
  68. For example, Hsü Ts’an was the *only* woman poet to be included in Lung Mu-hsün’s highly acclaimed anthology of Late Imperial Chinese song lyrics, *Chin san-pai nien ming-chia tz’u-hsüan* (rpt. Hong Kong: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1979). See pp. 24–26.
  69. See Shih Chih-ts’un [under pseud. She-chih], “Li-tai tz’u hsüan-chi hsü-lun,” in *Tz’u-hsüeh*, pp. 247–248.
  70. See *Yao-hua chi* (facsimile reproduction; Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1982).
  71. See Susan Mann, “‘Fuxue’ [Women’s Learning] by Zhang Xuecheng (1738–1801): China’s First History of Women’s Culture,” paper presented at the Colloquium on Poetry and Women’s Culture in Late Imperial China, UCLA, October 20, 1990, p. 13.
  72. See “The Image” under hexagrams 58 and 30, respectively. In Richard Wilhelm and Cary E. Baynes, trans., *The I Ching, or Book of Changes*, rendered into English by Cary F. Baynes (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1967), pp. 224 and 119.
  73. In his “Fuxue,” Chang sums up his position on this issue: “Ignorant people believe that the airs of Cheng were written by the lovers themselves, and so they claim that the children and

- women of ancient times simply opened their mouths and poured out complete verses that were superior to those of later literati. They do not know that this belief is utterly without foundation." See translation in Mann, " 'Fuxue,' " p. 15.
74. Mark Borer, "Yüan Mei and Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng on the Education of Women," seminar paper, Yale University, 1991, p. 3.
  75. It was F. W. Mote who first informed me that Princeton's Gest Oriental Library has an original copy of this anthology. I later found out that the Harvard-Yenching Library also has a copy.
  76. See Liang I-chen, *Ch'ing-tai fu-nü wen-hsüeh shih* (1925; rpt. Taipei: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1979), p. 195.
  77. "Li-yen," in *Kuo-ch'ao kuei-hsiu cheng-shih chi*, p. 5b.
  78. See Mann, " 'Fuxue,' " p. 19.
  79. *Ibid.*, p. 5a.
  80. *Ibid.*
  81. See also my "Liu Shih and Hsü Ts'an," pp. 24-25.
  82. Both the University of Chicago Library and the Harvard-Yenching Library have the originals of this item (although the Harvard-Yenching copy is incomplete). Paul Ropp first called my attention to this useful anthology.
  83. Hu, p. 920.
  84. I have been informed that the publisher Kiangsu kuang-ling ku-chi k'o-yin-she in Yangchow is now making a facsimile reprint of this large anthology (forthcoming 1992).
  85. See Schultz's note on Wang P'eng-yün, in Irving Yucheng Lo and William Schultz, eds., *Waiting for the Unicorn: Poems and Lyrics of China's Last Dynasty, 1644-1911* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), p. 343.
  86. Hu Wen-k'ai, *Li-tai fu-nü chu-tso k'ao*, pp. 854, 864.
  87. Wang Yü-lin was the first person to call my attention to this important material. For the "women's script," see *Nü-shu: Shih-chieh wei-i te nü-hsing wen-tzu* (Taipei: Fu-nü hsin-chih chichin hui, 1991). Unfortunately, few pre-Ch'ing works written in the "women's script" seem to have survived, although we may assume that the numerous folk songs available in the *nü-shu* have a longstanding oral tradition. It was customary for country women to burn their songs written in the "women's script," because they believed that poems could thus be carried to the underworld after the woman's death.
  88. See also William Wei Chiang, " 'We Two Know the Script: We Have Become Friends': Linguistic and Social Aspects of the Women's Script Literacy in Southern Hunan, China" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1991). Chiang thinks that the genre of folk songs and folktales "merits particular notice because it may have influenced the format and literary style of all other genres in the *nü-shu*" (p. 197). Village women often sang the songs and stories recorded in the women's script while they gathered for needlework. According to Chiang there are still no data available with regard to how women's script originated, although there exist several legends on

its origins that reflect *nü-shu's* social function — allowing women to vent personal grief and the like. One legend, for example, has it that a Sung-dynasty woman named Hu Yuxiu invented the women's script to communicate her secret lonely thoughts after becoming a royal concubine of the emperor Sung Che-tsung (p. 313). I feel that what is important to us is not when the script originated, but rather the fact that women have been actively involved in an oral tradition since ancient times, even if the script itself may not have been invented until later.

89. See Mann, " 'Fuxue,' " p. 15.
90. Both Princeton's Gest Oriental Library and the Harvard-Yenching Library have original copies of this anthology.
91. As cited in Liang I-chen "Ch'ing-tai fu-nü," p. 204.
92. Ellen Widmer, "Xiaoqing's Literary Legacy and the Place of the Woman Writer in Late Imperial China," 1992, p. 40.
93. Yu, "Poems in Their Place," p. 196.
94. Shih Shu-i, *Ch'ing-tai kuei-ko shih-jen cheng-lüeh* (1922; rpt. Shanghai: Shanghai Shu-tien, 1987), p. 5.

## GLOSSARY

Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng 章學誠

Chang Hung-ch'iao 張紅橋

Chang Ying-ch'ang 張應昌

Ch'ang-chou 常州

*Ch'ang-sha Yang-shih kuei-hsiu shih*

長沙楊氏閨秀詩

Chao Shih-chieh 趙世杰

Chao Shih-yung 趙時用

chen 真

Ch'en Tzu-lung 陳子龍

Ch'en Wei-sung 陳維崧

Ch'en Wen-shu 陳文述

cheng 正

Cheng Hsiu 鄭袖

Chi Hsien 季嫻

chi-nü 妓女

Chi Yün 紀昀

Chiang-nan 江南

Chiang-yün-lou 絳雲樓

ch'iao 巧

Ch'ien Ch'ien-i 錢謙益

Ch'ien Yüeh 錢岳

Ch'ien-lung 乾隆

chih 志

ching 經

Ch'ing 清

Ching P'ien-p'ien 景翩翩

*Ch'ing shih hui* 清詩匯

*Ch'ing shih to* 清詩鐸

*Ch'ing-p'ing tz'u-hsüan* 清平詞選

*Ch'ing-shih pieh-ts'ai chi* 清詩別裁集

*Ch'ing-tai kuei-hsiu shih-ch'ao*

清代閨秀詩鈔

*Ch'ing-tz'u tsung pu* 清詞綜補

*Ch'in-huai ssu-chi shih* 秦淮四姬詩

Chin-ku 金谷

- Chou Chih-piao 周之標  
 Chou Ming 周銘  
 Chou Shou-ch'ang 周壽昌  
 Chu I-tsun 朱彝尊  
 Ch'ü Ping-chün 屈秉筠  
 Chüan-erh 卷耳  
 ch'u-chi 初集  
 Chung Hsing 鐘惺  
 Chung Jung 鐘嶸  
 Chung-hsi shu-chü 中西書局  
 Chung-hsiang tz'u 衆香詞  
 chung-nü 中女  
 erh-chi 二集  
 Fang Wei-i 方維儀  
 fan-li 凡例  
 fu 賦  
 Fu hsüeh 婦學  
 Fu-jen chi 婦人集  
 Han O 韓娥  
 hao-ming erh wu-hsüeh 好名而無學  
 Ho-tung 河東  
 Hsi P'ei-lan 席佩蘭  
 Hsiang-t'an Kuo-shih kuei-hsiu chi  
     湘潭郭氏閨秀集  
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